EXPLORING PUBLIC AND PRIVATE VERSIONS OF WW2 MEMORY:

Memory, identity, ideology and propaganda in relation to the representations of the Czech RAF airmen

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my grandmother who always supported me and believed in my ability and who could not witness the end of my journey.

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The greatest thanks belong to my seven interview participants who kindly shared their memories with me and who contributed enormously to the outcome of this research. Without their openness and willingness to participate and reveal what they experienced during WW2 there would be no thesis.

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I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of the thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award. The thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

The views expressed by individuals in the interviews in the attached CD ROM to the thesis are those of the individuals concerned, and not those of the author other than indicated.

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ABSTRACT

From a broader perspective this cross-disciplinary and cross cultural thesis examines the relationships between identity, ideology and propaganda and their influence over the production of private and public memories. This examination is carried out through a case study investigating various representations of the Czech RAF airmen from selected British and Czech WW2 newspapers approached as an archive of memory, and from individual recollections of the Czech veterans – the living archive of memory. These representations in the context of this research become interacting versions of public and private memory which in a unique way and yet equally contribute towards the historical construction of the Second World War. This thesis proposes that the various versions of memory, in Rothberg's (2009) words 'multidirectional memory', are a consequence of versioning, a constant creation and re-creation of different versions of memory due to numerous influences on the producers of such memory. However, this research also considers a presence of Second World War discourse, which underpinned public and private memory and transcended collective memories of the Britishness and Czechness forming a transnational or cross cultural (Radstone, 2010) WW2 memory. In other words, this project draws upon current theories about non competitive multiple, transnational and mediated memory (Dijck, 2007) and extends upon these by considering their existence within a potentially unifying WW2 discourse within which they connect and disconnect. By doing so, this thesis challenges master narratives of history. These memories are also seen as a base for multi-layered identity of the ones who remembered and had the right to remember.

Furthermore this study explores the potential reasons behind the creation of the discovered qualitative treasure of this project *The Czechoslovak*, a small community newspaper produced by the Czech minority living in Britain during the WW2.

The theoretical underpinning as well as the methodology of the project attempt to interrogate media studies, oral history and memory studies in order to create a most pertinent space in which the written and oral memory is explored effectively. This merger of theories and methodologies allowed me to investigate the various memories within the context of the WW2 and thus construct them from the past perspective when they were being created. A discourse analysis of selected British and Czech WW2 newspapers (*The Times, Daily Mirror, News of the World* and *The Czechoslovak*) has been employed distinguishing between traditional and tabloidised newspaper representations and investigating to what extend the Czechs were portrayed as the 'other' or the heroes in the British society. The outcome of this analysis was a discovery that the Czech RAF airmen had not been given much prominence in the British newspapers and that their representations varied according to the different type of newspaper and the different period of the war in which they were produced. Moreover, ideology, propaganda and the notion of Czech and British identity present in the newspapers played an important role in the creation of public memory versions of the Czech RAF airmen's images.

Besides newspapers, this study took the opportunity to reveal very fragile and valuable private recollections of the Czech WW2 RAF veterans (six former members of the Czech RAF settled in Britain after the WW2 and 1 widow were interviewed in the summer 2008); the men who played an important role in the success of the Allies in WW2. By doing this, the former Czech airmen were given a voice and the chance to contribute towards existing knowledge about the Czechs in the RAF and the Second World War. The various versions of the past produced by their private memory have been investigated in the view of various factors influencing these versions: notably their identity, war ideology, propaganda, and forgetting and in relation to WW2 media. Considering the occurrence of versioning, when critically reflecting upon all different memories, I position myself as a researcher into the shoes of yet another producer of another version of the past. Thus, this

study creates a space where various, sometimes contrasting memories do not fight for recognition, but where official collective memory and individual memory influence each other and also enrich each other whilst they co-construct a historical representation of the past.

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Mr Mellion
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Mr Svoboda
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Introduction

This thesis, based on a discovery of a unique qualitative treasure, is in its core an examination of a production of WW2 memory which spreads across cultures and disciplines. It explores a variety of representations of the Czech RAF airmen in selected WW2 British national and Czech community newspapers and investigates how these representations in these mediated narratives relate to and interact with the Czech RAF veterans' own recollections. These newspapers, which reflected and recorded public collective memory of Britishness and Czechness, are approached as archival artefacts. Similarly the private individual memories or private versions of narratives co-constructed and preserved by a living archive, as revealed in the interviews, uncover specific oral history community artefacts - voices of 'the others' who fought besides the British airmen which have the right to memory (Reading, 2010) and have only sporadically been heard and included into the historical master narrative of WW2. Thus, this study also becomes, to a certain extent, an archaeology of ethnicity and its WW2 representation where different memories and the complexity of the identity of the Czech RAF airmen are explored in a non-competitive way. In a broader context, my explorations open a discussion of the relationships between memory, identity, ideology and propaganda proposing an argument that public or private memory are multivoiced dialogue where stories influenced by ideology and propaganda are secured for a certain period of time to be mobilised later. Such memories are not fixed and always connected to our identities (Reading, 2010).

The original notion of this research is based around the concept of versions of memory or versioning, an occurrence in which an assortment of versions of memory of one event are being constantly created and re-created as a consequence of multiple influences on the producers of such memory. This notion emerged from my examination of the interaction of various public and private memories and the subjects influencing them and

how these multidirectional memories (Rothberg, 2009) contribute towards a creation, co-creation or recreation of a historical reconstruction. Versioning of the past is founded within the current theoretical framework of media and memory studies, however it also to a certain extent challenges the notion of master narratives created by historians who are 'making generalisations about the experiences of others, while privileging one source over another' (Connelly, 2007, pg 4). This thesis also problematizes approaches such as the re-visits and re-visions of history undertaken by feminist historical researchers who place public and private memory in opposition and highlight tensions between the two (Summerfield, 1998; Wakewich and Smith, 2006); whilst it supports theories which stress that our visions of history are drawn from different sources where media often influence our understanding of the past, and that there is a constant need to 'define and redefine the place that we occupy in the world' (Morris-Suzuki, 2005, pg 2). The trajectory of this research includes approaching or reflecting on the past through different versions of memory in terms of reconstructing and deconstructing (Munslow, 1997) and preserving old whilst producing new representations of our past existence and identity (which subsequently become history). Although reconstructing and deconstructing are often used in the context of epistemological approaches of historians based on approved form of history which foster historical meaning where the narrative itself does not create it; I drew upon Muslow's constructionism or deconstructionism where 'the matter of truth of the meaning of the past comes down to how we represent the content of the past' (Munslow, 1997, pg 76). On the one hand, this study investigates how and to what extent the representations of the Czech RAF airmen published as WW2 public memory in the various WW2 newspapers were influenced by ideology, propaganda and news values. Furthermore, it explores the influences of individual private narrative and living memory.

The two parallel discussions about private and public memory are ultimately drawn together into a single debate (Chapter 6) about the multiple historical

representations of the Czech RAF airmen, which, however, needs to be critically evaluated, as it was reconstructed by me as a contemporary researcher and thus became another specific version of memory itself. As Munslow (1997) claims, 'by exploring how we represent the relationship between ourselves and the past we may see ourselves not as detached observers of the past but, [...] like participants in its creation' (Munslow, 1997, pg 178). In order to highlight this issue, I will examine the construction of memories (Radstone, 1999) together with a perspective of self-consciously authored history (Munslow, 1997). Drawing upon the current debates of transnational (Radstone, 2010) and multidirectional memories (Rothberg, 2009), I will attempt to explore what happens when different representations of the past and memories confront each other. The fact that our memory can only be recovered and reproduced from traces of recollections, which are only 'mere glimpses of what once a whole living realm', (Lowenthal, 1985, pg 192), suggests that our past represented by private memory can only be described in a scattered way rather than in a full or a complex form. This is why researchers turn more often towards written sources such as media texts or various documents, which in time appear to be more constant (Cubitt, 2007). This thesis argues that despite the possible dissimilarities between the various versions produced naturally and inevitably through versioning, in order to attain a deeper understanding of the past, it is valuable when researching memory to consider all versions of memory, explore their interrelations and map where they engage and disengage (Walder, 2003). In the case of the Czech RAF airmen, versioning helped me to illustrate a more multifaceted image, which goes beyond a narrow frame of heroic 'friendly Allies' representations.

However, in this complex whirl of versions of memory, where arguably memory and media shape one another (Morris-Suzuki, 2005), a unifying element that links all these versions can also be found. In the case of the Czech RAF airmen's WW2 representations, such an element was the Second World War discourse, which not only underpinned public

and private memory but also transcended collective memories of the British and Czech nations (Radstone, 2010). Moreover, this research based on memory work to a degree challenges history itself as a proposed 'objective' public master narrative (Radstone, 2000). Through the dialogue between dominant public versions and the versions of subjective private memory, a space for various alternatives which enrich the master narrative is created and recognised (Radstone, 2000).

In order to cover the wide range of subjects that emerge from the examination of historical representations and memory, this study utilises several research approaches from a number of academic fields or disciplines. Socio-cultural studies and media studies provided me with a foundation for understanding the mediated processes and audience theories and thus strengthen my textual analysis of the press. Oral history considered the different ways historical consciousness developed from life history experiences (Perks and Thomson, 2006) and assisted me to theoretically underpin the interviews. For the exploration of memory, I found the theories emerging from the developing field of memory studies extremely useful. 'Memory work has a great deal to offer as a method of inquiry. It makes available the actual forms through which identities are composed: stories or images which encode memories' (Radstone, 1999, pg 221). Memory studies is not yet a clearly defined discipline: it is an emerging field to whose establishment this thesis aims to contribute. In particular, the main methodological contribution is through the focus on memory production (private and public) during the Second World War. This widens the scope of current debates which mostly focus on examination of memory of past events produced in a now (Radstone, 2010; Zelizer, 2008b) or through war memorials (Connerton, 2003).

This cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary research benefits from the facility to follow the different versions of memory from various producers across multiple disciplines using a variety of methods without being restricted within one academic field. However, it

is important to state that accessing a range of disciplines also creates some difficulties, which this research needs to address. Notably, the number of terms and theories upon which this thesis is based multiplies with each field with which it engages; therefore, in some places, I was not able to reach the same broadness of discussion as would be reached in a study based on a single discipline. Furthermore, in order to maintain substantial depth in this research, I chose to omit the debate about the wide range of political, military and ethical concerns that war inevitably raises. My research is more limited and concerned predominantly with memory and socio-cultural issues of the Second World War. Also, the application of multiple methods during the process of examination of multiple or multidirectional memories created an issue due to lack of theories that define an appropriate methodology for a cross-disciplinary study based on memory work (Reading, 2009). In addition, as one culture was being explored within another, problems with language and cultural contexts had to be tackled. Having said all this, what was at stake was how the research sought to articulate the Czech airmen's right to memory and to being represented in memory.

In order to explore how the Czech RAF airmen were represented in British newspapers, I decided to analyse *The Times*, a well-established, strong, conventional 'quality' or broadsheet newspaper presenting hegemonic discourse with an official voice. To broaden the spectrum of the analysed press and to reveal the more popular discourse, I also focused on tabloids, a type of newspaper that 'prioritizes entertainment, human interest and commercial profitability and which is usually presented as oppositional to 'serious' and socially responsible journalism' (Biressi and Nunn, 2008, pg 7). The daily newspaper selected for this research, the *Daily Mirror*, was believed to 'symbolize a truly British version of the tabloid [...] which claimed to be the defining popular organ of the day' (Conboy, 2006, pg 7). The second tabloid, a popular and broadly read Sunday newspaper with a hybrid identity, contributing towards 'commencing astute journalism in

its targeting of a range of general contents of a broad market' (Conboy, 2004, pg 157) was the *News of the World*.

An original angle was added into this research by the discovery of a local community newspaper of the Czechs and Slovaks living in Britain, *The Czechoslovak*, which had not been academically studied before. Besides its representations of the Czech RAF airmen this project also attempts to examine the reasons behind the production of this newspaper. *The Czechoslovak* was a diasporic type of community media, which created some non-mainstream alternative discourses, in contrast with the discourse of the British WW2 newspapers. Not much background evidence surrounds this newspaper. However, I discovered that it was printed by the famous Unwin Brothers publishers, who were also printing for the National Defence Ministry at that time. Its aim was to inform and entertain the Czech community in the mother tongue and contribute to maintaining Czech traditions abroad. In contrast with the British newspapers, the representations of the Czech RAF airmen in *The Czechoslovak* were far more detailed and were included regularly. Regrettably, this newspaper was produced solely in the Czech language, which limits employment of this unique source; therefore, the most central text of this investigation became the special English issue of *The Czechoslovak* newspaper. This text gained a very special position in this study, not only due to its language accessibility but also, more importantly, due to its originality and exclusivity. Firstly, there are no other similar types of texts preserved in British archives, and secondly the fact that it was produced by Czech journalists in English and had very high aspirations to compete with other more established newspapers at the time (its price was sixpence, whilst the cost of the *News of the World* was two pence) is also extraordinary. *The Czechoslovak* special issue represents one community living within another and at the same time presents this Czech community to the British nation. Thus, despite some similarities in representations of the Czech RAF airmen with the representations of the British press, such as the heroism of the airmen, this

issue created a very different version of public memory to the British mainstream media texts.

Another source of unique versions of memories of Czech RAF airmen is the WW2 'living archive' of private recollections. In order to explore these versions, I interviewed seven Czech participants, the only former members (and a wife of a former member) of the RAF who live in Britain available or willing to contribute towards my research. From their narratives, I also gained knowledge about their understanding of the war atmosphere in Europe and learnt about their feelings and their position as Czech airmen in English WW2 society. The heterogeneity of their testimonies diffused their narratives into diverse pictures, which could be described as subjective representations of human existence created by unique witnesses. However, despite their in many places dissimilar versions of the past, I argue that they all produced their versions of memory and consequently had the right to such memory (Reading, 2010). In other words, their private memory which was highly individual and potentially artificially manufactured (Hunt and Robbins, 1998) but at the same time also collective in places (combat recollections, war circumstances) became their personal version of what happened through which they created their identities and which they had the right to remember or forget. Moreover, due to the age of my interview participants, I considered thoroughly the issue of ethics of this research and made sure that the whole process was correct, smooth and not hurtful.

One issue that emerged from one of my interviews, which needs to be addressed at the beginning of this research, was the distinction between and the employment of words 'Czech' and 'Czechoslovak'. One interview participant felt that the term 'Czechoslovak' should be the sole label for the group of airmen, as there were Slovakian airmen flying alongside the Czechs in the RAF. However, the majority of the participants I interviewed were not concerned with this matter or did not really recognise any difference, often using a non-existing term 'Czecko' for themselves. This is why I decided, from the position of a

current researcher, to use both terms, 'Czech' as well as 'Czechoslovak', however not as synonyms, but distinguishing between them according to the historical and cultural context.

The main distinction between these two names for members of a particular nation is very complex. As a researcher living in the 21st century, I am writing about members of a currently existing country, the Czech Republic, therefore Czechs. These men are also, however, former members of a former country, which consisted of two nations - Czechs and Slovaks - Czechoslovakia, where they were referred to as Czechoslovaks. The 'Czechoslovak' nationality was established by the first Czechoslovak president, T. G. Masaryk, in 1918, after the fall of the Habsburg monarchy, and was maintained between the years 1918 - 1939 and 1945 - 1993 before these two countries became independent. Therefore, it is now (as it was by some Czechs during WW2) used as a traditional name rather than a correct historical idiom.

The reasons behind my choice of this topic are several. Firstly, the social side of the periods of the First and Second World War has always lain at the centre of my academic interest. Also, the notion of living in exile was in agreement with my current situation and position as a member of a Czech ethnic minority living in Britain. Furthermore, I was aware that the subject of the Czech RAF airmen and their contribution towards winning the war was neglected by the Czech historians for decades due to the Communist regime in former Czechoslovakia and was a non-dominant issue within the British WW2 history. To expose this version of alternative community memory therefore became my aim. Media played a very important role in the Second World War, as Andersen (2006) claims: 'it was the best reported war, ever' (Andersen, 2006, pg 21). However, apart from examination of the Holocaust, WW2 media discourse has been investigated only in a sporadic way, and is thus rather overlooked. By analysing the representations of the Czech RAF airmen within and beyond media discourse and how

they connect and disconnect, this thesis offers theories about mediated WW2 memory and thus fills in a gap in knowledge.

I decided to go back to the Second World War and explore memory of this disappearing war generation. Hence this study makes an important contribution to media history by revealing a particular part of WW2 history from the perspective of the Czech airmen as members (or not) of the Czech community living and working in Britain during the Second World War. However, this research does not only contribute towards existing academic knowledge through the analysis of the WW2 historical representation of the Czech RAF airmen's identities, but also by the examination of the interface between the public official memory represented in newspapers and the private individual memory constructed by the veterans as their own recollections and their life narratives. From this perspective, these various versions can be seen as stories which were produced by different members of the WW2 community living in Britain and narrated privately and publicly and which potentially influenced each other. There are also other studies concerning newspapers' representations of other cultures in British newspapers, such as K. Omenugha's (2005) *African women as news: a cross-cultural study.* Generally, however, I discovered that there is a scarcity of texts examining memory of the Second World War from WW2 newspapers and cross-referencing this data with oral narratives among academic publications. Therefore, this thesis seeks to offer a methodological qualitative research model for exploring historical cross-cultural data within memory studies and to create very specific critical theories[1] about British and Czech public memory produced by newspapers during the Second World War and the Czech private memory emerging from the personal narratives.

This thesis has been arranged across six chapters, which navigate the reader from an extensive review of pertinent academic literature, through the methodology I employed,

[1] These theories focus on how and why public and private memory was produces during the WW2.

towards the analysis of the data gathered and its evaluation. The first two chapters place my study within a broad academic framework by examining theories and literature that underpin subjects of public mediated memory and private narrated memory. Chapter 1, 'Press as an archive – the official public memory', based on socio-cultural and media studies, interconnects the historical context of WW2 with the theories about propaganda and war discourse (Balfour, 1979; Williams, 1992, 1998; Donnelly, 1999; Dedaic and Nelson, 2003), and news discourse (Fairclough, 1995; Curran and Seaton, 2003; Macdonald, 2003; Allan, 1999; Munslow, 1997). In particular, the theories of media representation (Hall, 1997; Moores, 1998, Pickering, 2001), emphasising the influence of ideology and the multiplicity of produced versions of representations extending from the 'other' towards the hegemonic versions, set out my theoretical position, developing from the notion of competitive memory towards an ongoing interaction of multidirectional memory (Rothberg, 2009). This review of the literature also creates a space for a discussion about the contrasts between tabloidised and traditional newspapers (Conboy, 2001, 2002, 2006; Örenbring and Jönsson, 2008; Curran, 2002; Greenslade, 2004), including community newspapers (Howley, 2009; Rennie, 2006). Besides an examination of the media theories from the position of a producer, Chapter 1 also studies the influences of the media production on the receiver and thus draws on target audience theories (Alasuutari, 1999; Moores, 1999; Williams, 2003; Devereux, 2006; Zelizer, 2008b). In order to explore the possible interconnection between the press and the archive, my survey of literature also acknowledges work on the theory of archive (Bundsgard, 2006; Derrida, 1995; Yakel, 2006; Blouin and Rosenberg, 2006).

The second theoretical chapter, 'Living memory – the private versions of reality', lays out the supporting framework of theories linking the memory studies work on memory (Halbwachs, 1992; Radstone, 1999, 2008; Lowenthal, 1985; Reading, 2002; Green, 2004; Bergson, 2007), oral history work on narrated private individual memory (Perks and

Thomson, 1998, 2006; Ritchie, 2003; Perks, 1992) and historical theories (Nora, 1986; Foucault, 2003; Munslow, 2001), which in particular focus on 'history from below' and the deconstruction of history. I have also drawn heavily on theory of identity and its interconnection with memory (Radstone, 2010; Hall and du Gay, 1996; Rapaport, 1997) and forgetting (Conway 2008; Radstone, 2000; Poole, 2008; Assche, Devlieger, Teampau and Verschraegen, 2009). The core of this literature review becomes an outline of mediated memory theories linking media as a source of public memory and private memory together (Dijck, 2007; Zelizer, 2008b; Hoskins, 2004), and the notions of multiple memories (Rothberg, 2009; Poole, 2008).

Chapter 3, 'Methodology', outlines the research process, the various methods used and ethical issues (Russell, 1999; Wenger, 2002), and provides a further survey of literature that underpins my methodological choices and practices (Jensen and Jankowski, 1991; Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock, 1999; Macdonald, 2003; Fairclough, 2003; Cottle, 2000; Perks and Thomson, 1998, 2006). In this chapter, I describe how I selected and combined some traditional socio-cultural and oral history methods so they suited this cross-disciplinary media and memory research and highlight another study that has benefited from using a comparative method (Wakewich and Smith, 2006). I also explain the difficulties emerging from the interconnection of these methods (Reading, 2009), and discuss my position in this research and the limitations and issues arising from my viewpoint which affect the research outcome (Chandler, 2005; Wakewich and Smith, 2006; Summerfield, 1998).

The following two analysis chapters explore and analyse the data I gathered. Chapter 4, 'Discourse analysis of the WW2 press', interrogates how the various British and Czech press created diverse public mediated memory discourses in order to represent the Czech RAF airmen, reflecting the ideology of the era and the particular newspaper's ethos. Special attention is here paid to the unique discourse of *The Czechoslovak* special English

issue. Supported by the theoretical work examined, I will argue that public collective memories of Britishness and Czechness recycled in newspapers on one hand create diverse versions of the past and on the other carry certain similar features. Thus the period of the Second World War and the war propaganda and ideology constructed certain nation-transcending commonalities, which brought together different national or community collective memories (Radstone, 2010).

Chapter 5, 'Analysis of private individual narratives', utilises interview narratives alongside the academic literature I have employed to interpret these private memories. This chapter looks particularly at the issues of identity, revealing three layers of identity of the airmen – the Czech, the British and the RAF war identity, which for the Czech RAF airmen arguably became the strongest of them all. And finally, Chapter 6, 'Sources of historical reconstruction – comparison of the private and public memory' evaluates the previous analysis of private and public memory and merges these two discussions about newspaper representations and interview narratives into one debate about versions of memories and multidirectional nation-transcending memory (Rothberg, 2009; Radstone, 2010) of the Czech RAF airmen. By doing so, this research creates a space where different memories of the Czech RAF airmen interact and thus enrich the historical representation of WW2.

Chapter one: The press as an archive – the official public memory

Introduction

> The only true history of the country is to be found in its newspapers.
> (Macaulay in: Brivati, Bruxton and Seldon, 1996, pg 299)

The core aim of this project is to analyse and reflect on the Czech RAF airmen's identity as it was represented in the various Czech and British newspapers during the Second World War in order to reveal the multidirectionality of mediated memory within the unifying WW2 discourse. In this investigation I am treating the press as a key public archive that produces and preserves public memory. It is important to be clear that there exist other public archives, notably population records, census records, birth, marriage and death registers, cabinet papers, passenger lists and military records. These purely factual sources are, however, beyond the scope of this research, as my interest lies in historically mediated experience, which, although based on facts, is a narrative about what happened. The media here stand as a specific conjunctional space within which private and public memory co-exist and co-create each other. As Williams (2003) suggests, the media connect the private me with the public world as they are:

> the integral and ever-present part of daily life in many parts of the world. They increasingly play a cultural role in shaping our ways of living, our cultures and our societies. Besides helping us to negotiate the meaning of what is going on in the world, [...] they help us to learn about the values, beliefs and norms of our societies as well as assist us to develop our own sense of identity. (Williams, 2003, pg 6)

The aim of this thesis is to explore this original element of each newspaper representation selected, which produces more perspectives of 'the happened' and thus offers more versions of the 'reconstructed past' from the WW2 press as well as individual recollections (see Chapter 2).

In order to understand how public memory is created and thus potentially answer the question of how the Czech RAF airmen were represented in newspapers, this chapter

explores the nature and role of the press during WW2 and its influences from a broad academic perspective. In this chapter I will introduce the novel idea of 'versioning' which become a crucial notion and the main argument of this study. By 'versioning' I mean a process of constant creation of different versions of reality by public and private memory due to various influences to which different memories are exposed. This notion emerged from my research, as each representation of the Czech RAF airmen I discovered, appeared to be unique. This is why I call these various representations 'versions' or 'drafts' (Kitch, 2008) of reality. These images of WW2 events are reflected upon privately in individual recollections, Czech collective memory in the Czech community newspapers; and publicly (officially) in the British newspapers. Mediated representations preserved in archives then become sources and thus co-creators of a dominant historical construction or representation. As Peniston-Bird (2007) claims:

> Public media, including press, play a significant part in creating [...] dominant constructions through their selection and amplification of constructions of the past developed elsewhere. (Peniston-Bird, 2007, pg 183)

This process of interaction, negotiation and intertextual cross-referencing of these various newspaper representations which have been influenced by WW2 ideology and propaganda within a specific war discourse is to be investigated in the later textual analyses. The term 'discourse', used in social science, which originates from Michel Foucault, is understood as an arrangement of sequences of signs, in this case used in written communication, with specific repeatable relations to objects, subjects and other texts (Foucault, 1969). This chapter therefore attempts to build a sufficient theoretical foundation for analyses of the selected WW2 newspapers in Chapter 4.

The academic discussion commences with an exploration of the specific historical context of this study and the circumstances of the Second World War era in the section 'Newspaper production, war journalism and propaganda during WW2'. According to Williams (1998):

> Changes within the British mass media during the Second World War can only be understood within the context of the fundamental shift that took place within British society. (Williams, 1998, pg 131)

Furthermore it negotiates the possible reasons behind various representations of the Czech airmen concerning their identities as projected through the 'public lenses' of the WW2 newspapers. The key theorists underlining this section, such as Balfour (1979), Williams (1992, 1998), Donnelly (1999), Hayes and Hill (1999) and Taylor (2003), highlight the special features of the Second World War media reports, such as optimistic tone or emphasis on ordinary everyday life, which they gained through propaganda and censorship. Their work is important to this study since arguably wartime reality, the diversity of the British and Czech people's wartime experiences, WW2 journalistic practices and other specific issues such as propaganda influenced, in a complex manner, the process of WW2 media production; and therefore the creation of various versions of the WW2 public memory. Knowledge of these factors, together with a consideration of the 'war discourse' phenomenon (Dedaic and Nelson, 2003), which to a certain point unifies all public mediated representations of the Czech RAF airmen, are thus essential for my WW2 press analysis and discussion about versioning.

This notion merges into the next section, 'Creation of archival meaning – news discourse', where my focus is on the news production process and the internal influences that construct any given news discourse (Fairclough, 1995), as well as the outside shaping powers such as ideology (Curran, Seaton, 2003). These influences also cause a production of diverse versions of public memory and its interaction with private memory. Here theorists such as Williams (1992), Conboy (2001, 2004), Macdonald (2003) and Allan (1999) provide a base for understanding the ideological impact of newspapers on society and culture and the key reasons how, why and to what extent media messages can be influential. The ideological influence of public memory in the press is taken further in the following section, 'Media representation and ideology'. Here, however, I investigate how

the press captures and represents the 'happened' along with how it was influenced by ideology. This is crucial for my main argument about versioning, since it is important to understand that public versions during WW2 were produced to influence masses and the way these versions influenced our perception of reality at a time influences to an extend how we produced our private memory about each particular event. This academic area has been dominated by one of the key media theorists, Stuart Hall, whose ideas are further explored in the work of many other writers such as Moores (1998), Lacey (1998) and Pickering (2001). Their theories about representations in the media are vital for my textual analyses, as they explore how language is used whilst creating meaningful messages (Hall, 1997) and thus how various versions were created and narrated. This notion will lead into a vital realisation that there exist pluralistic representations, or in other words multidirectional memories (Rothberg, 2009), in the process of historical reconstruction.

The following section, 'Alternative public sphere – tabloidised and traditional newspapers', further narrows the focus of this debate and looks at the specific features of the tabloid newspapers (Conboy, 2001, 2006; Greenslade, 2004) as an alternative type of public narrative and a producer of different versions of public memory in contrast to the official public voice influenced more by the Second World War Government and presented by the broadsheets (Örenbring, Jönsson, 2008). This examination of tabloids provides a specific contextual underpinning, in particular, the investigation of the versions produced in *The News of the World*, *The Daily Mirror* and *The Czechoslovak* special English issue. This chapter also reveals the potential tension of the airmen represented by an official voice of the British broadsheets and a voice from below articulated by the Czech community newspapers. Through the perspective of the readers/receivers, this discussion is connected with the next section. 'Target audience of the Second World War newspapers' investigates the various theories of a receiver, target audience or readership concept, which, as a 'living organism', considerably influences media production (Alasuutari, 1999;

Moores, 1999; Williams, 2003). Consequently, I will argue that the WW2 readership and intertextuality which influenced the interpretation of the media messages (Devereux, 2006; Zelizer, 2008b) played a vital role in the production of the representations of Czech RAF airmen within the specific period of WW2 as it further shaped the multiple public memories. Each newspaper establishment targeted a different readership and therefore created different versions of 'the happened'.

After an investigation of how various public versions of our identities are represented and momentarily captured by the language (Hall, 1996; also see deconstruction theory in Munslow, 1997) used (in this case) in the press and co-produced by the readership, this chapter finally explores another influence on the creation of public memory (Yakel, 2006), the archive. The last section, 'Archive and representation of the happened', attempts to view the press from a novel perspective and investigates the connections between the concept of a public archive, its characteristics (Bundsgard, 2006; Blouin and Rosenberg, 2006) and limitations (Derrida, 1995) and the press. The theme of the public archive will then merge into the following chapter, which investigates the living archive – the private 'living' memory.

Newspaper production, war journalism and propaganda during WW2

> We commonly assume that [...] we approach experience without any prejudices. [...] But the reality is different. (Balfour, 1979, pg 419)

> Propaganda need not necessarily involve the use of force to prevent the free dissemination of criticism and of alternative interpretations. It can operate by arousing emotional atmosphere [...] in which invalid statements are more likely to get by unchallenged. (Balfour, 1979, pg 422)

In this section, I would like to explore the historical context of this study. The following discussion is, therefore, concerned with the characteristics of reporting the Second World War, such as the tensions between objectivity and patriotism, and the

idealisation of the RAF airmen (see evidence in examples from the WW2 newspapers in Chapter 4); national identity and censorship, and the ideological and ethical issues influencing the process of newspaper production. In other words, I examine how the war events were being captured by the WW2 newspapers and why with respect to the Czech airmen; and whether or to what extent WW2 propaganda and the ideological position of the British government influenced these WW2 British and Czech newspaper representations or versions of public memory. Firstly, it is important to distinguish between propaganda and ideology and to discuss the complexity of the relationship between the two as these two not only contribute towards creation of various versions of the WW2 memory but also possibly unify the WW2 discourse.

The term 'ideology' is understood as an ever-present set of ideals, principles and myths proposed by the dominant group of a society; something that explains how a particular society should work (Dijk, 1998). From the perspective of the press, ideology is 'a system of semantic rules which express a certain level of organization of messages' (Heck, 1980, pg 124), or a 'mental framework' involving language, concepts, categories, worldview, and the systems of representation which various groups of people deploy in order to make sense society works (Hall, 1996). Ideologies are systems of abstract thought and are predominantly employed in public matters, and thus this concept is central to politics (Dijk, 1998). Propaganda as a form of communication, in contrast with ideology, is more direct, organised and persuasive. It is understood as an instrument or a tool of a state's political ideology, a form of communication that attempts to achieve acceptance of such ideology, or in other words, a propagandist's set of aims and ideas. These, in turn, are meant to direct the actions and expectations of others and influence the attitude of a community (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1999). Thus the purpose of propaganda is 'to send out an ideology to an audience with a related objective' (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1999, pg 3).

Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) recognise three types of propaganda – black, grey and white. By this they contrast the intentions of the producers of propaganda. In black propaganda, the intentions are to give false information appearing to be a source from the enemy when it is not. In grey propaganda the source cannot be identified or the origin is attributed to the Ally, and the truthfulness of the information is uncertain. This form of propaganda was often imparted with descriptions of the progress of the Allies in the war. An example of this from the present research would be the reports about successful RAF fights, with many enemy aircraft destroyed and few or no British aircraft lost. On the other hand, in white propaganda, the real source is declared and more accurate or truthful information, relatively speaking, is provided. According to this, most of the newspaper messages analysed and negotiated in this thesis fall into the 'grey type'. Explicitly where there is most ambiguity, as the messages do not always state the source and are not entirely false; however, they contain more than just patriotic national celebrations. Similarly, Chapman (1998) divides propaganda into two types: positive propaganda, which disseminates a particular theme or idea, and negative propaganda, which is a kind of control of information. Both were heavily used in the WW2 press (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1999). Newspapers were a significant and dominant medium or source of information and entertainment during WW2, although radio, similarly to today, was believed to be a much more accurate and trustworthy source of information (Doherty, 2000). However, they were under the direct influence of the British wartime government. All the different types of propaganda imposed on the public discourse during WW2 by the Ministry of Information (MOI)[2] contributed towards spreading the official ideology and were employed within it. It is reasonable to argue that the influence on WW2 newspapers was propagandist as well as ideological. This is particularly important for this study because it influenced the versions of WW2 public memory in a very specific way, wherein an objective representation of the

[2] MOI; established in September 1939

events was not the main aim of the newspaper messages. The focus was shifted onto maintaining home morale and support of the war. Freedom of the press was therefore compromised and war propaganda took its place (Donnelly, 1999). The prime purpose of propagandists was to persuade readers of newspapers, to send out messages they wanted the audience to receive and to protect state secrets (Calder, 1971). As propaganda played such an important role in news production and perception, I wish to argue that the knowledge of the tools used by propagandists, such as highlighting the heroism of the home nation and demonising the enemy, is vital for my investigation of WW2 newspapers' texts in order to interpret the decoded messages within them because these influenced the production of specific versions of public memory.

The wartime 'reality' was very complex, reflecting economic and other emergencies alongside wartime fears and stresses (Balfour, 1979); thus, the British nation needed to be both controlled and navigated through the difficult times efficiently, with full support of the British people (Donnelly, 1999). In the summer of 1940, the British government issued 'Regulation 2D', which gave the Home Secretary sweeping powers to control the press. From then on, the 'Home Secretary could ban any publication which published material calculated to foment opposition' (Curran & Seaton, 2003, pg 56). As Williams (1992) argues, the restriction of media was based on the excuse that 'the truth would demoralise people and make them less able to resist an invasion' (Williams, 1992, pg 154). The biggest difference between the WW2 era and the later periods in history was that the Nazi regime was a direct threat to Britain's citizens and winning the war was a matter of national survival. Whatever was published and produced by journalists during the war was justified and reporting became an extension of the war efforts (Williams, 1992). The newspapers thus represented the 'reality', or the situations, events, emotions, identities and opinions in a fashion that must have suited British propaganda and the censors of the MOI. As Connelly and Welsh (2007) claim: 'The media willingly

collaborated in disseminating propaganda justifying war aims, sustaining the morale of the home and fighting fronts and demonising the enemy' (Connelly, and Welsh, 2007, pg x). In particular, broadsheets such as *The Times* were restricted by censorship, political commitment and patriotic duty (Conboy, 2001). The tabloids were striving to be a little bit more radical by protesting against propaganda and censorship and trying to keep their independent voice; however, they could not escape either the censors or the influences of propaganda (Conboy, 2001).

Balfour (1979) compared German and British propaganda, pointing out that the effects of British propaganda were limited in success, as the British people, used to living in a democratic society, soon realised that they were being manipulated. Therefore, in the early 1940s, the heroic portraits of the British military were replaced by documenting the lives of ordinary British citizens. Again, for strategic and propaganda reasons, the public interest shifted towards everyday life (Morgan and Evans, 1993), far away from the drama and tragedies happening on the battlefields. British propaganda grew and improved significantly over the war period. Yass (1983) claims that it developed 'from an amateurish coterie concerned primarily with ill-conceived attempts to raise home morale [... and] became an efficient organisation for the control and distribution of news and instruction' (Yass, 1983, pg 1). By the end of the war the MOI had become a large institution with about three thousand employees (Williams, 1998). This fact helps to support my assumption about the large scale of influence that it had over the newspapers produced in Britain. Thus, I found two contrasting points of view upon the British propaganda in the current academic field. One highlights the need for propaganda in the 'total war' (O'Sullivan, 1995). By total war I mean here that all British power, such as economic, diplomatic and scientific, as well as the whole British nation, all ordinary people, were involved in and dedicated to the war efforts (Smith, 1996; Hobsbawm, 1994).

The other perspective upon propaganda emphasises freedom of information regardless of the war aims (Hamelink, 1994). When Balfour (1979) questions the necessity and ethics of propaganda, the main prevailing conclusion is that perhaps the urgency of the war situation shaped the views of newspaper readers differently and the boundaries of acceptability of propagandistic information were wider. The British people appeared on the front line for the first time and this intensified feelings of anxiety and fear across society (Curran and Seaton, 2003). Thus censorship became a tool which, together with propaganda, sought to regulate public opinion. In any era, public knowledge depends on the traditional role of the news media as informers, educators and entertainers. In the war situation, they become even more a key source of information on which people base their opinions (Taylor, 2003). 'The idea was born in the military mind that censorship of the media was one way to guarantee media – and thereby public – support' (Taylor, 2003, pg 65). In order to strengthen morale, Britain had to lose freedom of the press. However, it is important to emphasise the complexity of the influence of propaganda and ideology over the media messages. For example, how much was the heroic portrayal of the British soldiers and the RAF a deliberate form of propaganda (setting out in some way to massage the truth) and how much was it the impact of basic notions of patriotism that are more purely ideological?

The WW2 circumstances, such as propaganda and ideology, which arguably influenced the production of the British newspapers or the official British versions of the WW2 public memory, also had an impact on the non-dominant Czech versions created in *The Czechoslovak*. On the one hand, the Czech paper had to attract its own core readership in order to succeed, facing a tough commercial competition with the British press. *The Czechoslovak* also sought to satisfy the censors. As Williams puts it, 'journalists in wartime have to accept their obligations as citizens of the country they live in. War exposes most starkly the gap between the rhetoric and reality that exists at the heart of the

profession of journalism' (Williams, 1992, pg 155). Indeed, the censorship concerned with the Czechs fighting alongside the Allies was possibly stricter, as their families still lived in the occupied former Czechoslovakia, then Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. If the Gestapo found out the names of the Czech airmen, their relatives would have been instantly executed (Sedlar, 2007). This suggests that in some cases, censorship, despite its 'repressive legal limitations on freedom of media expression, backed by tough punishments' (Curran, 2002, pg 148), need not necessarily be a negative aspect of publishing. In this particular case, it had the aim to protect people and possibly save lives. Similarly, the location of the RAF bases was not revealed in the press, as it could have led the enemy to them. However, on the other hand, from the perspective of reconstruction of the past, censorship as a mechanism for legitimating and de-legitimating access to discourse (Burt, 1993) restricts information in the press and thus limits the richness of the various versions of the past. This partiality of censored sources influences constructionist and deconstructionist approaches to history in different ways. Whilst for historical reconstruction as an empiric or objectivist practice (Munslow, 1997) it becomes a potential obstacle, a gap in knowledge; from the deconstructionist perspective it can be seen as a typical feature of a WW2 text and representation. Censorship, together with propaganda and ideology, will thus become a crucial element that I must consider when analysing the WW2 newspapers and exploring their context; and attempt to understand WW2 texts in relation to other WW2 mediated memories. However, it is not the intention of this study to evaluate and justify the needs of the wartime Government and the MOI, or their claims about the necessity of employing these tools. What I am concerned with here – and something I explore in my own analysis – is the effect propaganda may have had on the way the war and the people involved in it were represented in the newspapers of the day, both British and Czech, and thus how the public memory was influenced. Another important issue to consider is how the reporters managed the tensions between objectivity,

patriotism and empathy towards the war victims and soldiers risking their lives every day, and how they negotiated the competing demands of their employers, military sources and WW2 Government. Propaganda and censorship were arguably used to create an environment where communities co-operate and follow the commands of their governments and political leaders; thus, the journalists were placed in the position of both witness and storyteller (Allan and Zelizer, 2004). Summers (2007) explains that at the outbreak of each war, the military automatically take control of the information that is disseminated to the public. Particularly in the Second World War, the reporters had to 'create' a narrative which, on the one hand, represented the event of war itself and the people involved in it, while on the other had to fit within the 'official voice' of the MOI and its propaganda. In this sense, it could be argued that propaganda was a key component of the WW2 newsworthiness. Indeed, Allan (1999) suggests that 'the factors [... of] propaganda with their notion of 'filtering' are crucial determinants shaping the operation of the news media' (Allan, 1999, pg 56). This notion will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter.

Like Allan (1999) and Taylor (2003), the Glasgow University Media Group (1985), in their investigation of television coverage of the Falklands War, also considered the impact of censorship in a democratic society and revealed conflicts of principle and interest. 'The right to the free flow of information in a democratic society was set against the need of censorship' (Glasgow University Media Group, 1985, pg 67) and the Government's interest in winning the war. Although much later and smaller in scale, the Falklands War highlighted the essential conflict within journalism of reporting events objectively and displaying patriotism, and this is important to this study because it is another element that possibly influenced WW2 newspapers' texts. The Glasgow University Media Group also established the term 'making good news'. This means positive messages that were created in order to portray the war conflict in a better way than what is actually

happening or to turn the focus of the target audience away from the war reality onto positive subjects. Here again they highlighted the need of a government in the time of war to influence media messages in order to maintain high morale amongst people and support within public opinion. Indeed, Carpentier (in Maltby and Keeble, 2007) claims that there are two major influences in the process of media representation of events. The first influence is the narrative element of media, which causes the need of the press to create and maintain certain storylines out of the complexity of military events that happen in a war every day in order to narrate the conflict as a continuous story. The other element that affects the production of public memory is war ideology. '[W]hat is to be defined as relevant and truthful, and what will become represented in the media is contingent upon the ideological model of war', (Carpentier in Maltby and Keeble, 2007, pg 110).

As mentioned earlier, during WW2 in Britain, the content of the newspapers and news selection were restricted by the Government, which had a monopolistic control over what might be called 'information management' (Hayes and Hill, 1999) and also over the themes, ethos and practices of particular newspapers. The official versions predominantly represent the nation's heroes and their adventures. These were selected and defined in accordance with individual newspapers' aims and political backgrounds, as well as the prevailing propaganda of the day. An illustration of this is the way the negative and traumatic parts of the war are superseded by myths and heroism (Andersen, 2006). This again suggests that newspapers were creating their WW2 news stories or narrated versions of the happened within the general mood in society of the WW2 era, which was both ideological and propagandic. Therefore WW2 newspapers could not avoid being influenced by this mood.

One of the most relevant contributions to my discussion here, and one of the key texts in this study, comes from Bromley's (1999) essay: *Was it the Mirror that won it? The development of tabloid press during the Second World War,* and the *Introduction* by Hayes

and Hill (1999). Both offer important perspectives that link together media production - questions of journalism, news discourse and representation; and media reception - questions of audience and memory during the Second World War, as well as expose the diversity of institutional and personal experience. Bromley (1999) emphasises that the MOI propagandists were determined to influence the press and used several methods in order to succeed. Not only did they produce several policies and regulations, which each newspaper establishment had to follow; in seeking to change the climate of public opinion, they also recruited 'hundreds of writers and journalists into State public relations work' (Bromley, 1999, pg 108). This gave the Government the opportunity to express its voice strongly. Hayes and Hill (1999) also recognise that the 'war existed contextually in different episodes' (Hayes and Hill, 1999, pg 3). As WW2 was progressing, the atmosphere in society was changing. The initial period of low morale of the British people when Britain entered the war steadily progressed into a phase of determination to win the war and excitement when Hitler was defeated in the Battle of Britain (Hayes and Hill, 1999). Besides this evolution of opinions and war memory, this study supports Hayes and Hill's (1999) argument about the 'sheer diversity of wartime experience of different individuals, different locations, different organisations and different social groups' (Hayes and Hill, 1999, pg 3) as it reveals various WW2 experiences or versions voiced in the interviews with the former Czech RAF airmen and in the WW2 media.

In order to further develop this discussion about creating specific versions of war reality in the media, I select here additional publications that support this investigation as they negotiate the connections between media, representation of war and our perception of it. Sheffield (1996) and Tumber and Webster (2007) discuss how newspaper stories are there to help us understand what soldiers, sailors and air force personnel do or did in the public's name and also who controls the information we are given by the media. This applies to any war situation. For example, in the current conflicts in Afghanistan and the

Middle East generally, the principles of news production and ideological influences on the war news reports appear to be very similar to those that existed during WW2. The public versions in media are also created from the perspective of the nation producing the news and often support the war efforts of this nation. Stewart and Carruthers (1996) suggest that: 'Governments have always to some degree sought to control or influence the information about war which the public receives' (Stewart and Carruthers, 1996, pg. 2).

Similarly to this, Allan and Zelizer (2004) claim that: 'The battle for information and the contest over the winning of public opinion is a feature common to all conflicts' (Allan and Zelizer, 2004, pg 190). On the other hand, Allan and Zelizer (2004) also suggest that there are other influences which enter the process of media production. Journalists themselves play an important role, as they subjectively select and report the most newsworthy story despite the aim to be objective. From that perspective, journalists are placed in a difficult position of 'prisoners of news values' (Allan and Zelizer, 2004). This is also recognised by Allan (2004) who does not view journalists as propagandists and who reminds us that when investigating news discourse. We need to take into account 'the everyday practices journalists engage in when constructing news as truthful 'reflections' of reality' (Allan, 2004, pg 56). This is very important to my study, as Allan and Zelizer's discussion shows that the media production in a war situation is very complex: it is not simply a question of distinguishing between freedom of press versus propaganda, right or wrong. My argument is that this complexity leads towards production of various versions of the happened.

In the context of the above discussion, it may be the case that the specific political, ideological, economic and cultural circumstances of WW2 created a specific war discourse within which public collective memory was created. Dedaic and Nelson (2003) claim that 'only sporadic attention has been given to the war discourse' by academics (Dedaic and Nelson, 2003, pg 2). Thus, my aim is to explore whether the specific situation

of the Second World War created pluralistic representations of the Czech RAF airmen; or whether WW2 ideology, propaganda and censorship became a specific element that bridged all the different mediated versions of the past in one transnational trans-mediated war public collective memory (Radstone, 2010) of war. Radstone (2010) recognises the difference between nation-specific and nation-transcending commonalities of public collective memory, and emphasises that memory researchers need to approach collective memory from global interpretations of nation-transcending memory to local sensibilities of ethnic memory. According to Radstone (2010), cosmopolitan memory transcends ethnic and national boundaries. This notion of trans-national memory goes against older theories of Piere Nora (1998) and his 'realms of memory', where 'the nation-state is the sole possible source for the articulation of authentic collective memory' (Radstone, 2010, pg 404) and also extends the work of Halbwachs (1992), who believes that collective memory is always pinned down to national identity. Here the investigation of versioning of the WW2 public memory tests this new theory of cosmopolitan memory, in light of the involvement of many nations globally in this conflict, particularly whether it influenced or unified Czech and British national discourses.

Creation of the archival meanings - news discourse

In this section, I investigate the internal influences of the archival mediated records, the news discourse in the WW2 newspapers, which are a product of social construction of reality, and their external influences such as propaganda and ideology. This is important to this study because it demonstrates how various versions of the public memory of the Czech RAF airmen were produced and consequently reveals the possible limitations of the press as a tool that reflects the 'happened' and thus becomes an archive of the past. This discussion creates a foundation for my later analysis of the newspapers and also for a negotiation concerning the motives behind a production of particular representations of the Czech RAF airmen. The theories that this section draws upon take a step back from news language and representation and look particularly at news values and selection criteria (Allan, 1999).

When exploring news discourse of wars in general, Dedaic and Nelson (2003) suggest that media produce the core of the public collective memory by selecting events that (according to the journalists) symbolise the past: the 'event selected is established as a symbol [...] and thus a certain perception of the war' (Dedaic and Nelson, 2003, pg 183). The journalists effectively become collectors, selectors and narrators of the current events. O'Sullivan et al claim that: 'all media texts tell us some kind of story' (O'Sullivan et al, 2003, pg 44). Similarly, Bignell (2002) understands 'news as a collection of representations produced in language and presented in stories [...] and news discourse as an ideological representation of the world' (Bignell, 2002, pg 79). In the process of reporting and creating news discourse, the journalists become storytellers who 'believe that something is reportable [...] when they can visualize it in the terms of news discourse' (Allan, 1999, pg 87). Thus the important question when examining the various versions of the public memory is how the 'happened' becomes significant or interesting enough to be

captured in newspapers and then preserved by an archive. What is the 'threshold' and are there different criteria in different newspapers? Brighton and Foy (2006) discuss these issues by considering the theory of 'news values'. To them, news values do not only reflect the features of an event that make it likely to qualify as newsworthy and the ideological influences of the era; it also considers the changes within individual media and 'the relationship between the providers and consumers of news' (Brighton and Foy, 2006, pg 6). News values are then understood as a set of criteria that determine the prominence of a news story by a particular media establishment and the attention given by the audience (Volkmer, 2006).

The origin of the term 'news values' goes back to Galtung and Ruge (1973), who selected twelve factors that affect the selection of news items, of which the most emphasised are negativity, geographical and cultural proximity and elite personages and countries. News values and what these values might be is very useful to this study because it enables me to examine to what extent the subject of the Czech RAF airmen was newsworthy within the context of other news selected by various newspapers. In other words the concept of news values is useful as etic tool which allows comparative description using concepts external to the context. However, I must emphasise certain limitations or specifics of an application of this 'post WW2' concept onto the WW2 media. In the context of the Second World War, the content of the WW2 newspapers had to be a carefully chosen assortment of items with the intention of manipulating the public sphere and thus public opinion. By 'public sphere' here I understand social sites or arenas where meanings and opinions are articulated and negotiated and constituted by a collective body (Habermas, 1991). In other words, the public sphere is a 'theatre in modern societies in which political participation is enacted through the medium of talk' (Fraser, 1992, pg 112). Fiske (1992) suggests that there are 'power-blocks' or dominating forces in the public sphere, which control the news in order to control the public sphere. This was especially

important during the Second World War, as the Government needed to manipulate and stimulate public opinion in order to maintain order and morale in the country and in the military.

Allan (2004) modified the original concept of news values slightly and prefers to see news values as a set of criteria for newsworthiness which determine how much importance a news story is given. These criteria are not universal and can vary; however, Allan (2004) assembled a selection of suggested factors which 'may be regarded as significant: Conflict, relevance, timeliness, simplification, personalisation, unexpectedness, continuity, composition, reference to elite nations, reference to elite persons, cultural specificity, and negativity' (Allan, 2004, pg 57). Although these factors are designed for current news, they are also suitable for this study investigating the representation of the RAF airmen in the public versions of the WW2 memory influenced by WW2 ideology and propaganda, as they reflect characteristics of the war news discourse. My aim is to analyse how the news items concerned with the Czech RAF airmen fitted within these news values and thus how the news values influenced (or not) the various versions in the selected newspapers.

As I argued in the previous section, the historical circumstances influenced newspaper messages heavily (Munslow, 1997). During the Second World War, reporters were feasting on the floods of dramatic incidents that were happening every day locally and worldwide (Donnelly, 1999; also see Bignell, 2002). Only a few items of news could be selected and assembled into a collection that was published: many others were ignored. The newsworthiness of the newspaper reports also had to suit the particular newspaper and its political or social angle. Fairclough (2001) claims that:

> [...] producers exercise power over consumers in that they have sole producing rights and can therefore determine what is included and excluded, and how events are represented. (Fairclough, 2001, pg 42)

Thus, different newspapers provided their readership with different versions of 'the happened' - a different story (Franklin, 2008; see also Curran and Seaton, 2003). From this perspective, the British newspaper institutions as producers of the mainstream mass media were likely to produce a diverse type of news discourse with different aims than the local Czech minority newspaper producers. The main distinctions between the two types of newspapers would be their target audiences and different cultural backgrounds. An assumption proposed and investigated by this study is that the reports about the Czech RAF airmen were included or excluded in various WW2 newspapers in accordance with their ideological significance as a subject within the war discourse. The identities of the Czech RAF airmen were potentially a more central topic in the versions of public memory created by *The Czechoslovak* newspaper which articulated the voice from below in contrast to the more official voice of *The Times,* which possibly, in order to increase home morale, rather promoted British heroism. Conboy (2004) suggests that news discourse becomes a 'mirror or catalyst' (Conboy, 2004, pg 4) of a culture, but can also be used as a tool for institutions to wield certain powers over society. As I presented earlier, in the WW2 period, propaganda heavily influenced media production. Arguably, news selection was an important element of this process, through which the MOI also attempted to manipulate the public version of events. This was possible because of the power that media have. As Eldridge (1995) suggests: '[n]ews occurs at the conjunction of events and texts, and whilst events create the story, the story also creates the event' (Eldridge, 1995, pg 37). As a result I will examine to what extent propaganda itself became a news value during the WW2.

Following this notion about media power, I wish to consider that the reason for intentions to manipulate media was due to the ability of media to not only shape the 'happened' but also to manipulate our opinion (Cottle, 2003). Then the captured reality that is often re-produced or re-created in different ways according to the type of newspaper becomes a means of persuasion by the political and ideological leadership in wider society,

which seeks to influence or change public opinion. It is important to emphasise that a manipulation of the news discourse occurs particularly in war conflicts (Allan and Zelizer, 2004) when the 'ruling group' is performing hegemony in the sense of political and ideological domination of over the society, which is led to follow the leader in the war efforts. Here hegemony refers to 'the winning of popular consent through everyday cultural life, including media representations of the world' (O'Sullivan et al, 2003, pg 69). War media therefore provide a space in which government can exercise propaganda and persuasion of the target audience. In this process, 'subordinate groups are encouraged by the ruling group to negotiate reality [...]' (Allan, 1999, pg 85). In the Second World War, the British government possibly wanted to depict all nations that were fighting alongside the British in a positive light in order to emphasise the power of the Allies. At the same time, the Czech exile government had an interest in supporting positive British public opinion towards the Czechs, as its sheer existence depended upon good relationships with the Allied countries, and Britain in particular (Hurt, 2004). 'Public knowledge about foreign events, including wars and international crises, is heavily dependent upon the mass media [...but] if the media provide our 'window on the world', then how translucent is the glass?' (Taylor, 2003, pg 64).

These ideas of the influence of propaganda and hegemony over the versions of public memory ground my investigation, seeking different criteria for inclusion and exclusion of certain news of the WW2 British and Czech newspaper producers. This persuasive power was particularly strong in a war environment in an era when people's main sources of information were the newspapers, radio and newsreels in the cinema and when newspapers were 'important agents of socialisation [helping their readers] to negotiate the meaning of what is going on in the world' (Williams, 2003, pg 6). The evidence of an increasing interest in newspapers' reports in society during WW2 is the

record numbers of newspapers sold during the 1940s.[3] Despite the fact that the media often were and are considered as an accurate source of information about the reality (see the initial quotation of this chapter), I would like to emphasise Macdonald's (2003) claim that 'forms of communications can never capture reality in its natural or essential form' (Macdonald, 2003, pg 11). This notion of impossibility to truly capture reality through mediation illustrates the ultimate artificiality of news discourse, which can therefore only ever be a version of reality rather than reality itself.

When approaching news discourse as a source of such public mediated versions of the happened, it is also important to highlight the several stages of the actual process of the production of news discourse. Firstly, the events are recorded and their representations collected. Then, if these representations have enough news value and newsworthiness to be selected and published, they become re-presented or narrated by journalists as a story (Bignell, 2002). This text or discourse is created by using the codes and signs of a particular language with certain meanings and reflects current ideology, stereotypes and the values and beliefs of the writer and his or her establishment (Fowler, 1991). Furthermore, in the era of WW2, each news discourse was restricted by the censors and influenced heavily by propaganda. Finally, it was presented to the readers in the familiar discourse known as 'the news'. The reason for this brief illustration of the journey of media production and more importantly for the discussion about news values and other influences of news discourse production was to reveal the limitations of the press in the role of an archive, recording and preserving the reality of the past and public memory.

My argument is that due to the multiple influences that shape media messages, the press struggles to stand as an objective historical source next to other archival documents

[3] 'The Press Commission estimated that by the middle of 1947, the circulation of London and provincial dailies had risen from 17, 800, 000 in 1937 to 28, 503, 000 and that of Sunday papers from 15, 500, 000 to 29, 300, 000' (Wadsworth, 1955). Also circulation of over 13 million in 1939, increasing to over 22 million by 1948 (http://www.adam-matthew-publications.co.uk/collections_az/popnewsii-2/description.aspx), July 2010.

(listed in the Introduction of this chapter). However, with a consideration of my notion of versioning, I suggest that news discourse creates specific mediated versions of the past, which play an important role in the process of historical reconstruction. Furthermore, following Reading (2010) and her notion of right to memory (see Chapter 2), it is important to highlight that all different memories, even the ones influenced by propaganda, have the right to express the particular version of the event they represent. These memories, then, do not compete with each other or try to erase the previous memory and replace it with the more current one, but they interact in terms of engaging and disengaging in a multidirectional way (Rothberg, 2009) in order to create a fuller image of the past and thus enrich our memory.

In this section, and throughout the whole study, I explore the press through 'deconstructionist lenses' (see Derrida, 1995), exploring to what extent language constitutes the content of history. By the term 'history', I understand 'the study of historical time – of relations between the past and the present' (Hodgkin and Radstone, 2003, pg 131). I believe that Derrida's theory is very important for a socio-cultural type of research like this one, as it articulates the relativity of meaning of each text produced by ourselves. In other words, each person receiving written information about the past (in the case of this study, from the press) deconstructs it in his or her own unique way. Although it would be very difficult to attempt an investigation of the deconstructing processes of the WW2 audience, I can speculate about the producers' presumptions of what their various target audiences wanted to receive. Thus, if the meaning is arbitrary and figuratively created by the producers of the messages as well as the receivers, then the press as an archive only presents historical evidence that 'does not denote a discoverable past reality [...] but offers instead only chains of significations and interpretations' (Munslow, 1997, pg 180) for the readers who deconstructs them. This discussion about relativity of meaning and versioning of the past in the press will continue in the following section, where I

intend to narrow my focus even further onto the actual representations of events in newspapers.

Media representation and ideology

Following the exploration of news discourse and news values, this section examines the way of capturing or reflecting reality in the newspapers or the official and collective written memory, considering the connections between this process of representation and the object that is represented: the Czech RAF airmen. This discussion also considers how ideology can influence the various versions of public memory. Here, I attempt to establish a quite specific theoretical structure that would support the textual analysis investigating the newspapers' language and representation of the Czech RAF airmen. As a production of meaning through language discourse and image, media representation occupies a central position in contemporary cultural studies in general. Again, there are several ways to define representation. This study considers representation as a process that employs language to symbolise or state something meaningful about the world to other people, or to describe something. The process of representing aspires to create a reasonable correspondence between what is to be 'represented' and the model created by representation (Yakel, 2006).

Hall (1997) investigates the complexity of language, which operates as a representational system. Language here is understood as a powerful tool, which enables us to capture some versions of 'the happened', and only through a good understanding of it we are able to grasp the re-presented image of events. Hall (1997) underlines this notion by claiming that:

> In representation, [...] we use signs, organized into languages of different kinds, to communicate meaningfully with others. Languages can use signs to symbolise, stand for or reference objects, people and events in the so-called 'real world'. But they can also reference imaginary things and fantasy worlds

> or abstract ideas which are not in any obvious sense part of our material world. There is no simple relationship of reflection, imitation or one-to-one correspondence between language and the real world. (Hall, 1997, pg 28)

He suggests that language is not simply a mirror of reality, but meaning is produced within language, exclusively created by the practice of the representation. This theory supports my notion of versioning where reality is re-constructed in language in a multidirectional way according to who produces such re-construction. Furthermore, signs can only express meaning if their receivers know the codes (Hall, 1997). Hall's (1980) encoding and decoding theory negotiates the issue of signification of the meaning in language within the media context, suggesting that 'production and reception of the [media] message are not, therefore, identical, but they are related: they are differentiated moments within the totality formed by the social relations of the communicative process as a whole' (Hall, 1980, pg 130). This indicates that the production of meaning is also determined by its interpretation, and thus the receivers of the text play an important role in versioning as they produce/co-produce/reproduce further versions of the re-constructed reality. This is why I will return to this aspect later when discussing the audience/readership and its influence upon the media text.

Hall's theory is important as a support for an argument that media representations of the Czech veterans in newspapers are not presented 'facts' about their existence but specifically manufactured messages carrying ideological meanings, and therefore will become a key concept for my textual analysis. Macdonald (2003) takes this notion further by suggesting that 'media representation therefore is not a neutral depiction but dependent on signs that operate symbolically and connotatively' (Macdonald, 2003, pg 12). This notion of modification in meaning according to a specific mediated context during the production of newspapers representations is a crucial point for this study. It supports my argument that when 'reconstructing' the past, newspapers' representations should not be employed as a merely factual or sole resource of historical research.

At this point, it is important to mention that this study's focal point does not revolve around media representation of the past, but around the contemporary representations of 'current affairs' at the time of the Second World War. Here, the press is approached and used by this study as an archive (despite its limitations) preserving how what once happened was represented; an archive that is either official, a depository of well known newspapers, or hidden, such as more or less unknown local papers, which perhaps contain alternative messages to the official ones. Lacey (1998) claims that: 'meaning is communicated by conventions and different media have different conventions' (Lacey, 1998, pg 132), for example, tabloid conventions as opposed to broadsheet ones. However, as Hall has recognised, because newspaper discussions of events and current affairs are not produced by 'transparent means of communication', readers are, by necessity, engaged in semiotic work without realising, thus subconsciously (Hall in Moores, 1998). Furthermore, objects and individuals carry specific connotations and we learn to associate signs with particular meanings. This opens another discussion related to representations of the Czech veterans in the media, creation of various public versions and the issue of stereotyping. Numerous scholars, according to Pickering (2001), have interrogated the concept of stereotyping and how it works in representing individuals and groups. Stereotypes, suggests Lacey (1998), have the power to offer more sophisticated shorthand about characters and people in the real world (also see Hall, 1996); however, a stereotype only offers a selection of characteristics of a person or a group, reducing everything about them to only those few traits while amplifying and exaggerating them (Pickering, 2001).

The representations of the Czech airmen in newspapers were also possibly influenced by stereotyping. O'Sullivan et al (2003) argue that media representations could either inform or challenge stereotypes. When analysing the WW2 representations of the Czech RAF airmen, I will be examining whether the various press stereotyped their identities or not. This idea of stereotypes also leads towards another possible issue present

within newspapers' representations, and that is positioning the Czechs as 'other', as foreigners who temporarily settled in England, in relation to the British.

> While stereotypes occur in different discourses and draw on varied ideological assumptions, they operate as a means of placing and attempting to fix other people or cultures from particular and privileged perspectives. This is also true of the process of 'othering'. (Pickering, 2001, pg 47)

The concept of 'other' is taken from the continental philosophy and has been used broadly by theorists, particularly when talking about the opposite to the 'same' or other than oneself – singling 'other' out as different (see Pickering, 2001; Hall, 1996). By the 'other', I here mean the Czech airmen fighting within the RAF in Britain, who, as war emigrants found themselves on the outside of the British community. Pickering's (2001) theory of representation of the '[O]ther', such as Czech migrants settling and fighting in Britain during WW2, suggests that it is influenced by the politics of domination. He claims that:

> Representations consist of words and images which stand in for various social groups and categories. They provide ways of describing and at the same time of regarding and thinking about these groups and categories. They may also affect how their members view themselves and experience the social world around them. Public representations have the power to select, arrange, and prioritise certain assumptions and ideas about different kinds of people [...] so that they have little active public presence or only a narrow and negative public image.
>
> (Pickering, 2001, pg xiii)

This would be even more evident during the WW2 when the image of the British RAF men as the knights of the sky was created and maintained by the press (Connelly, 2007) and the Czechs as Allies fighting alongside the British were potentially viewed as 'the other' a group positioned outside of the British nation with attributes based on a limited knowledge of the Czechoslovak nation in 1940s (Hurt, 2004). A discovery of how the identities of the Czech RAF airmen were represented in the WW2 British newspapers and to what extent they were reflected as 'other' can be only achieved in my textual analyses. The way the Czech airmen were represented in various WW2 British newspapers was perhaps directed by the perception of this group by the British 'majority' in the particular newspaper's readership. Allan (2005) studied the issue of refugees and

asylum seekers in British media (recently brought back into the academic focus due to the movement of refugees from various war zones) and suggests that the refugees are predominantly represented in a stereotypical and suspicious way. Such reports often provide a rationale for the apparent need for exclusion (Allan, 2005). This corresponds with the actual aim of 'othering' being imperative to national identities, to exclude the ones who do not fit into the British society.

The British public opinion about various groups of foreigners living in Great Britain during the Second World War was so important in that period that it was investigated and summarised by the Mass Observation Archive in one of their research projects on the 1930s and 1940s.[4] In 1943, when the Mass Observation Archive studied the attitude of the British to their Allies, it found that the Czechs were one of the best-accepted nations. 'Little was known about them except that they were conducting a heroic resistance to Germany' (Calder, 1969, pg 309). Due to the scant knowledge about the history of the politics of the former Czechoslovakia, there were no negative connotations created within the British public. And the fact that the Czech nation was oppressed by Hitler contributed towards empathic attitudes among the British. However, the Czechs were still potentially considered by the British nation as the strangers currently living in Britain and helping the British in their war efforts and who would go back home after the war. With a connection to this, I relate 'otherness' to issues of national identity and will later explore whether the Czechs were positioned on the outside of the British society by the British public as well as the British newspapers.

In this section, I have explored several subjects such as ideology, language, 'othering' and stereotypes, which possibly influenced WW2 press, their representations and thus played an important role in the process of production of the versions of the public memory. By touching on the constructive element of representation and arguing that not

[4] Sussex University, Mass Observation Archive, where a collection that includes a thorough investigation of the WW2 public opinions about variety of topics is kept.

only news discourse but also newspaper representation is multiple, I again draw upon Rothberg's (2009) theory of multidirectional memory, which as a concept is crucial for this thesis because it emphasises the existence of multiple versions of one reality. This theory will be discussed in more detail later in the following chapter; however, here, I outline the core of this concept. In his recent study, Rothberg (2009) explores memory as 'symbolic representation of the past embedded in social action' (Rothberg, 2009, pg 4). He argues that representation, history and memory are interconnected, as they simultaneously capture the individual and collective side of our relationship with the past. Thus representations of the past, which resonate in various media and historical discourses, and which inform public collective memory, are unavoidably multiple.

In other words, there are several various versions of public memory, all produced by different kinds of media and their receivers. However, Rothberg disagrees with the framework that understands 'collective memory as competitive memory' and suggests that we consider memory as 'multidirectional' (Rothberg, 2009, pg 3). Taking this further, I argue that the variety of versions of representations, memory and history become sources of enrichment to the process of reconstruction of our past. The following section draws upon this concept of multidirectional memory and pluralistic representations and explores various versions of public memory produced by an unofficial or an alternative press in comparison with traditional newspapers.

The alternative voice in the public sphere versus the official voice – traditional and tabloidised newspapers

As I mentioned earlier, there are many different types of newspapers; the range stretches from those that represent a very official voice to the privately owned, semi-official or unofficial establishments, such as small community newspapers (McCoy and

Blackburn, 1997). They all provide their readers with different news discourse and different types of representation of the world, and thus produce different versions of the happened. In order to understand fully the tendencies and motions in the production and reception of newspaper messages as public versions of the happened during the Second World War, this section discusses and contrasts the characteristics of the traditional broadsheets and the tabloid newspapers. In addition, I briefly examine the issue of community media which is crucial for my later exploration of the qualitative treasure of this study; *The Czechoslovak*, the Czech community newspaper. In order to provide a firm base for this discussion, I now examine the concept of tabloidisation in more depth. This is important because two of the three selected newspapers I will be analysing are tabloids and *The Czechoslovak* newspaper also displays some tabloid characteristics. Firstly, the basic terms need to be established. The term 'tabloid' refers to a smaller sized, alternative type of newspaper, which offers an alternative perspective (independent from the major media corporations; often focusing on more local or entertaining news). Örenbring and Jönsson (2008) explain that:

> The word 'tabloid' was introduced into the world of media by Alfred Harmsworth (Lord Northcliffe). He stole a term trademarked by a pill manufacturer [...], to be like a small, concentrated, effective pill, containing all news needs within one handy package, half the size of a conventional broadsheet newspaper.
>
> (Örenbring & Jönsson, 2008, pg 28)

Besides size, a central feature of tabloidisation is the 'exaggerated foregrounding of sensation and human interest' (Conboy, 2006, pg 15) when determining news value. Also tabloids do and did focus on random events within a 'world of common sense' (Conboy, 2006, pg 15) rather than on fundamental political issues. This indicates that the popular press reported largely about the everyday life events involving ordinary people as opposed to broadsheets and their everyday continuous detailed analysis of the home and foreign politics, often with a more ideological tone. Bignell (1997) claims that '[...] 'qualities' have more foreign news for instance and popular tabloids have more crime-

based or personality-based news' (Bignell, 1997, pg 82). The reasons for this are perhaps obvious – to attract readership with events that are closer to their lives and experiences. However, some could suggest that tabloids are therefore a 'more superficial' version of the press. Dahlgren and Sparks (1992) address the distinction between serious and popular press as a parallel with what is (and what is not) 'good journalism', contending that journalism is indeed a part of, rather than separated from, popular culture. This offers a theory that popular journalism is not necessarily bad and also that serious press is still only a part of popular culture. Örenbring and Jönsson (2008) go even further and open another point of view when claiming in their article that 'elements and aspects of journalism, defined as 'bad' in its own time, in many cases did a better job in serving the public good than 'respectable' journalism' (Örenbring and Jönsson, 2008, pg 24). In certain periods, such as war time, many readers possibly welcome some entertainment in their newspapers as well as a less political and easier to understand interpretation of the war events that are relevant to 'ordinary people' and with which they can become more familiar. Thus, I argue that this again influenced the way WW2 versions of reality were produced.

Another important feature of the development of the newspapers in general and therefore another influence in the production of WW2 versions is how they tackle the issue of objectivity. During the first half of the 20th century, the broadsheets were considered as lacking objectivity due to their nationalistic views. This emerged from the homogenisation of the press caused by industrialisation at the beginning of the 20th century. The press has been controlled by a few main media giants and press barons, and has become subject to the whims and caprices of their owners, who built vast press empires (Curran and Seaton, 2003). This led towards mass distribution and elite control of messages – an ideal field for later intentions of the war propagandists and censors (see also Curran, 2002). No longer was there a real diversity in newspaper production, as there had been in the late 19th century, when local communities were producing their own newsletters and in each

geographical or political area, the newspaper producers were trying to cover the demands of the particular readership.

As a result of homogenisation and lack of traditional newspapers' objectivity caused by propaganda, tabloidisation and the subjectivity with which popular newspapers approached the news became very successful (Allan, 2004). Thus, the popular disillusionment represented in tabloid newspapers 'had helped to create a wariness of 'official' channels of information' (Allan, 2004, pg 22). Consequently, the readers were offered a wider choice of voices presenting 'the happened', an alternative to the official voice that was closer to their ordinary life experience. Democratisation of the press resulting in multiplication of versions of reality enriched the platform of representations of the past for the contemporary receivers as well as future researchers.

During the period of the Second World War, the general public's demand for local and national news became vital in their everyday life, which caused another moment of diversity in the British press (Conboy, 2001). Despite the production issues emerging from a shortage of paper and censorship and propaganda, many small newspapers and newsletters emerged. However, it was not only diversity of readership that caused the multiplicity of the WW2 press. The necessity to inform and entertain various groups in society, such as the army, the RAF, the navy, the home guard and various migrant groups that had grown significantly during the war years (Curran and Seaton, 2003) also led to the production of several new newspapers that focused on very specific topics that had not been and probably could not be included in the mainstream newspapers (Conboy, 2006). An example in this study would be all the various Czech local newspapers and newsletters produced in Britain during WW2.

The mainstream newspapers were also, however, experiencing a new era that brought various specific issues into their production. Conboy (2001) argues:

> [The 1930s] was the defining decade for the direction of popular daily newspapers in Britain. It was a period of greatest expansion in terms of sales and readers and of the commercialisation of the popular newspapers markets.
> (Conboy, 2001, pg 113)

Greenslade (2004) also maps the historical development of British newspapers and claims that 'newspapers themselves were not neutral spectators' (Greenslade, 2004, pg 3). Although his study is mainly concerned with newspaper production after 1945, he recognises the inclinations of the WW2 press towards sensationalism and its 'opinionated involvement' in public matters and claims that:

> [...] as privately owned commercial enterprises [...] most newspapers were not democratic institutions. There was no public service ethic embedded within them, demanding impartiality or neutrality.
> (Greenslade, 2004, pg 11)

Greenslade's argument about ideology as a shaping force that is ever-present within the news discourse is important for this research as it supports my argument about various influences of the press which potentially caused a production of multiple representations of the Czech RAF airmen and thus multidirectional memory.

Newspaper organisations, editors and journalists themselves follow certain principles and perform particular newsroom practices. Further, the dominant ideological circumstances of every era influence these principles, as 'journalism is not immune to the influences of society around it. Journalists work within a range of constraints and influences' (Harcup, 2004, pg 12). Further, the majority of news is old news, passed up via the journalist chain from local to national media. However, 'the majority of local stories will not make it that far' (Harcup, 2004, pg 31). This section focuses on speculating about what the factors or news values were in different types of newspapers that influenced the inclusion or exclusion of certain reports about the Czech RAF airmen. It is likely that there will be differences between the composition of news in the WW2 *Times* and the *Daily Mirror* as well as the *News of the World,* which are the three different newspapers this project draws upon. They were all following their own aims and perhaps communicating

with different types of audience within the public sphere. *The Times*, established in the 18th century, gravitated towards the political mainstream (Conboy, 2004), and although it became financially independent of the British Government early in the 19th century, it still unofficially represented the 'government voice'. Its prevailing readership in the first half of the 20th century was the English white middle class (Wadsworth, 1955). Due to paper shortage during WW2, all newspapers were restricted in size. However, the producers of *The Times* chose to cut their circulation so they could retain the broadsheet format (Wadsworth, 1955). This shows the strong devotion of the producers to the paper's traditional appearance and values, for which it even risked the loss of readership. Although *The Times* experienced some losses after 1940, Wadsworth (1955) suggests that 'as the war went on all newspapers gained more readers' (Wadsworth, 1955, pg 28). Whilst *The Times* appeared to be more serious, representing the 'official Government voice' with plenty of politically orientated articles, the *Daily Mirror* was commercialised and a highly popular newspaper with a specific radical edge, which became a spokesman of the ordinary people (Conboy, 2001). On the other hand, the *News of the World*, launched by John Browne Bell in 1843, was predominantly a source of Sunday entertainment. It was an eight-page three-penny weekly,[5] which was initially a radical commercial paper (Curran and Seaton, 2003).

Further, individual newspapers and their journalists may have their own ideology and ethics base, which serves and served different purposes when creating versions of the happened. In other words, they all approached a potential news source from a different angle reflecting their newspaper's philosophy. When comparing and evaluating the representations produced by the mass media and the journalistic mainstream, and the small, almost private newspaper, the fact that they all potentially create different versions of

[5] In comparison with *The Czechoslovak* – a special issue written in English, it was surprisingly much cheaper, as the Czech newspaper was sixpence. *The Czechoslovak* weekly, on the other hand, was three pence, the same as the *News of the World.*

public memory has to be highlighted. Örenbring and Jönsson (2008), support this argument by claiming that:

> [...] structural elitism in the mainstream mediated public sphere in turn creates a need for one of several alternative public spheres, where different people debate different issues in different ways. (Örenbring and Jönsson, 2008, pg, 25)

This would suggest that Czech community newspaper *The Czechoslovak* could have been created as an 'alternative public sphere', an alternative media that gives voice to all those heterogeneous 'others' (Atton, 2002). Its representations of the Czech RAF airmen might then be an alternative or not to the mainstream versions of the public memory, enriching these in a multidirectional, non-competitive way (Rothberg, 2009). Howley (2009) discusses the role of community media and suggests that they cannot necessarily influence 'public opinion in [the] English-speaking mainstream' (Howley, 2009, pg 254) but they can unify, organise and motivate a community (Howley, 2009). In a broad sense, community media are understood by their readers as 'community communication' (Rennie, 2006, pg 7); they stand as a tool which disseminates local news and information. They not only reflect the particular community they serve but also create space for a discussion about the interests of the members of that community, which the mainstream media cannot provide (Rennie, 2006). This is because the national newspapers mainly produce messages for and about the majority in society (Gross, 1998). (And in that sense, the mainstream press appeal to ideas, values and beliefs that, ideologically speaking, appeal to the dominant mass of society rather than those on the margins.) However, it is important to emphasise here, that these theories about community media are again applied anachronistically and to what extent this concept works retrospectively will be examined and answered in my later analysis.

Thus *The Czechoslovak* probably became a public narrative that captured what mattered to the members of the Czechoslovak community that was not captured by other newspapers. As one component of the public sphere, *The Czechoslovak* could have been

the space where the semi-official voice of the Czechoslovak minority fought the official one as a reaction to, or dissatisfaction with, the content of the mainstream newspapers and this is something I will explore in Chapter 4. As Curran (2002) claims: 'subordinate groups can gain a media voice through owning their own media enterprises' (Curran, 2002, pg 154).

Dahlgren and Sparks (1992) suggest that the patterns and structures of stories in the newspapers also work towards cultural cohesion and, as mentioned earlier, community is partly built upon members sharing the same stories. Further, they state that:

> To inform is simultaneously to circulate knowledge and to give form to something: and what information forms is both reality and identity. We are what we know and what we do not know we cannot be.
>
> (Dahlgren and Sparks, 1992, pg 49)

This point is crucial because it connects reality, identity and one's existence with representation in the press and therefore underpins the investigation of this study. It illustrates how our identity is reliant upon information from the outside in order to be formed and similarly how reality itself can only be expressed through its representation as a form of information.

To conclude, despite the type of newspaper establishment, whether it is spoken by a more official voice, as with the broadsheets, or one that is trying to represent 'the people', 'news offers a highly selective version of events influenced by the 'ideological structure' of prevalent news values' (Harcup, 2004, pg 32; see also Conboy, 2004). Indeed, Harcup (2004) is concerned with the question of political influence on the press and journalism in general, and claims that journalists often select stories that include powerful elite individuals such as current politicians, organisations and institutions, as these are considered as newsworthy. Therefore the representations of their voices appear in media often enough to maintain a constant ideological influence (Harcup, 2004).

Different journalists create a different image of the 'happened', a version that fits within the ideology and values of various types of newspapers inside a public sphere.

Different versions thus depend on the different types of newspapers, although there are some similarities such as the influence of ideology in that they all are a part of popular culture within a particular era. Therefore the press, as an archive, offers countless 'versions' of reality: in other words, multidirectional memory. This section also demonstrated that the WW2 press created a unique perspective of the war with a focus on ordinary life of ordinary people. In this sense, the press as an archive appears to be a more relative but also more open and more alive source of historical knowledge than perhaps administrative documents or statistical types of data. What is more, how the newspapers messages set in a particular ideology are decoded and interpreted by the readership and researchers may also depend on the specific sets of values, beliefs and opinions of the receivers. As Ellis (1980) argues, ideology has a subjective substance and readers co-create the meanings of the newspapers' representations. It is a force that 'enters into the very constitution of the individual' (Ellis, 1980, pg 186) through language. He believes that meaning is only established in retrospect through the function of a subject, 'not through the fixed position of a sign' (Ellis, 1980, pg 190). This relationship between the newspaper's text and its receivers as possible co-creators of the news will be discussed in detail in the following section.

Target audience of the Second World War newspapers

In this section, I attempt to critically engage with the newspaper readership or target audience theories, since newspapers' representations are believed to be co-created between the author and the receivers of the text (Alasuutari, 1999). Although this thesis does not aim to undertake audience research, in the later complex analysis of the WW2 media texts I will consider newspapers readership as another potential influence or a shaping force of these texts. I will also be exploring the environment in which British and

Czech target audience/receivers were targeted by the newspapers' producers. One of the key areas to examine is the possible reasons for the creation of different news discourses in various British and Czech newspapers and whether and how the newspaper readership influenced this production. Ruddock (2001) suggests that 'the social world is characterised by a power struggle between different groups. The media enter this struggle as a tool used by these groups to popularize their view of reality' (Ruddock, 2001, pg 174). Thus, alternative versions of the 'happened' are produced in order to break the formal norms and to stand out, to represent alternative events and subjects such as the Czech RAF airmen and distinguish itself from the mainstream media containing dominant ideology (Lacey, 1998). Lacey (1998) claims that 'alternative [media] discourse uses different modes of representation to the mainstream one' (Lacey, 1998, pg 114). Accordingly, this thesis proposes an assumption that the producers of *The Czechoslovak* were trying to offer representations of subjects and stories about the Czech airmen that did not appear in the mainstream media, thus *The Czechoslovak* would produce extra alternative representation for a different audience. This memory arguably becomes private in contrast to the public memory produced by the British newspapers as it was only shared by the Czech community.

This study draws upon current media theorists who map the field of media receivers, such as Moores (1998), Atasuutari (1999) and Williams (2003). They all largely broaden and further Hall's (1996) and Morley's (1980, 1996) academic work, presenting a thorough survey of reception studies and arguing for a new agenda for reception research and qualitative analysis. In simple terms, the audience, 'denoting several groups divided by their reception of different media or by social and cultural positioning' (Moores, 1999, pg 2), could be defined as an abstract concept of persons who use the medium; it is made up of individuals but measured as a collective. The fundamental distinction between the

audience as a 'homegenised' mass, seen collectively, and the heterogenous collection of 'real' people who receive different media forms 'out there' is a key point.

The relationship between the target audience and the media is also important for this study, as it underpins the examination of the different versions of the Czech RAF airmen's representation in various newspapers. Williams (2003) suggests that there is a twofold influence between the target audience and newspapers. The readers as the target audience of the producers shape the content and the tone of newspapers' messages, while the press, by informing us about the culture and society and their norms, influence our values and beliefs. This is important because when analysing the WW2 newspapers I will speculate about the possible reasons behind the production of each representation. The British and Czech newspapers' target audience possibly cooperated consciously or subconsciously with the newspaper's producers and perhaps unknowingly took on a responsibility for the representations that were consumed (Salloum, 2006). The receivers then became a part of the extended archive, collecting and preserving stories that could possibly disappear, and neglecting others that were disappearing (Salloum, 2006). Also, Reading (2010) emphasises that we are involved in both producing and consuming the culture; thus, she calls audience of media artefacts 'prosumers'[6].

Following Salloum's (2006) notion about the pro-activity of the readership during and after the process of receiving the news, I would like to suggest that the WW2 newspaper readership contributed towards versioning of the public memory. The readers as a collective have an impact on the media text, as the newspapers' producers, targeting their audience, created representations of an event so that they would potentially appeal to the readers. As various newspapers have dissimilar readership, they therefore produce diverse versions of the happened. Furthermore, additional versions of memory are produced when the receivers co-create the meanings in media messages through their own interpretation of

[6] http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/newsandevents/podcasts/media/more/centreformemorystudies/, March 2010

the texts (Hall, 1980), memorising and preserving selected stories. Thus I argue that readership (the WW2 British and Czech communities) then becomes a kind of 'living archive', which is engaged in the process of creating the mediated representation as a social environment that is essential for the existence of any reflection or image. Another question emerging from this discussion, which needs to be examined, is to what extent this relationship works the other way round. How are mediated narratives representing certain events read and remembered/archived by their consumers, and do they then influence the readers' own recollections about the particular event?

This notion of active audience is also discussed by Williams (2003). His theoretical perspective explores the differences between groups of people and their comprehension of media with a contrast to the 'traditional concepts', which assume together that the media have a direct or a limited effect upon audience responses. Furthermore, Alasuutari (1999) and Moores (1998) expose the tendencies of current media research leading towards an investigation of an interaction between media messages and audience. Moores (1998) sees the 'readers as the possessors of cultural knowledge and competences that have been acquired in previous social experiences and which are drawn on in the act of interpretation – the repertoire of discourses at the disposal of different audiences' (Moores 1998, pg 16). Thus my argument thus is that various receivers of the media text influenced by different aspects of life produce different versions of the happened based on their understanding of the text. Devereux (2006) takes these ideas further and suggests that the existence of inter-relations that occur between the texts influences how readers decode media messages. This is known as 'intertextuality [and] can be understood in two ways – [that] sometimes texts are embedded in relations with other texts. [... and where] the audience makes connections between one text and another and understands it in such connection' (Devereux, 2006, pg 279). As Deacon, Pickering, Golding, and Murdock (1999) propose: 'news texts draw on and discursively adapt other

texts which have been generated outside any immediate journalistic activity' (Deacon, Pickering, Golding, and Murdock, 1999, pg 175). The notion of intertextuality is crucial for the textual analysis of various newspapers, where it can assist with interpretations of connotated meanings. Furthermore, intertextuality, similarly to multidirectional memory, (Rothberg, 2009) emphasises the importance of connections and interactions between various versions of representations of the 'happened' and various memories in order to see the fuller picture of reality. A consideration of intertextuality will help me to analyse how the audience potentially decoded the newspaper messages.

Zelizer (2008a) emphasises the importance of intertextuality in terms of reading texts in relation to others and in considering how meanings accumulate across these multiple texts (also see Bertrand and Hughes, 2004). This may be seen as a form of active audience participation and it suggests that readers are able to create different versions of news representations which reflect their own knowledge and experiences. Thus the group of Czechoslovak migrants living in Britain during WW2, acting as a specific, active type of readership, also possibly influenced the establishing of *The Czechoslovak* newspapers. A key question here would be whether a more democratic and peer-to-peer output (Curran and Morley, 2006) such as establishing a mediated voice within a community was caused by a dissatisfaction with the news reports in British neglecting to mention the acts of the Czech RAF airmen or any other reason. Theories discussing peer-to-peer output are now widely available, albeit mainly in the context of democratising the accessibility of digital media and the Internet. The democratisation of the local news in the local WW2 newspapers seems to have escaped the current academic focus. Therefore the connections between the WW2 data and peer-to-peer input proposed by this study appear to be novel amongst current theories.

Since the subjects of this research are 'ordinary people' - a group of Czechoslovak airmen fighting within the RAF - this study solely focuses on those theorists that move

towards ‘voice of the people’ or ‘history from below’ approaches, and which recognise that ‘truth is no longer absolute’ (Foucault, 2003) when drawing on WW2 texts. One of them, Angus Calder (1971), highlights the fact based on the interpretation of Churchill’s speeches and opinions that the Second World was a ‘total’ war or ‘people’s war’. It is important to state that the specific circumstances of the WW2 were completely different to those in British society in 2010. Within that context, Calder asserts that,

> [i]n a conflict on such a scale, as 1914-1918 had shown, the nation’s rulers, whether they like it or not, depended on the willing co-operation of the ruled, including even scorned and underprivileged sections of society, manual workers and women. (Calder, 1971, pg 20)

When analysing the British population, and thus potential newspaper readership during WW2, Calder identifies social specifics such as class and religious mixing (also see Williams, 1998); and despite the aims of propaganda, he highlights the fight of British society over understanding of the war events, and their attempts to keep their social life and clear judgement. Moreover, Donnelly (1999) emphasises the specific historical circumstances in Britain that may have had some bearing on the popular view of the war at the time:

> Popular perceptions of the Second World War have been filtered through the unique experience of the British from 1939 to 1945: relatively light casualties, no invasion of the home islands, standing alone as the only major power against Germany after the fall of France, [...]. (Donnelly, 1999, pg 1)

He also argues that many historians, particularly those who have experienced war, over-emphasise the heroic nature of the war effort, which could have influenced the perception of the war since the 1940s (Donelly, 1999). From this perspective we could see heroism as a consequence of WW2 and its perception by the media consumers. The extent to which the notion of heroism as a product of the WW2 circumstances and post-war influences was present in the various versions of WW2 media representations of the Czech RAF airmen and the reception and interpretation of their audience is another question in my textual analysis of the newspapers.

This section has emphasised the effect that the receivers of the newspapers' versions of the happened have upon these very versions and thus contributed towards my overall argument about numerous influences of represented reality of the Czech RAF airmen creating multiple versions of this reality. My study proposes that during WW2, various groups, such as the British Government and the propagandists, newspapers establishments, the different classes of the British population and the small communities of migrants, notably the Czech RAF airmen, were all involved in the same process – the production and reception of meaning and messages, the various versions of public memory. The relations between the producers and receivers of public memory were very complex. They all acted as active moulding forces, creating media artefacts (Williams, 2003). These artefacts then became multidirectional memories (Rothberg, 2009), which reflected and preserved events like an archive and, after WW2 ended, they contributed to the production of a dominant historical construction of the WW2 era. This discussion about the versions of public memory produced by the press is concluded with an investigation of the concept of archive as a preserver and a possible final co-creator of these versions.

Archival representation

> A man hath perished and his corpse has become dirt. All his kindred have crumbled to dust. But writings cause him to be remembered in the mouth of the reciter. (Egyptian author, unknown, cited in Blouin and Rosenberg, 2006)

This final section of this chapter considers the press more broadly, as one of a number of ways to record history or memory; thus in the role of an archive. This point of view draws attention to certain elements of the concept of public archive that overlap with some characteristics of the press, particularly the facility to collect and preserve represented versions of reality and the fact that our understanding of the period is partly achieved through the public archive as well as the press, which then serves as an archive.

In order to examine the representations of the identities of the Czech RAF airmen captured by the language (Hall, 1996) in various newspapers, a thorough investigation of the preserved WW2 press needed to be undertaken. In order to explore the data that survived until the present, researchers have greatly gravitated towards archives, amongst other sources. 'Archives were created by official activities in the past' (Brivati et al, 1996, pg 256) and by the term 'archives' I mean the establishments that collect, categorise and preserve a historical heritage so it is safe and accessible to others. This is why the archive as an institution as well as a concept became a vital part of social memory (Bundsgard, 2006) and also an important element of this study.

Before investigating the connections between the press and the archive, in order to set up a relevant understanding of this subject I would like to establish and negotiate the key terms and processes in archiving. The word 'archive' developed from the Greek *arkhe,* which represents a principle that is in the order of 'commencement' as well as 'commandment' (Derrida, 1995)[7]. In other words, it is a place where things begin and power originates (Steedman, 2006). Numerous pieces of research are initiated from archives; therefore, their outcome depends partly on how the archival collections are categorised, accessible to the public or controlled, and to what extent there is bias by a particular Government or other official body, or even the hiding of certain data. For my research, an investigation and an evaluation of the theme of archiving is crucial for several reasons. Firstly, the archive is a space where all the written evidence that supports this study was found. Thus, in abstract terms, it represents memory, or at least the official or public side of it.

Theorists have approached the theme of archives from several angles. Derrida (1995) offers a provocative deconstructive analysis of archiving, taking up among other

[7] The ontological sense of 'arkhe' is the originary, the first, the primary, the commencement. The nomological sense of 'arkhe' is the commandment developing from the Greek arkheion, the residence of the superior magistrates, the ones who commanded (Derrida, 1995).

issues the complex problem of 'inscription': 'processes through which traces of a lived past are archived by individuals or societies in ways that make the place of uncovering – the archive – a point of intersection between the actual and imagined, lived experience and its remembered (or forgotten) image' (Blouin and Rosenberg, 2006, pg 1). This understanding of the characteristics of archive as a space where the 'happened' is represented, which can be seen as analogous to media, commenced my investigation of the connections between archive and the press. Similarly to archives, in the press, the facts are firstly selected and then recorded in relation with the subjective narrative written by a journalist; thus, the press also creates its own unique reservoir of historical data based on facts – a story where human existence is being reflected.

This also links with the theory of inscription, which describes archiving as something that involves the suppression of some facts as well as the recollection of others. Certain resources are inevitably more hidden to researchers, or are consciously overseen or forgotten due to the influence by the political power of the ruling group or dominant culture (Yakel, 2006) and ideological circumstances of a particular era. The visibility and invisibility of certain materials created by the politics of archiving are crucial to this study. Although there is no evidence that the British Library, in its role as key archive, acting as an institution established by the British Government, considered excluding (partially or completely) the representation of Czech airmen as an element of the official RAF and the British WW2 history, this possible bias towards the representation of other communities than the main nation and an exploration of a wide range of ideological influences needs to be taken into account during the textual analysis. As Lowenthal (2006) argues that there is a: '[...] partisan zeal to fabricate a past that suits present needs – to forge an identity, to secure a legacy, to validate a conquest or claim, to prove a pre-eminence' (Lowenthal, 2006, pg 193).

The archival representation is also problematised by its inability to be truly objective and transparent[8], as it is believed to be 'socially constructed practice' (Yakel, 2006, pg 151), which partly reflects the actual work of archivists when gathering, reorganising and interpreting materials. Based on what Yakel has pointed out, I would like to raise the issue of further selection in the archive (in this particular case) when this is made up of a selection of newspapers that are already themselves highly selective in terms of story selection. As Brivati, Bruxton and Secdon (1996) suggest: 'What they [the archives] contain had a particular significance at the time' (Brivati, Bruxton and Seldon, 1996, pg 256). This can be considered as another layer of mediation, a final archival selection caused by the need to dispose of the excessive resources, which possibly influenced the data collected, the versions of public memory available. In other words, archival representation becomes another element which influences versioning as different versions of the past can be created during different periods. Yet, now we can only speculate about what has been collected, kept or thrown away and why over the last sixty years. What is important, though, is that these questions about conscious selection and disposal of sources are also very relevant and almost fundamental to discussion about the journalistic practices in the press. This medial selective process based on news values is a crucial part of my wider argument about the creation of a specific version of reality.

Even amongst the resources that are kept, in each archive, some are more 'visible' than others. So an archive does not simply reflect the event but also shapes it. Different versions of the past can be re-produced, as there are different ways in which records are acquired, organised and catalogued and these, arguably, can assist, even perhaps determine, what a researcher will be able to explore (Blouin and Rosenberg, 2006). The processes of categorising, cataloguing and labelling data in archives could follow a common practice or protocol which has always been employed, but also could be

[8] For example the British bombing of Dresden was a subject which was not always a clearly visible element of WW2 history.

influenced by the current ideology of the Government, which perhaps promotes more of the dominant history of the British nation and does not support the specific histories of small communities to the same extent (see Featherstone, 2000). This study itself will provide one version based on evidence from selected WW2 newspapers discovered in the British Library. There, dominant newspapers such as *The Times* or *The Guardian*, or since 2008, the *Daily Mirror*, are offered to researchers in electronic form. This, arguably, places them in a position of advantage over other newspapers. This is because an electronic search engine is much easier than manually searching through some other titles kept on microfilms (Brivati, Bruxton and Seldon, 1996). The local 'small' WW2 newspapers or newsletters,[9] which possibly carry far more detailed representations of the past events, seem to be far more 'hidden' in terms of categorisation and access. These texts are harder to locate when researchers do not know about their existence in the first place, although their reports were likely to be more specific and narrower in scope, possibly going more deeply into a given subject.

To conclude this discussion about the archive in relation to the press, I need to problematise the employment of newspapers, one of the main sources of evidence of this study, which I treat as an archive, as factual historical evidence for dominant historical constructions (Brivati, Bruxton and Seldon, 1996). In this chapter, I have discussed the ability of the newspapers to reflect and preserve reality. The newspapers are probably the first public version of history. However, due to the diversity of different mediated narratives in various newspapers, we in fact cannot talk about one version, but must propose the idea of a multiplicity of reflections of the past in the sense of multidirectional memories (Rothberg, 2009). In other words, as I suggested earlier, each different newspaper created a different version of public memory, and these were arguably

[9] Some examples of the Czech small newspapers and newsletters are: The Czechoslovak, Our news, The Central European Observer, Czechoslovak Newsletter, The Spirit of Czechoslovakia and Czechoslovak Military Review. See more details about these titles in Chapter 4.

modified, diffused or unified during the process within another layer of mediation, the archival selection or exclusion of the newspapers. I argue that if we want to understand a particular historical era it is beneficial to investigate different images and representations of the reality. These various versions of public memory, according to Rothberg (2009), co-exist, interact and enrich one another whilst representing the past in a non-competitive way. However, in the perspective of the press as a provider of factual evidence about the past, we must critically consider this limitation of newspapers as producers of multiple versions of the happened. Furthermore, although the press preserves representations of reality, one of its main characteristics is 'throwawayness'. Newspapers are consciously being produced as a very 'current' and immediate ideologically influenced reflection of what happened - a first draft - and not as a chronicle that is supposed to be kept for the future reference. This circumstance, on the other hand, can be beneficial for the research, as the data, although produced as a reflection of events, are not consciously authored as an official 'history' (Munslow, 2001) as were, for example, the chronicles and annals of the Middle Ages. Therefore, when treating the press as an archive, this study needs to acknowledge that newspapers include various versions of the happened and both authoritative and unofficial accounts of past events (Martin and Hansen, 1998), which were not produced with the aim to become history.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the issues that arise from capturing or reflecting and preserving 'reality' and human identity by the WW2 press. The circumstances of the Second World War period, as in previous and later wars, created a specific war discourse (Dedaic and Nelson, 2003), which possibly influenced the production of various versions of public media memory. During this period, even in a democratic society such as Great

Britain, freedom of press was compromised and the war governments decided again to employ censorship and propaganda in mass media (Balfour, 1979). A new institution, the Ministry of Information (MOI), was created to control all British and other media produced in Britain in order to maintain morale amongst people, persuade and manipulate public opinion and keep military information secret from the enemy (Donnelly, 1999, also see Tumber and Webster, 2007). Thus journalists must have felt restricted in their news selection and reporting was regulated by the censorship (Conboy, 2004). In addition, tensions between their objectivity and patriotism (Allan, 2004) were a crucial issue, which possibly influenced the way stories were chosen and presented to the readership. It is one of the key objects of this thesis to explore whether various versions of the WW2 newspapers' representations of the Czech RAF airmen were constructed in accordance with the official voice or on demand from the readership 'from below'.

I argued that ideology and propaganda became two of the main influences on WW2 news discourse (Carpentier in Maltby and Keeble, 2007) and I also proposed that the use of stereotypes played an important role in the representation of the Czech RAF airmen (Pickering, 2001). The Czech RAF airmen as a group that did not belong to the majority (in this case, the British nation) was considered as the 'other' (Hall, 1996); and thus 'othering' potentially became another influence on the production of their various representations in the British and Czech newspapers and therefore WW2 public memory.

In this chapter, I also revealed some limitations of the press in its role as an archive or a 'preserver' of 'the happened' of the past. One of them is the multiplicity of representations produced by various newspapers caused by the influences of each individual newspaper's politics, newsworthiness and news values (Allan, 2004). A novel proposal of this chapter also became the notion of propaganda being one of the WW2 news values. To build a foundation for my later examination of various newspapers and their discourses, I also investigated the differences between tabloid and broadsheet newspapers

and their approach towards the representation of reality (Greenslade, 2004). The key argument was that the official voice of the traditional newspapers again produced different versions of public memory to the more popular voice of the tabloids, which were trying to represent 'the people' (Conboy, 2001). However, I also considered the Second World War discourse based on ideology, propaganda and censorship as a possible unifying element, a trans-mediated and trans-national war public collective memory (Radstone, 2010). This concept will be taken further into my discussion about private memory of WW2 and my later analysis, where I will examine to what extent such 'war discourse' unites the various versions of representations of the Czech RAF airmen.

When examining versioning of the public memory, it is also crucial to acknowledge that further versions are produced after the news discourse is written and published. This is because meanings in newspaper texts (like any other) are open to different interpretations depending on how the reader decodes them (Hall, 1980). This process of making connections between texts the receivers have already consumed (Devereux, 2006) is known as intertextuality. I emphasised that the target audience consuming the WW2 press also became active co-producers of these mediated versions of the happened (Moores, 1998), or in other words, prosumers of the text (Reading, 2009). This notion is crucial to this research in order to examine the potential motives behind the creation of various public representations of the Czech RAF airmen targeting different readerships, and also to extend and enrich the debate about versioning, including the receivers of the news as another element in the shaping of various versions of the past.

When considering newspapers as drafts of history, I must highlight that historical representations of the 'happened' or what has once been considered as 'reality' are very complex and problematic. According to Rothberg (2009), our memory (either public collective or private individual), which reflects or consists of these representations, is multidirectional (including a variety of different memories which interact and enrich each

other). I have argued throughout this chapter that various internal and external factors that influence press production contribute towards the creation of these pluralistic representations, 'versions' or 'drafts' of reality (also see Kitch, 2008). As Andersen (2006) argues:

> [...] the meanings made of war are distinct from war itself. War is understood and interpreted, justified and judged through the images and narratives that tell the stories of war. (Andersen, 2006, pg xvi)

This notion of media as drafts of reality again highlights the importance of the role of the receivers as active participators who have the capacity to create multiple representations of events. In the last section of this chapter, I explored the interconnections between the press and the concept of the archive and the contribution of archives towards the production of multiple mediated representations. Archival attributes of public mediated collective memory, notably the recording, shaping and preservation of data, also connect this chapter with the following. In chapter 2, I will explore how our private individual memory records, negotiates, cross-references and stores 'the happened' and therefore stands as a kind of living archive itself, which produced further versions of the Czech RAF airmen's reality.

Chapter two: Living memory – the private versions of reality

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I examined the academic context of the press as public mediated narratives, which arguably preserves and to a certain extent archives (in terms of selects, records, and keeps accessible) multiple versions of the happened. I also argued that the Czech collective memory represented by the Czech community media could be considered as private in contrast to the public hegemonic memory produced by the British newspapers. Since this study revolves around capturing, representing and preserving the narrated past of the Czech RAF airmen and their identity, I further the investigation by including more versions or drafts of history. Besides the official public ones (see Kitch 2008, and Sutton, 2003), I investigate the private versions of reality reflected and captured by individual memory and later revealed in oral narratives. Thus, this chapter draws upon theories of a recently emerged or 'coming-into-being interdisciplinary academic field' (Sturken, 2008, pg 73) of memory described as 'memory studies'[10] together with oral history.

These two areas of research are crucial for this project, as they both provide an essential theoretical background and support for the analyses of the second main source of this investigation, the interviews with the Czech RAF veterans. They also connect memory with the socio-cultural background and history. Because this chapter investigates memory as life narrative, a process that is constantly in motion constructing our identity (King, 2000) and modifying itself whilst capturing our existence, this specific kind of memory is here referred to as 'living memory' (Radstone, 2008; see also Campbell, 2008).

[10] It is important to disclaimer here that the scholarship that is aligning itself under the title Memory Studies as indicated by the recent launch of the journal of the same name in 2008 has not yet become a clearly defined discipline.

The Czech airmen living amongst the Czechoslovak community in England during WW2 became members of an RAF group and thus created their own specific versions of representations of the war. These were potentially different to the Czechoslovak private collective memory represented in *The Czechoslovak* newspaper, or the versions published in different public British WW2 press reports. I, however, argue that the public and private memories interact, particularly for the researcher looking back, and thus influence as well as enrich each other. Consequently, the investigation of private individual memory gained from the interviews with the Czechoslovak RAF veterans is another important element of this study as it creates a unique perspective of the WW2 with a focus on ordinary life (not trauma or heroism). Furthermore, analyses of these interviews will provide supportive evidence for the negotiation concerning the relationship between our identity and private memory and its importance in autobiographical research. Correspondingly, I explore how and to what extent private memories are co-constructed by public memory (Halbwachs, 1992; Liebes, Curran and Katz, 1998). Therefore, the final point of this discussion concerns versioning of memory, the constant creation of different drafts of the 'happened' when capturing our existence (Rothberg, 2009).

The subject of memory is a vital area where cross-disciplinary connections are being made, linking scientific approaches such as psychology and neurology[11] with socio-cultural approaches and historical ones examined by oral history. This project adds to the emerging field of memory studies a new angle of approaching and investigating memory, which not only connects the socio-cultural memory account and the historical memory account researched by oral history but also investigates WW2 memory at the time when it was produced. The following discussion consists of six sections, which gradually build up my key argument about versioning of memory, commencing with the exploration of

[11] These are, however, beyond the scope of this research, as their methods and objectives involving an examination of human mental functions and behaviours do not match with the methods and objectives of this study.

mediated memory (Dijck, 2007). This is central to this thesis as it connects the notion of media as an archive involved in selecting, studying and exposing events; readership as a living archive that recycles messages from public representations of the 'happened' and preserves them in memories; and the individual living memory which process, preserves, recollects and re-produce the happened (Radstone, 2008). However, this section will also propose that the recorded memory can vary from the recalled memory and will also demonstrate how these two can be contrasted as well as integrated within one research project and what the benefits of doing so are.

The next section, 'Memory and remembering', explores the subject of memory in more detail in relation to this study. Here I examine the ways in which memory may be viewed as 'artificial' or 'manufactured' not only by media texts but also in a life narrative by each individual and ethnographic memory researchers themselves (see Rose, 2003). This notion contributes towards my argument about the production of versions of memory. Furthermore, the investigation of the differences between individual and collective memory (Halbwachs, 1992; see also Radstone, 1999, and Lowenthal, 1985) and how these memories influence each other provide me with a vital grounding for this project which is concerned with the representation of reality. I will argue that our private recollections are partly created by each individual (Green, 2004), but also by the public memory, and may become collective memory and thus a source for history (Olick, 2008; see also Halbwachs, 1992). This is also why the recent gathering of scholarship in memory studies provides this thesis with the essential theories to more fully shore up the practice of oral history.

The following section 'Narrated memory – the claims about the past' explores private memory as a living archive or as an important source of historical events and narratives (Nora, 1986) since the recollections of the Czech RAF veterans revealed in the interviews are treated here as a private archive, an important addition to the press. Similarly, as in the previous chapter, I am aware that there exist other private archives such

as letters, diaries, memoirs, photographs and other private documents. However, I have focused on the oral narratives that represent reality and that are based on private memory, as I wanted to give voice to those who perhaps have not been included much in the mainstream WW2 British history, although their contribution towards the Allies' victory was important. Therefore I explore history from below (see Carr, 1964, and Thompson, 2000). This section will employ, in particular, the theories of oral history as it collects private memory of historical significance through recorded interviews (Perks and Thomson, 1998). In fact, 'memory is the core of oral history from which meaning can be extracted and preserved' (Ritchie, 2003, pg 19) and thus narrated memory can create private versions of history. Oral history provides an essential theoretical and also methodological base for this part of the socio-cultural memory research, and therefore will be explored in more detail in the Methodological chapter.

Our memory plays an important role in the creation and maintaining of identity (Holstein, 2000) as well as interacting with the developing perspectives of our identity. In the section 'Memory and Identity', I will explore the theoretical terrain, discussing the connection between memory and identity in order to understand better the specific situation that the Czech airmen happened to be in. How did their identity as foreign airmen living in Britain influence the reconstruction of their memories and the different versions, and how did these influence their national identity? The issue of national and community identity played a major role in the Czech airmen's lives during the Second World War (and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4). I argue that it also influenced the way they were represented in British and Czech newspapers and how they reflected their own existence in their memory. Moreover, I will explore the notion of nation-transcending commonalities of identity (Radstone, 2010). This is important to this study, as besides being a member of the Czech ethnic minority living in Britain, the airmen were also and perhaps more importantly members of the British national (and during WW2, transnational) community of the RAF.

As this chapter creates a conjectural space for the later exploration of recollections of the Czech veterans from the primary research interviews, the section 'Forgetting – losing identity' investigates an area that problematises and challenges private memory as an archive and explores how forgetting influences memory (Connerton, 2008) and thus identity. Here, I argue that the connections between remembering the past and our identity became a crucial factor in the process of the recollections of the Czech RAF veterans. I also propose that forgetting is not necessarily a negative factor in the process of memorialisation.

The final discussion, concerned with 'versioning', reviews the process of individual or private and public production of memory and examines its influences. Next to the already mentioned media influences, further factors are notably the self-involvement of the 'recallers' of the event and therefore their values, age, gender, occupation, the media, ideology, the researcher himself and the actual narrative process through which our memory is usually revealed.

Thus, this chapter challenges theories that are over-reliant on employing only public memory for reconstructing the past, and rather offers the multiplicity approach of deconstructing the past. This includes British and Czech collective mediated memories (Dijck, 2007), in parallel with individual memory, all together reflecting our experiences, and suggests the possibility of several versions of the past (also see Poole, 2008). These are, however, not competing but interacting in a multidirectional complex way (Rothberg, 2009). This theoretical framework becomes the essential foundation for an application of evidence to allow me to answer the question of how the Czech RAF airmen were represented by various public and private memories. To commence this examination, the following section proposes that our private memory is not the only reservoir of versions of the 'happened' and offers the idea of mediated memory as a connector between the memory and media, and also as another source of versions of the past.

Mediated memory

The relationship between media and memory is crucial for my research, as these two aspects reflect and preserve our existence (although differently). This study strives to achieve a comparative investigation, searching not only for the similarities and differences between these two but more importantly for the connections between them and how this relationship overall contributes towards historical representation of our existence (in this case the existence of the Czech RAF airmen). By connecting these two the issues, media representations and receivers of the messages as co-actors become more introspective, personal and narrative-oriented. Media also became my way into understanding the past and memory, as a researcher; media is also how I accessed the past and how I recorded my interviews through recording and delivery technologies.

When approaching the link between memory and media from the perspective of cognitive science, the past representations of memory as an 'archive' can be seen as a series of applications. This memory is constantly 'online', and provides a kind of filter through which all daily information passes before decisions are made to hold on to a particular memory for later. Similarly, when consuming media, many details are quickly forgotten, while one detail may be returned to and recycled in the mind (see Huyssen, 2003). Memory and media therefore create a bank of information about the outside world which we can access when needed. However, they both also play slightly different role in the process of memorisation. Media have an important role in interlinking the past with the present, whilst for example questions of identity and collective memory allow researchers to better understand major historical changes such as war and exile (Dijck, 2007). Media which constantly produce and reproduce mediated content whilst reflecting the past contribute to a more fluid but also more diffused and thus more complex development of memory (Hoskins and O'Loughlin, 2010). Without media our memory would be rather

scattered and narrow, however different media can represent one event in different ways and thus contradict or confuse private memory. When examining the presence of media in war Hoskins and O'Loughlin (2010) negotiate whether the way media mediatise war, in other words transform or reconstitute, can change our perception of the war based on our own experience and archived in our own memory. Although the interviews did not reveal the mediation of memory directly (as the participants largely had little to say about the WW2 newspapers) I will be later exploring to what extent personal memory interconnected with the narratives from the newspapers and whether media influenced private memory of the Czech veterans.

When exploring past experiences and their representations, I must separate how the past is reflected in order to be preserved through memorising by the witnesses, and how it is recorded or reflected by media. The 'happened' could be reported in media immediately and disseminated afterwards, and then the 'news' becomes the first version of the past. Consequently, the event will be memorised or stored in the memory of the people involved in the situation (perhaps influenced by feelings, attitudes, forgetting, etc.), possibly written down (in diaries, etc.) where it may be consciously or subconsciously self-authored in a subjective fashion. As Samuel (1996) argues, 'memory is far from being a passive storage system, it is rather an active, shaping force' (Samuel, 1996, pg x). Our memories on one hand are quite automatic, replaying past actions without deeper reflection, inscribed within the body, mainly for the purpose of present action. On the other hand, we apply a more spiritual kind of memory, which is reflexive and represents the past: a pure memory. Such memory allows us to acknowledge that the actual past reality cannot be repeated and is not internal to the body (Bergson, 2007). Also, the news represents participants in current events in various ways and these representations influence our private recollections of these events. According to Dijck (2007) 'media are pivotal to the construction of individual and collective identity' (Dijck, 2007, pg xiv). Similarly

Peniston-Bird (2007) claims that: 'private memories contribute to but are also transformed by these dominant constructions' (Peniston-Bird, 2007, pg 183). An examination of to what extent (if at all) mediated memory had an impact on the private recollections of the veterans is one of the aims of this WW2 case study.

In this study, I also explore how the Czech RAF airmen were represented in WW2 newspapers, therefore revealing their various images that have been portrayed by the war media, which would for many researchers be the only source for a historical reconstruction of their identities. It is the issue of how media and memory interplay that is at stake as I reconstruct these identity representations and self-formations. Although sometimes private and public memory can stand in binary opposition, as stated above, they are not antagonistic or in conflict; rather, they influence each other (Sturken, 1997) and interact in multidirectional ways (Rothberg, 2009). Hoskins (2004) sees media templates as frames of memory that link the past of the event with the present narrative; media templates then 'selectively rearticulate the past at the same time as impose an often image-based frame or narrative on the present' (Hoskins, 2004, pg 14).

The key theme of this study – an integration of media in the reconstruction of memory - is not a new subject within socio-cultural studies, and yet they are often considered as two distinct or even antagonistic spheres (Dijck, 2007). However, this study, as well as Dijck's text, sees the urge to connect the two, as they both share the same features, namely to create a specific version or draft of the happened and to capture and preserve it, thus offering up the possibility of versioning, self-editing, connectivity and archivisation as key tools for forming and reflecting upon the construction of (national) identities. Hence, I commence employing the term 'mediation of memory' and evaluate the media's role in the process of remembrance. Dijck (2007) claims that:

> Memory is not mediated by media, but media and memory transform each other. [...] Mediated memories are the activities and objects we produce [...] for creating and re-creating a sense of past, present, and future of ourselves in relation to others. (Dijck, 2007, pg 21)

In this study, the mediated memories would be the public narratives produced by journalists and published in various WW2 newspapers. The newspaper reports become stilled moments (in other words publically recorded, archived and thus preserved and to a certain extent fixed representations). This stilledness is however overcome in the moment of interpretation of the media text by its receiver or researcher, when different versions are produced by different readers. Due to this ability to interconnect the past and future, the newspapers remember and project lived experience, and therefore the journalists creating these representations become constituents of a dynamic relationship where relational identity and articulation of time meet and are mirrored (Dijck, 2007).

This bipolar relationship between newspapers and private memory is also reflected in the work of Allan (1999) and Zelizer (2008b), which is important to this study not only for discussing these connections but also for highlighting the necessity of linking them in contemporary research. What is more, they have investigated not only the relations between news discourse and memory, but also the relationship between journalism as a process and memory. Zelizer (2008b) claims that 'just as journalism needs memory work to position its recounting of public events in context, so too memory needs journalism to provide one of the most public drafts of the past' (Zelizer, 2008b, pg 79). Similarly Liebes, Curran and Katz (1998) portray media as 'a relatively marginal influence [...] reviving or revising collective memory' (Liebes, Curran and Katz, 1998, pg 18).

Again this is crucial to this study, as I too will be considering the context gained from the memories revealed in the interviews when analysing the WW2 newspaper texts and discussing how much the reports influenced the Czech RAF veterans' recollections as one of the factors in the self-editing process. Following on from this theory, although news is believed to be the first version of history (Fowler, 1991), memory is the actual prime source of what happened, as '[...] certain memory stories are told in journalistic prose and

format and are received by audiences as ‘news’’ (Kitch, 2008, pg 311). We self-edit as if we are journalists of our lives, the media discourses having been integrated into our memory practices (see Halbwachs, 1992). Huyssen (2003) suggests that memory ‘as something that is always subject to reconstruction and renegotiation – has emerged as an alternative to an allegedly objectifying or totalizing history’ (Huyssen, 2003, pg 17). Therefore our private memory is an interacting assortment of our own representations of the past and various other influences.

When negotiating this relationship, I am actually also connecting this chapter with the previous one and demonstrating how the later textual and interview analysis will be contrasted as well as being integrated into one holistic discussion about the historical representation of the existence of the Czech ethnic minority living in WW2 Britain. Morris-Suzuki (2005) overlaps the two themes of memory and media and uncovers problems of representing history in the popular media, and by drawing upon examples from East Asian and American as well as European history; she discusses the influences of media, historical imagination and memory in some war conflicts. War journalism would then also be a specific type of written memory, producing messages that carry meanings, which are, however, reflections of certain parts of individual memory projected into collective memory. The WW2 newspapers presented their readers with mediated memories of a war discourse influenced by the specific situation and features of the period, such as war ideology and propaganda enforcing positive and British patriotic messages (Dedaic and Nelson, 2003). These public narratives or stories represented reality and aspired to persuade the audience about its authenticity, as ‘public narratives locate events in the thematic-casual structures in which they occur; [however] we experience these events not only against a public backdrop but also within the compass of our own activities’ (Brown, Shevell and Rips, 1986, pg 139). As some interview participants referenced newspapers as

the source of the past 'reality', I argue that these written or mediated memories can play a role of recorded documents of the 'happened' (Dijck, 2007).

Also, I will be negotiating the purpose behind the production of certain items of news created as an illusion or version of reality and exploring, again through textual analysis and interview analysis, which sections of personal memory are employed within the production of collective memory that is then used for a public purpose, such as media reports or historical representations. Peninston-Bird (2007) and Lewis (2002) illustrate memory and media or mediated memory as an element that captures and preserves the 'happened', which is crucial for creating an image of the past. This study approaches and employs media as the tools for memory, or devices 'that produce, store, and reshape earlier versions of history' (Dijck, 2007, pg 17). The versions created by our private memory are further discussed in the following section. This section draws the theories about memory together and negotiates the relations between individual and collective memory to demonstrate how our private recollections or versions, such as the ones collected during the interviews with the Czech RAF veterans, engage and disengage with collective public memory and therefore co-create the history of a particular event.

Memory and remembering

This section plays an important part in creating a firm theoretical base for my investigation of private memory in order to understand why the Czech veterans recollected certain memories in the way they did and how their individual memories became an element of the Czech collective memory. I will investigate how living memory is produced (Rose, 2003), the differences between individual, personal or internal memory (Sutton

2003) and collective or external memory (Sutton, 2003;[12] Halbwachs, 1992; see also Radstone, 1999, and Lowenthal, 1985), and also the connections between these and narrated or autobiographical memory (Robinson, 1998; see also Fivush, 2008). The key selected memory theorists whose current research underpins this area of my study are Maurice Halbwachs (1992), Susannah Radstone (2008), Michael Rothberg (2009), Anna Reading (2002), Annette Kuhn (2002), Andrew Hoskins (2008), John Sutton (2003) and Barbie Zelizer (2008b).

Firstly, I should negotiate the term 'memory', as memory produces key sources of this investigation. Radstone (1999) recognises memory as a transformation of facts that surround us. In her later article that updates her debates and illustrates the new tendencies in memory studies, she declares the problem of the difference between the 'happened' and the 'imagined' and defines memory as 'a text to be deciphered, not reality to be discovered' (Radstone, 2008, pg 10). Similarly, set within the WW2 context, Francis (2008) argues that both dominant cultural (or public) representations of the RAF airmen and their private recollections are involved in a complex dialogue between reality and imagination and that no representations produced by memory public or private can be considered as reality itself. My research supports this notion, as I claim throughout that the various memories that are investigated here are only versions of reality which interact and when analysed possibly become different versions of the past.

Other definitions of memory could, however, be selected from many other sources. Various constructions and models of memory have been produced, questioning its overall processes, its role in personality formation and its connections with wider social influence (Roberts, 2001). 'As soon as we try to define memory, it starts slipping and

[12] John Sutton discusses the differences between the internal and external memories, which have very similar attributes to individual and collective memories. This is why, in order to broaden this discussion, I have used these terms as synonyms.

sliding, eluding attempts to grasp it either culturally, sociologically, or scientifically' (Huyssen, 2003, pg 3).

I have selected a concept where memory is illustrated as a 'mental process or faculty of representing in consciousness an act, experience, or impression, with recognition that it belongs to past time' (Aldaba, 2006, pg 216), as it reflects the representing aspect of memory, however 'created' by a conscious mind, which changes over time (Rapaport, 1997). This notion of the production of memory is essential for the life narrative approach,[13] which this study draws upon, because it reveals various factors that influence memory and thus supports my initial hypothesis that the recollections of the Czech RAF veterans were possibly shaped by external and internal aspects. As Sutton suggests (2009), in our memory 'later events in the sequence can obliterate or change the effect of earlier ones' (Sutton, 2009, pg 224). Later, I will argue that previous experience and knowledge of a certain context affects how we remember and recollect our memories and thus that memory is reconstructed as an evolving process of history (Conway and Pleydell Pearce, 2000).

To take this idea even further, in later analysis this study questions whether or to what extent personal memory can be seen as 'artificial' or 'manufactured' by each individual and by ethnographic memory researchers themselves (Rose, 2003). If each version we produce is influenced by our personal and social elements that are unique solely to ourselves, each version is then artificially produced and re-produced by different individuals. On the other hand, Reading (2010) claims that we all have (and thus the Czech RAF veterans also had) the right to memory and the right to create or confabulate a unique image of our past. If the representations of the Czech RAF airmen, together with their versions of the WW2 history, are equal and as important as all other versions of

[13] By 'life narrative approach', I mean using the methods of oral history, such as qualitative interviews, in order to reveal the narrated life story of the Czech RAF veterans as well as to study autobiographical memory and its influences.

representations of this era, as these are equally contributing to the fuller image of WW2 memory, their individual viewpoint set within their specific social background ought to be given the opportunity to be revealed.

Here I must stress, however, that it is important to view the RAF veterans' recollections not only as individual memory but also as collective memory: 'if remembering is fundamentally an activity engaged in by individual minds it equally fundamentally possesses a social dimension' (Cubitt, 2007, pg 118). Presumably, members of one group, such as the Czech RAF airmen, potentially share some values, opinions and other characteristics of their lives with other members of that group. As Wertsch (2002) claims: 'collective memory reflects a committed perspective, and belongs to one group, and not others' (Wertsch, 2002, pg 66). Hence these factual similarities in individual memories inevitably construct the collective memory of the Czechoslovak RAF airmen. Often, these sets of data are classified as more objective reflections of reality and become selected for reconstruction of the past by historians and thus become public memory. However, I argue that this reconstruction is again only one version of the past, which is missing out all other versions, such as all those individual special memories produced by each individual that belong in the group that reveal past inner emotions and impressions from the era.

In order to understand how a personal memory such as the recollections of the Czech RAF veterans becomes a part of collective memory and our history, the relations between individual and collective memory need to be investigated (Halbwachs, 1992). Lowenthal (1985) acknowledges this complexity of past recall and sees the remembered past as both individual and collective, as a form of awareness. To him, memory is intensely personal and remembering the past is crucial for our sense of identity, as self-continuity depends utterly on memory. In the case of the Czech RAF veterans, the fact that they were

recalling personal memories from WW2 was another important influence, as Morgan and Evans (1993) claim that:

> All wars tend to leave behind a mythical tradition through which the contestants see their past. From the start, the war against Nazi Germany was presented as a struggle against the 'forces of darkness' that threatened civilised society, and British interests around the globe. (Morgan and Evans, 1993, pg 5)

Czech airmen were also inescapably under the influence of propaganda and not only their opinions but also their recollections have been shaped throughout the decades by the mass media. Connerton (2003), whilst discussing social memory, states that 'we may note that images of the past commonly legitimate a current social order' (Connerton, 2003, pg 3). This is why this project investigates personal memory in such depth: not only to create a challenge to the public media narratives but more importantly to uncover how communities reflected their own past and why. From this viewpoint, my intentions are to examine where possible whether there are traces of propaganda in the participants' memories and how these influenced their actual versions of the past and their identities. Furthermore, another question arises and that is whether individual memory can exist at all when the memory is reconstructed by the passage of time as earlier events acquire new significance in the light of subsequent events. I argue throughout this chapter that individual memory is influenced by external sources/versions of public memory, however it is important to state that it is always the individual who selects, interprets, and processes these influences in a unique way according to his/her personality producing his/her own version of private individual memory. Similarly Connerton (2003) promotes the notion of individual memory and suggests that within one group memories can differ due to generational or background differences. Thus he proposes that if there is such thing as social memory we are most likely to find it in commemorative ceremonies.

Whilst individual and autobiographical memory is often associated with areas studied by psychology, collective memory as a shared memory that is passed on and also

constructed by a group (Halbwachs, 1992) has been the main domain of socio-cultural theorists and historians. Most current theorists often draw on the research of Maurice Halbwachs when studying the subject of collective memory. He proposes that collective memory is not a given but a socially constructed notion. 'While the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember' (Halbwachs, 1992, pg 48). Although individuals remember, they belong to a specific group context which will influence their recollections (Halbwachs, 1992). Their collective memories then become bases for their collective identification (Jenkins, 2008). This notion is important for this project because it opens up a discussion about how the actual RAF as a group to which the Czech airmen belonged influenced their versions of memories. It also proposes the complexity of the relationship between individual and collective memory, which adds complexity into the process of versioning itself. Here these relationships can actually stand as influences themselves, creating multiple memories.

Jose van Dijck (2007) also finds the relationship between individual and collective memory very problematic. Like Halbwachs (1992), she sees the conjunction of individual and collective memory as dialectic, and stresses 'the recursive dynamic of this ongoing interconnection beyond the level of cognition or sociality' (Dijck, 2007, pg 12). By cognition here we understand the mental process, including perception, intuition and reasoning, by which our knowledge is acquired (Sutton, 2003). I argue that individual memory cannot produce an identical reflection of reality to collective memory, as they both emerge from different sources and are influenced by different factors. Furthermore, Sutton (2003) suggests that collective memory is always influenced by an external environment, and during the process of creating its narrative it inevitably evaluates all the individual memories from which it emerges (also see Lowenthal, 1985). Thus, I argue that we should consider the issue of what we call intertextuality when analysing written

sources, not only when analysing public collective memory but also for private memory. This could be useful because the bases of narrated stories of private memory are intermixed with other known stories and formed into new logical connections (Welzer, 2010).

This notion runs in parallel with Rothberg's (2009) theory of multidirectional memories, in which he describes these memories as 'productive, intercultural dynamic' (Rothberg, 2009, pg 3), which is illustrated by the interaction of different historical memories. By this he means 'a series of interventions through which social actors bring multiple traumatic pasts into a heterogeneous and changing post-World War II presence' (Rothberg, 2009, pg 3). From his viewpoint, it is clear that if we study private memories in a multidirectional way, our historical reconstruction will be a process of ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing and borrowing between different representations or collective memories of the past. Correspondingly, Volkmer (2006) talks about memory as a 'multifaceted, constructed phenomenon' (Volkmer, 2006, pg 217) in which our individual memory cannot be disconnected from a group memory. Therefore, similarly to intertextuality, the idea of multidirectional memories opens up the space for the process of versioning all the different produced versions of the recalled past and their interrelations. In this thesis, collective memory as a product of collective memory construction, verbalisation, or elaboration (Volkmer, 2006) meets individual memory and their interaction is explored within the context of the Second World War. Following this crucial theory for my thesis, in my further analysis I will examine whether each remembrance of one history competes with or erases the previous ones or whether they can coexist and enrich each other.

To be able to undertake this, this study links the memory studies approach with the oral history, similarly to Anna Green (2004); however, in contrast to her approach, I do not wish to expose the tensions between these two approaches and their findings. Green

(2004) argues that ‘in practice, individual and collective memories are often in tension, and the recollections of individuals frequently challenge the construction of partial accounts designed primarily to achieve collective unity’ (Green, 2004, pg 41). She also proposes that rather than trying to fit oral narratives into ‘pre-existing cultural representations’, historians should explore the points of conflict and rupture in people’s lives that create confrontations with discourses and power. This became one of the key notions for my initial investigation. I also presumed that the private individual recollection of the Czechoslovak RAF airmen will not lie in parallel with the reflections of the more public collective memory published in British newspapers. As argued above, when approaching this subject from the angle of the theory of multidirectional memory (Rothberg, 2009), I no longer acknowledge this as an issue but as an occurrence that can enrich this investigation.

As the interviews with the Czech RAF veterans reflect predominantly a personal representation of some general as well as specific events or refer ‘to the memories a person has of his own life experiences’ (Robinson, 1986, pg 19), this part of my research is based on the exploration of an autobiographical memory or memories related to the self (Fivush, 2008). Nelson (2003) defines autobiographical memory as ‘individual knowledge based on self-experience that may be shared with others, whereas social and cultural stories draw on broader sources of group experience and imaginative constructions’ (Nelson, 2003, pg 125). We can identify three main functions of autobiographical memories in order to classify them: a preservation of a sense of being a coherent person over time, strengthening social bonds by sharing personal memories and the constructing of models to understand ourselves and others (Dijck, 2007). The preserving and sharing factors are most relevant to this study, as it illustrates memory as culturally framed consciousness and therefore supports my arguments about influences of remembering as capturing the happened. Also, the first function mentioned highlights the vital connections between autobiographical memory and identity, which are crucial to this project and will be further discussed in the

following section. Autobiographical memory consists of episodes recollected from an individual's life, based on a combination of episodic - personal experiences and specific objects, people and events experienced at particular times and places, and semantic - general knowledge and facts about the world, memory (Conway, 2005). Piolino, Desgranges, Benali and Eustache (2002) examined in detail the semantic category of autobiographical memory and theorised that as opposed to episodic memory, the semantic component reflects more general information about a person's past.

It is also important to highlight that 'autobiographical memories differ from simply recalling what happened to include information about why this event is interesting, important, entertaining, etc., essentially why this event is important to the self' (Fivush, 2008, pg 50). This study investigates narrated living memories of the Czech RAF airmen, the memories that have been formed as a story and narrated to others within a certain cultural background and certain socio-historical circumstances (Poole, 2008). These I collected and preserved in this study. Thus in my analysis, I also need to consider the specific situation of the Czech RAF airmen and their position in Britain as members of an ethnic minority and how this possibly influenced their autobiographical memory. Schrauf and Rubin (2003) claim that 'people who grew up in one place and move in early adulthood or later to another country, adopt its customs, and learn its language offer a unique window into the effects of language and culture on autobiographical memory [...] such late immigrants are 'sequential' or 'late' bilinguals' (Schrauf and Rubin, 2003, pg 121). They further this notion by claiming that as the languages are not equal, such immigrants use each language as a resource for a construction of different identities, telling the same story differently in each language. I will further discuss question of English and Czech language and their influence over autobiographical memory and the construction of a narrative (Fivus and Haden, 2003) in the Methodology chapter (Chapter 3), as well as during my analysis in Chapter 5.

The autobiographical memory representing the reality that is recalled which is private is then transformed through narrative into collective memory and becomes culturally framed and influenced by each individual as well as by myself as a researcher. As Bergson (2007) suggests, there are three stages or processes of memory and recollection: pure memory, memory image and perception. They all co-exist together and influence each other. When we memorise, our perception receives a memory-image, which then interacts with pure memory. 'No one [...of these three processes] appears apart from the others' (Bergson, 2007, pg 170) and they all shape the final memorised image through interpretation. Memory images complete and interpret our perceptions, and pure memory is independent only in theory, as it is revealed as a living image (Bergson, 2007). Thus no recollection can be only pure memory; it will always be a synthesis of memory and the environment in which the re-callers are situated. This is crucial for this research, as it emphasises the need for investigation of the socio-cultural influences of my interview participants. This project attempts to integrate the socio-cultural with the personal and focuses on how our private individual recollections become collective memory and a source for history (Olick, 2008; see also Halbwachs, 1992).

This is also where oral history re-enters this theoretical terrain, but this time as a method of research that seeks to procure narrated memories. The importance of employing oral history in this thesis is mainly due to its ability to give voice to individuals and thus minorities. Without private memory voiced through oral history, certain small histories could disappear. As Feuchtwang (1999) claims, 'a key problem to be addressed is the recognition of inter-personal memory transmission by more powerful social commemoration and historiography [...] and therefore of course by the converse denial or miscognition and exclusion which can silence and annihilate memories' (Feuchwang in Radstone, 1999, pg 64).

While I will cover in depth the methodology of oral history employed in my research in the next chapter, suffice to say here that oral history functions as a prime mover in the elicitation of reminiscence, narrative and personal memory. Thus, memory can be seen to necessitate another human being who will question, prompt and guide remembering. 'Oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did' (Portelli, 2006, pg 36). This emphasises the reason why there is a radical departure in academia from debates about the historical truthfulness of recall and a turn towards addressing subjectivities (Portelli, 2005). Oral historians using oral sources actually point out that the very 'unreliability' of memory is the strength of oral history. According to Portelli (2005), oral histories could provide historians with new ways of understanding the past, not just in what was recalled, but also with regard to continuity and change in the meaning given to events[14].

The next section opens a debate about private memory as a source of reflected and narrated history by mapping the context of this part of the research and by providing an important theoretical foundation for the subject of memory and its employment in historical construction (Munslow, 2001; see also Foucault, 2002).

Narrated memory - claims about the past

Memory studies and oral history are both important to this thesis as supportive theoretical and methodological concepts for the interviews with the Czech RAF veterans and their analysis; however, they both have different viewpoints on the subject of memory. Oral history as a discipline on one hand 'functions as a source of historical information and insights, to be used, in traditional ways, in the formulation of historical generalizations

[14] http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/oral_history.html#memory, May 2008

[...]; on the other hand, oral history can be understood as a way of bypassing historical interpretation itself' (Perks and Thomson, 2006, pg 32). Oral history explores the recording, preservation and interpretation of certain historical information that is based on personal experiences and opinions using interviews as a main method (Ward, 1995; Perks and Thomson, 2006; Dunaway, 1992). It therefore provides important support for the perception of memory as a source of historical investigation as well as for the methodology in this study. In order to investigate the narrated past through different versions of memory by deconstructing, preserving and producing representations in a multidirectional way, this research needs to employ oral history. However, the novelty of this study lies in its focus on memory work, which is not solely based on one field. In order to examine various memories as fully as possible, I go beyond oral history and connect it with memory studies. As this field offers negotiations about the ways in which society remembers the past (Hoskins, Barnier, Kansteiner and Sutton, 2008), it is essential for the analysis of the forthcoming interviews and the exploration of the various factors that influence remembering and our recollections.

The relationship between memory and history is crucial for understanding the context of this chapter. The aim is to explore how the Czech RAF airmen's representations were captured and preserved by their own private memory and thus how the remembered and narrated past can be shaped by context, point of view and the audience, and thus can change over time (Allison, 2004). Moreover, this study questions and discusses what factors influence the process of reconstruction of history and what part memory plays in it. Nora (1986) suggests that we cannot approach memory and history as synonyms, as he sees memory as: 'life, borne by living societies [...which] remains in its permanent evolution, open to dialectic of remembering and forgetting [...] vulnerable to manipulation [...] and periodically revived' (Nora, 1986, p8), whilst history is 'the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer' (Nora, 1986, p8). This study also

argues[15] that historical narratives and private memory influence each other. 'Memories of the past are [...] strangely composite constructions resembling a kind of genealogy, the selective sedimentation of the past traces' (Perks and Thomson, 1998, pg 78). Therefore, it is important to state that, for the reconstruction of the past, private memories cannot be divided from the effects of the dominant historical representations, as they are complex constructions of the past traces (Perks and Thomson, 1998). This viewpoint is crucial for this memory work investigation, in which I argue against the traditional history, which is often over-reliant on written sources.

Furthermore, similarly to oral historians, who claim that traditional history always has a social purpose (Thomson, 2000), I too attempt to use oral sources in order to broaden its scope and democratise it in a multidirectional way. Thus, oral history brings a new outlook onto the subject of the Czech RAF veterans and the representations of their identities in public written narratives, and as a practice or methodology, it is essential for the discussions and critical analysis of the forthcoming interviews. '[Oral history] allows heroes not just from the leaders, but also from the unknown majority of people. [...] It brings history into and out of community' (Perks and Thomson, 2006, p31). When exploring the various factors that influence memory and thus the outcome of the interviews, I also highlight that besides the participants themselves, the researcher also becomes an active co-actor in the process of production of the historical narrative. In actual fact, the interpretations and explanations of the researcher (in this case, myself) become the most active part in the process (Perks and Thomson, 2006) and it is very important to recognise all the personal prejudices, stereotypes, myths and assumptions in order to try to separate them from those of the research participants (Randor, 1994)[16]. I shall return to these vital issues in the methodology chapter (Chapter 3); for now, though, it is important

[15] This argument is based on the evidence from the interviews, where several comments involved the press as the source of what actually happened.

to understand the production of memories in oral history-making as being conjoined with theorisations of memory in a social or collective framework (Halbwachs, 1992). As private memory is employed here as another source of narrated past in order to support findings from the press and to help overcome its limitations to reflect the past[17] (Blouin, Rosenberg, 2006), it is also important to pursue the approach of memory studies and negotiate the limitations of or influences over memory.

One of the key theorists for this chapter, Susannah Radstone (1999), focuses on narrative as a process of creation or construction of memories, or a witness testimony (see also Hirsch and Spitzer, 2009; Brown, Shevell and Rips, 1986). Following her ideas, I argue that personal recollections are one of the keystones of any historical representation or dominant construction of the past. This is because our narratives or stories 'play an important role in historical inquiry [...]; it is a loosely articulated 'model' of what happened' (Brown, Shevell and Rips, 1986, pg 138). Furthermore, Rapaport (1997) suggests that 'for memory of an historic event to be formed and maintained, there need to be people who witnessed the event and deem it worthy of remembrance' (Rapaport, 1997, pg 21). A possible influence of participants' perspective and thus memory was the subject of trauma. The events during WW2 could have been perceived as traumatic because the airmen's everyday reality at the time consisted of fighting for survival and witnessing loss of life on both sides – amongst the enemy and the fellow airmen (see Lewis, 1985). As Huyssen (2003) suggests: 'Trauma as a psychic phenomenon is located on the threshold between remembering and forgetting' (Huyssen, 2003, pg 16). From this point, trauma could possibly be a key factor in participants' recall and production of various versions of the past. Certain episodes were potentially emphasised whilst other were suppressed.

Current research claims that 'a traumatic event does not erase the memory of that event but inhibits or suppresses it with a new memory of safety' (Kirmayer, Lemelson and

[17] The limitations of the press as an archive are discussed in detail in the previous chapter.

Barad, 2007, P487). This would mean that traumatised memories are confabulated into more acceptable stories (Hunt and Robins, 1998; see also D'Argembeau and Van der Linden, 2008). The extent to which the Czech RAF airmen's recollections were influenced or shaped by trauma is subject to my later analysis; however, I would like to argue here against notions presented by Hunt and Robbins (1998), who see war trauma as the major and leading influence on the veterans' war memories. If there is a constant notion and development in the process of production of our versions of memory of a certain episode, a single influence such as trauma will become only one element which potentially shapes our memory in a particular period and which can be overpowered by other elements which influence our memory later on in life. It is important to stress here that the veterans' recollection have been shaped by various influences (notably media, war commemorations, co-remembering and forgetting) over more than sixty years.

It is very important for any event to be remembered that there is some kind of community somewhere that continues commemorating the event (Feuchwang, 1999). As I discussed above, media in particular are very problematic in the way they strongly affect memory discourse and form cultural memory, as they act as templates or repositories that mould our experiences (Dijck, 2007). This notion again demonstrates how the subjects of memory, history, ideology and media are interconnected throughout this study.

Hodgkin and Radstone (2003) explored the way in which memory is involved in contesting the meanings of the past. When investigating the versatile influences shaping the representations of the Czech RAF veterans in news discourse and memory, I propose that ideology and the power of media or politics over individuals play a major role. Hodgkin and Radstone (2003) understand memory as a process, changing through time (see also Huyssen, 2003) and therefore 'the past is not fixed, but is subject to change: both narratives of events and the meanings given to them are in a constant state of transformation' (Hodgkin and Radstone 2003, pg 23). Through this claim that is utterly

concerned with memory, one is able to observe once again the similarity between memory and news discourse which, as I argued earlier, is also subject to changing meanings and open to influences.

Furthermore, memory, like news discourse, is also influenced by ideology, as we exist within a social environment and express and receive events or feelings through language. The way in which war conflicts are reflected, captured and memorised, particularly such an international and vast one as the Second World War, is often manipulated politically in order to legitimise certain group action. In depleted post-war Britain, the government also needed to use ideology to direct certain human behaviours (Rapaport, 1997), such as encouraging positive feelings about the war, lessening grief and promoting the maximum efforts that people were to employ in order to rebuild the country fast and re-establish prosperity. Generally, governments have wanted witnesses of war conflicts to remember them in a way that suit the post-war climate, and the conversion of the press towards this philosophy and social matters was already noticeable before the end of WW2[18]. King (2000) argues that it is almost impossible to recover the 'innocence' of the memories from the moments when we did not have all the knowledge and experience we have gathered since the moment of the event. The socio-cultural context we are constantly exposed to assimilates with our memory and becomes also the 'wider realm of history' (King, 2000, pg 1). Thus our memory changes over time as our perspective changes (Allison, 2004). As Volkmer (2006) states, 'memories are, after all, re-telling from different perspectives, of personal history/biography' (Volkmer, 2006, pg 219).

These influences, however, not only contribute towards the creation of various versions of memory but also, through memory, shape our identity and the perception of our identity (in other words how we consider ourselves as individuals). According to the current research memory and identity are tightly interconnected as memory constructs a

[18] These assumptions will be supported by traces of evidence in several interviews in Chapter 5.

sense of collective and individual identity (Dijck, 2007). Private individual memory here helps to create and recreate history as it is actively constructed and re-constructed over time. 'The ways in which I think about the world will affect how memories are stored, the likelihood of events being remembered at all, and how they are remembered. People can remember things that matter to them but have trouble remembering information that is of little personal concern' (Hunt and Robbins, 1998, pg 59). 'Memories also serve to sustain a positive identity, and old age memories are especially important for sustaining a positive sense of self' (Thomson, 2003, pg 63). This is why I will now focus on the connections between memory and identity and whether or how the consideration of the notion of identity changes the argument of this study.

Memory and identity

To what extent do our identity and memory influence each other, and how do the shared memories of the past form the identity of individuals as members of a certain community (Thompson, 2009)? This question is crucial to this study as it supports the investigation of how the identities of the Czech RAF airmen were represented in WW2 newspapers and how those identities were structured and preserved by their own private memories. From this point of view, I am approaching memory as a phenomenon in a socio-historical context, which connects our existence, recollecting, and national or community identity (Triandafyllidou, 2001). This link is also reflected by Poole (2008):

> Memory is not a self-sufficient ground of identity [...]. But it remains an inescapable part of the process through which we claim or accept the burdens and responsibilities, rights and privileges, of any complex form of human existence. (Poole, 2008, pg 156)

Therefore my initial assumption is that the reference to the personal past is important to one's sense of identity (Wessel and Moulds, 2008). In other words, our autobiographical memories create a kind of set of our identity records, which then works as a scaffolding for

our overall identity (Dijck, 2007). Similarly Gruneberg and Morris (1992) claim that 'one of the most important and extensive uses of autobiographical memory is to construct self-concepts or self-histories' (Gruneberg and Morris, 1992, pg 243). This notion of self-concepts built on the interaction of our personal memory and identity merges with my argument about various versions of memory. The private memory of the Czech RAF airmen will reveal their image of their own identities. When analysing the interviews, I will test and evaluate whether each memory and thus identity is different, and secondly to what extent identity influences memory.

Problems emerging from the connection of memory and identity include identification, which is an ongoing relationship between self-image and public image (Rapaport, 1997). This notion is crucial for this study's comparative approach, particularly when contrasting the public image of the Czech RAF airmen's identity represented in newspapers and the image created by themselves. Identity is believed to be 'produced and reproduced both in discourse – narrative, rhetoric and representation – and in the practical [...] consequences of identification' (Rapaport, 1997, pg 176). Here individual and collective memory work together, co-creating the meanings that are essential for the recognition of our self-hood.

To deepen this idea, Annette Kuhn (1995) claims that memory is 'the raw material' for 'further acts of memory' or 're-membrance' influenced by our individual or collective cultural and historical formation, in which context memory work lies between identity and its transformation or re-membering. I want to focus on the notion of identity and national belonging, stressing that identity can be shaped by media and memory through our lives. Therefore, as a process, rather than an essence, identity oscillates between social and individual spheres, creating the sense of the 'self' through the process of identification or finding the grounds of our existence. Lawler (2008) argues that there are various ways of theorising the concept of identity and that 'the notion of identity hinges

on an apparently paradoxical combination of sameness and difference' (Lawler, 2008, pg 2). The problem is that no one has only one single identity, as it evolves and changes according to our life situation and our roles in it (Lawer, 2008). Consequently, I will explore whether these multiple identities can be in tension. In the analysis, I will investigate whether in the case of the Czech airmen there was a tension between multiple identities arising within their personal sense of identity: a tension between their Czech national affiliation and patriotism and their adopted affiliation to another international identity through their RAF membership. Here the notion of 'national identity' shifts towards 'trans-national identity', which then builds a foundation of trans-national memory, a memory in a global world which bridges nations (Radstone, 2010). Hall (1996) supports this idea of multiple identities and argues that:

> Identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than [...] 'who we are' or 'where we came from', [...] how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. (Hall and du Gay, 1996, pg 4)

Hall (1998) also suggests that our identification is a process that is never completed and only possible by connecting identity, ideology and the 'other'; and I would argue in my thesis that a fourth aspect is also necessary: memory. Therefore, in my interviews with the airmen, I will need to attend to how they connect their present positions as UK citizens, assimilated into British culture, with the past versions of themselves as valued guests who were expected to return to their country after the war. Thus, Hall (1998) opens up a very important aspect to my study that is based on the assumption that 'identities are [...] the positions which the subject is always obliged to take up while always knowing [...] that they are representations [...] always constructed from the place of 'other'' (Hall and du Gay, 1996, pg 6). In other words, in the case of the Czech RAF airmen, their identities were partly constructed by the British hegemonic discourse and possibly public attitude and one of the aims of my analysis is to investigate whether or how this influenced the production of their version of the past and their own identity. Following

this notion, other questions emerging from this context that will be investigated later are: what happens if an identity is chosen and assimilated into a contrasting one and consequently what part memory plays in its rewriting of the past, in taking on the identity of the 'other'.

When negotiating the connections between our identity and memory expressed through narrative, Lawler (2008) argues that 'the self is understood as unfolding through episodes which both express and constitute that self [...] or identity is configured over time and through narrative' (Lawler, 2008, pg 17). She is also claiming that identity is not an essential or given but produced through the narratives and what we remember depends on the social context (also see Kuhn, 2002). These ideas are key for this study, as I am questioning whether methods such as oral history negotiate the possibilities of multiple versions of the 'happened' due to the involvement of our 'self' within the process of the reconstruction of the past. One of the key negotiations suggests that the interview participant is not only an active shaper of the produced narrative, but also that the identity or rather national identity of the researcher contributes to what can be known from the interviews[19]. I also speculate on whether the fact that I am also a Czech citizen, currently repatriated, enabled me to relate to the Czech RAF veterans more easily or to better understand the cultural circumstances, and also whether my national identity reproduced collective frameworks (Halbwachs, 1992) and ideological positions in relation to reconstructing the past. In order to find the possible answers to these questions, this study explores and analyses the interview data as well as drawing upon media theories, as provided, for example, by Anderson (1991) in his study *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*.

In addition, to reach the necessary depth of the investigation, I again need to consider the specific war circumstances, which are arguably very influential in any era.

[19] There are also many more factors that influence the researcher's impact on the interview, such as gender, age, etc. This issue is discussed in more depth in the following chapter.

Correspondingly Aulich (1991) and Arthur (1984) claim that the actual context of the war changes and ideologically influences the real human heroism through artificial historical significance and political exaggerations of patriotism. I will examine later whether or how the WW2 context shaped various private and public versions of the Czech RAF airmen. An important question is how much private memories were influenced by the WW2 media, considering the power of individuality, which makes individuals subjects (Aulich, 1991) and the media powerful (Curran, 2002). Peninston-Bird's paper (2007) claims that public representations and private memories of WW2 were interconnected and highlights military influences over the media which can result in an indirect manipulation of one's opinions and thus a production of versions of memory based on military propaganda.

It is also important to recognize that the military did not only influence the Czech airmen indirectly through the media but also directly at the RAF bases. As Hynes claims: 'No man goes through a war without being changed by it.' (Hynes, 1998, p3). This inner change motivates the production of narrative about the war. Memory is produced retrospectively – imagination must wait for memory to reveal itself. The fact the Czech volunteers became professional airmen played a crucial role in their lives, and the military world filled with discipline and non-questionable commands (Lewis, 1985) also potentially influenced their identity and thus the way they perceived themselves and produced their versions of the happened. Hence, I argue that military identity became an important part of the complex identity of the Czech RAF. Similarly, according to Franke (1999): 'Individuals derive their self-conceptions from a multitude of identities (Franke, 1999, p6); and the key aspects which would be nurtured in each military sphere are positive attitude, commitment to the mission, and high morale. To what extent the Czech RAF veterans were showing signs of these elements of the military part of their identity will be explored in the later analysis. Higate (2003) highlights that the connections between men and the military have until now remained unquestioned, and therefore not very well explored; and similarly

to this thesis he argues against the traditional stereotypes of military identity and heroism and proposes a plurality of identities which are created and sustained in the armed forces and the societies in which they operate.

The above theories and concepts illustrate how our identity co-produces our individual memories and thus are crucial for my study and for the investigation of the processes of identification that occurred during the WW2 period in Czech RAF airmen's lives. Memory acts here as a filter that only keeps certain 'episodes' and allows us to create certain 'versions' of the past but changes over time. This development may reflect on our perception of ourselves and our identity as these are connected to if not built on our memories. On the other hand, 'the core meaning of any individual or group identity [...] is sustained by remembering' (Gillis, 1994, pg 6). This continuity as well as sustainability of community remembering can, however, be partly obliterated by forgetting. Therefore, in the next section, I will discuss whether forgetting can affect our identity and also explore how forgetting as a factor can influence the outcomes of this study's interviews.

Forgetting – losing identity?

When participants engaged in memory work remember, they are not simply doing so within a present social framework (Halbwachs, 1992) but are actively self-editing and forgetting in order to continue to function in that social framework. Thus, I will investigate how the Czech identity in a British context is reformed through remembering, forgetting and self-editing; and how memory, when activated, creates and preserves versions of representations as a living archive. Forgetting has currency here and has been defined and approached in many ways. In psychology, 'forgetting refers to a failure to express [...] previously learned information by individuals' (Wessel and Moulds, 2008, pg 288; see also Connerton, 2008 and Schacter, 2002). In sociological terms, it is believed to be a logical

counterpart to remembering, or even a crucial condition of remembering which, through discarding previous experiences, enables us to orient ourselves to the future. Forgetting then allows the capacities of memory to be released and therefore enables us to remember new experiences (Assche, Devlieger, Teampau and Verschraegen, 2009). Similar to this theory, Singer and Conway (2008) suggest that 'forgetting is not always a failure' (Singer and Conway, 2008, pg 279) and describe the problem of forgetting as a matter of relative accessibility from a store of available memory. Overall, 'forgetting and remembering are functions of the mind's inclination to produce creative recollections mingled with projections' (Dijck, 2007, pg 175). Similarly, Assche et al (2009) claim that remembering is conceptualised as an inhibition of forgetting, which, as a process, is a main requirement for social memory. Furthermore, they claim that 'only by collectively ignoring and forgetting most of what has happened can social groups and communities reconstruct their histories' (Assche et al, 2009, pg 212).

This study, however, needs to tackle the problem of forgetting predominantly as a more negative circumstance of memory, as an inability to access certain memories of the past, which can create 'holes' or gaps when reconstructing one's existence in order to preserve the image that was once captured[20]. Radstone (2000) supports this suggestion by claiming that:

> Although memory research investigates the links between individual or group memories and the wider and more generalised domains of history, culture, and society, its starting point is in the local, in the subjective, in the particularity itself. Memories remind us of who we are and remembering transforms one kind of experience into another; we are re-fashioning the same past differently, making it to be different in its very self-sameness.
>
> (Radstone, 2000, pg 12-13)

Consequently, when examining the phenomenon of forgetting as a result of inaccessibility of something that is in theory available, as it is encoded in long-term memory (Singer and

[20] This specific approach towards forgetting, concerned with validity and reliability will, however, be mainly included within the methodology chapter as well as in evaluations of the interviews with Czech veterans.

Conway, 2008), I also need to explore how our memory is actually being reconstructed (see Sutton, 2003; Bartlett and Kintsch, 1995) by the interview participants as well as myself as a researcher[21] and how this process also influences the outcome. Halbwachs (1992) calls this 'social frameworks of memory' and claims that these are not simple products of personal memories but the people around provide the tools used in the acts of recall and reconstruction of memories. 'There is no point in seeking where memories are preserved in my brain or in some nook of my mind to which I alone have access: for they are recalled to me externally' (Halbwachs, 1992, pg 38). This notion of public scaffolding of various forms triggering specific content of private memory is thus crucial for the investigation of the circumstances of the interviews with the Czech RAF veterans.

To what extent the 'last version' of the WW2 experience of the Czechoslovak airmen fighting in Britain within the RAF has vanished or is still fresh is one of the key questions of the interview analysis. Our memory is understood as a facility that brings to mind past events we were involved in (Poole, 2008). And the reason why we remember a certain event is 'because the past experience has left an internal trace [...] which enables my later recall' (Poole, 2008, pg 151). These traces, or a causal residue and the representation of the experience, then plays a major role in the reconstruction of the 'remembered'. Thus, I will be examining how these memories are triggered, by whom and under what circumstances. Potentially everything that has been remembered can be retrieved and 'through the retrieval process might enter consciousness' (Singer and Conway, 2008, pg 280); however, information that is available is not necessarily always accessible.

Both of these theories propose that what we recall is always selected, which would suggest that even forgetting has two components – an unconscious and a conscious, voluntary one, i.e. self-editing, which is not dissimilar from media editing. Rapaport

[21] This problem will be discussed in depth in the methodology Chapter 3.

(1997) claims that: 'People choose what they wish to remember, and certainly what they want to forget' (Rapaport, 1997, pg 261). Moreover, our identities can emerge from remembered social interactions; however, these, whilst being reconstructed, need to borrow topics from other systems such as mass media to overcome their episodic limitations (Assche, Devlieger, Teampau and Verschraegen, 2009). There are various concepts of fading memory (see Connerton, 2008 and Erdelyi, 2008); however, the most relevant definition for this study describes forgetting as an active rather than a passive process, influencing the content of what is being recalled and why by individual and collective memory (Jefferson and Conway, 2008). This will also inform how media and memory can be conjoined, because forgetting as self-editing is not dissimilar in process, I propose, to editing media, where 'editing enhances, detracts from or alters the original image' (Casmir, 1994, pg 210). However, to what extent forgetting is a conscious process with the aim to produce the best version of what is possible of a recorded experience is another question for this investigation. Although having a significant cognitive aspect[22] (Sutton, 2003), memory can never be merely a source of propositional knowledge of the past, as it is too fallible (Poole, 2008).

The image of who we are, our identity, is based on the remembering of a variety of facts and emotions and is constantly remodelling as our personal memory is re-shaped whenever a different object created in the past is recalled (Dijck, 2008). Social function of autobiographical memory changes in life. For young people, autobiographical memory serves as a guide to certain critical social functions that are related to that life period. Social functions of autobiographical memories in midlife become a kind of source of past experiences, a means of directing actions to future goals; whilst for the elderly, autobiographical memory helps maintaining their self-identity (Piolino, Desgranges,

[22] As mentioned above, although the cognitive aspects of memory are predominantly studied by psychology, this study draws upon the more social science side of memory studies. For more details on the complexity of memory research, see John Sutton (2003).

Benali, and Eustache, 2002). Similarly, Thomson (2003) suggests that 'memories also serve to sustain positive identity, and in old age memories are especially important for sustaining positive sense of self' (Thomson, 2003, pg 63). The core elements of the reality of our life, which were perhaps repeated many times, create certain life stories which again stand as a foundation of our identity, particularly when we age (Cohen and Conway, 2008; see also Beike, Lampinen and Behrend, 2004). The importance of narrative as a co-creator of autobiographical memory is emphasised by the statement that 'events are better recalled if they are unique, important and frequently rehearsed' (Cohen and Conway, 2008, pg 160).

In order to analyse and evaluate data produced by aged interview participants, I must consider how ageing influences memory (see Schroots, Van Dijkum and Assink, 2004). However, rather than researching a purely psychological view, which would not be particularly relevant to this study, I have focused again on authors who set ageing as a psychological matter in a sociological context. Gruneberg and Morris (1992) claim that 'older adults give lower self-rating than young adults for their ability to remember proper names and numbers such as postal codes, young and older adults give equivalent assessments of their memory for factual and personal information such as experiences in childhood' (Gruneberg and Morris, 1992, pg 124). However, they also emphasise that aged people, for example, have major problems with finding the right words (Gruneberg and Morris, 1992).

Therefore, if our memories fail us or disappear, as 'memory does decline with age' (Park and Hedden, 2001, pg 149), our self-image or identity becomes unclear. Some old identities can even eventually disappear whilst new ones emerge. In this case, the '[...] vanished identity creates obstacles for a reconstruction of the old perspective' (Assche, et al, 2009, pg 223). However, this study is the type of research that helps to preserve old identities so they are not lost through forgetting, and also discusses the natural shaping

forces that influence the processes of remembering and forgetting and therefore our private versions of identities. Remembering itself is ‘an active reconstruction or construction built out of the relation of our attitude towards a whole active mass of organised past reactions or experience’ (Bartlett and Kintsch, 1995). On the whole, the reconstruction of memory is a very complex matter, which is manipulated by several elements, including the researcher. Our personal experience and general knowledge influence the process of reconstruction of memory, which is then hardly ever exact (Sutton, 2003).

Versioning – concluding remarks

This chapter has synthesised theories of memory studies and oral history about memory, narrative, identity and media into a complex discussion. It presented the interplay of memories that serve as a reservoir of reflected and represented images of the happened, which are constantly in interaction with each other and constantly shaping and re-creating each other (Rothberg, 2009; see also King, 2000, and Dijck, 2007). This study follows private and public memory of the Czech RAF airmen and investigates where they connect and disconnect in order to create a fuller image of representations of the airmen. However it is important to state that such an image is only that and can never include all versions of the past. Public memory or hegemonic collective memory provides official versions, representations which were created by journalists and propagandists for the masses, whilst individual and private memory produces a unique image of a single life experience full of details from ordinary lives.

There are also limitations to the study of human memory, which are particularly significant in issues such as retaining or preserving past events due to forgetting, or manipulating or shifting the original remembered experience caused by self-involvement in the matter, our identity and the involvement of a researcher. Besides, the fact that the

WW2 experience possibly became a story many times told for the Czechoslovak RAF veterans could have partly deformed their recollections, as King (2000) suggests:

> Frequently rehearsed or narrated memory takes on a form which distorts the 'original' memory and then solidifies. [...] memory evoked too often, and expressed in the form of a story, tends to become fixed in a stereotype, in a form tested by experience, crystallised, perfect, adorned, which installs itself in the place of raw memory and grows at it expense.
> (King, 2000, pg 25)

Also, ideological influences upon both memory formation and recollection, quite often transmitted by media, which I presented earlier, can modify individual versions of reality into 'preferred models' (Dijk, 1998). How we decode a meaning out of a news discourse determines how we will then remember it. Media too act as cultural artefacts, or artefacts of ethnicity, and 'contribute to [the] formation and reshaping of remembrance, both public and private, and the formation and re-shaping of the self-image of combatant nations' (Emsley, 2003, pg 1). In other words, in the case of the Czechoslovak RAF airmen, their memories have been shaped throughout the decades by governments, which have co-created what they wanted the recipients to know or believe.

When negotiating the relationship and the pros and cons of employing individual and public memory as co-creators of historical narrative, I found positives on both sides. The introspection of our internal recall inevitably adds the necessary depth of the recollection, and the cultural influence of a particular group enabling us to construct collective memories provides the social context and helps to gain or build the social side of our identity through the process of 're-membering' (Kuhn, 2002). However, the co-existence of these two in the case of the Czech RAF airmen, and the extent to which they contributed towards historical reconstruction, is another subject to be investigated in the later analysis.

All of the various types of memory, such as mediated memory and narrated memory, and their relationships with identity and history, contribute towards creating our unique 'versions' of the past in a process that I call 'versioning'. This idea corresponds

with Rothberg's (2009) model of multidirectional memory, which is 'based on recognition of the productive interplay of disparate acts of remembrance and developed in a contrast to an understanding of public memory as involved in a competition over scarce [...] resources' (Rothberg, 2009, pg 309). Therefore multidirectional memory encompasses private as well as public memory equally. Other recent studies also consider memory as multilayered, constantly evolving, and moving in a range of directions. Hoskins (2010) examines and reflects upon digital media and war reporting and argues that there is a continual emergence of new pasts and new memory which he calls 'diffused memory'. This is a living memory that is 'sifted through the co-evolution of technology and perception' (Hoskins and O'Loughlin, 2010, pg 104). Also Connelly (2007), when exploring the British myth of the Second World War, highlights the occurrence of multiple versions of the memory of the war and its constant reinterpretation and reshaping. 'The real war [...] was always being recast, reframed, reinterpreted even as it continued' (Connelly, 2007, pg 8). Similarly to these theories, I propose to examine various versions of both public and private memories that create an interacting spiral of memory and that might allow me the ''revisiting' and rewriting of hegemonic sites of memory' (Rothberg, 2009, pg 310). By doing so, I create more open- ended reconstruction, or 'my' version of the past.

I also discovered the notion of 'our' versions of the past in the theories of Dijck (2007). She claims that memory and media are referred to as reservoirs of past experiences from which we can draw our versions of our reality. Likewise, Sutton (2003) stresses the need we have to anchor our versions of the past onto our present resources of memory. What is more, we quite often express nostalgic feelings for a particular version of the past, as it enables us to access and restore 'our past' without any medial inputs (King, 2000). Our private memory or a recall of the reflected and captured events becomes our first private version of history, and similarly, the news becomes the first public version of the happened. Thus, theories of media and memory are synthesised to provide a complex base for the

investigation of the representation of the Czech RAF airmen. Despite the fact that there are possible contrasts between the public and private memory, which could emerge from the influences such as ideology, propaganda, news value and the 'officiality' of the voice that shapes the public official drafts of memory and the totally different shaping forces that enter the private sphere, this study draws them into one discussion about construction of the past. The multiplicity of versions of memory gathered from various newspapers and different interviews helps me to contrast and at the same time integrate these versions in order to create a more colourful image of their identities.

The fluidity of the subject of memory allows this research to span various disciplines, notably media studies, memory studies, oral history, socio-cultural studies and history. 'The fact that memory work is inter-disciplinary is a challenge, a problem and a benefit' [23]. For the exploration of individual memory of the Czech RAF veterans I selected the method of qualitative interviews, which I combined with the textual analysis of the selected Czechoslovak and British WW2 press. This combination of methods and the contrast of the private and the public historical memory narratives created an original angle from which to approach the past. In fact, this study can be perceived as a methodological study in itself, presenting a specific method of socio-cultural memory research contributing towards the emerging field of memory studies and its methodology. The issue of methodology in the field of memory studies is, however, very complex, as researchers within this field carry out multimodal work and thus use a wide range of methods and a multimodal approach to their methodology, as a rigorous methodology for memory studies has not yet been produced. The methodological issues and opportunities concerning this thesis are negotiated in detail in the following chapter.

[23] Reading, 2009, http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/newsandevents/podcasts/media/more/centreformemorystudies, March 2010

Chapter three: Methodology

Initial field mapping

As I suggested in the previous chapter, the subject of methodology in memory studies as a cross-disciplinary research area is not simple. Reading (2009) has pointed out that there does not yet exist a clear map which describes different kinds of methodologies that are used by memory researchers and a critique of them from the perspective of memory studies. Such a task, however, is very difficult, because within cultural memory studies, 'memory work is both a method for attaining data and memory can be an object of study'[24].

Concerns emphasising issues of memory methodology have also been raised in last decade by other memory theorists, notably Susannah Radstone (1999). Currently, the methods or the 'vehicles and processes used to gather the data' (Wisker, 2008, pg 67) that are employed by memory researchers are borrowed from other fields such as media, history, film and literature studies, anthropology, psychology, and sociology (Radstone, 2008). These methods, however, were not designed to serve the purposes of memory studies and therefore need to be adapted. This adaptation undertaken by each individual researcher and a novel assortment of various methods enables us to investigate the subject of memory in more depth and tackle it from various angles; however, it can cause potential problems in terms of rigour and unification of the methodology of memory work. Methodology is understood as 'the rationale and the philosophical assumptions underlying a particular study rather than a collection of methods, though the methodology leads to and informs the methods' (Wisker, 2008, pg 67). Therefore, the methodology of memory studies ought to be a unified theoretical discussion about the research strategy (Jensen and

[24] Reading, 2009, http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/newsandevents/podcasts/media/more/centreformemorystudies/, March 2010

Jankowski, 1991). The current situation, however, leads towards a kind of diffusion where memory researchers, including myself, need to create their own map or methodology for each piece of research they undertake. I found this necessity to re-invent my own research strategies rather difficult and I propose that certain limitations, such as partial disconnection with other memory projects, might occur as a result during this initial stage of the emergence of a new field. On the other hand it is important to highlight that this situation is not completely novel in qualitative research, processes of remembering the past are similar to the process of interrogation of source construction in historical inquiry and many researchers need to develop methodologies specific to their studies.

The methodological significance of this project lies elsewhere. The methodology here aims to uncover various sources that contain current and past representations of the Czech RAF airmen and to recreate the multiple images of these airmen whilst mapping and examining the process of production of versions of memory during WW2 and its motives. This study thus explores memory at the point when it was produced and influenced by various factors such as propaganda, and does not only look back towards past representations from now. This is where this thesis challenges the current memory research which is predominantly focused on memory reconstruction at the present (Radstone, 1999). I have drawn on methods and methodologies from media and cultural studies and oral history and adapted them to the specifics of my research, which is concerned with private and public memory and how these were produced and interacted in the past. For example, my interview analysis was not solely focused on the historical content of the narratives but also on exploring the participants' memories and the process of remembering the past. I selected the same approach for the textual analysis, where I not only studied the texts as archives and products of public memory but also questioned why they were produced. In order to select a suitable research methodology, I commenced by answering the following set of questions: What data need to be collected in order to answer my research questions?

How will I collect the data? How will I examine the data and link them with current theories in order to answer my research questions (Barzun and Graff, 2004)? At its core, this study is a methodological thesis in itself, as it explores the multimodal approaches to understanding the past. Whilst it discusses versions of reality, the different viewpoints of different sources and how history is reconstructed from these, it also collects and evaluates representations of the Czech RAF airmen's identities in newspapers alongside their own recollections and reflections upon their own wartime identities. Thus, through this project, another version of representations of their existence is created and preserved. As this case study draws together media, memory studies and history, the methodology that underpins and informs this research consists of traditional approaches from a cross-section of disciplines, such as textual analysis, interviews and document analysis (Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock, 1999; Jensen and Jankowski, 1991; White and Schwoch, 2006; Roberts, 2001; Berger, 1998; Bertrand and Hughes, 2004).

The main written sources of evidence in this project have been collected by and preserved at the British Library (in Colindale) newspaper archive, where, as Blouin and Rosenberg (2006) claim: 'The historian, the user, the social rememberer gives the archive's 'stuff' its meaning' (Blouin and Rosenberg, 2006, pg 1). By 'the stuff' for this project we mean the WW2 British and Czech newspapers and their representations of the Czech RAF airmen. This study attempts to create this historical meaning through combining the textual analysis of the WW2 press with the findings from the qualitative interviews. The primarily factual substance of other archives is not in agreement with the aim of this study, which is capturing and representing one's existence through language (Hall, 1996) either within public memory, in the press or in private memory (Radstone, 1999). So, rather than investigating the material world and its relics, I will, as Foucault proposes (Macdonald, 2003), replace it with discourse as a valid object of analysis. I explored the discourse of public collective memory that is shared, passed on and constructed by a group (Halbwachs,

1992) through textual analysis, whilst the discourse of private memory was investigated through qualitative interviews with the Czech RAF veterans (Thompson, 2000). Subsequently, this study explores how these representations correspond with veterans' recollections, which classifies it to a degree also as biographical research (Roberts, 2001). From the historical point of view, the Czechoslovak RAF airmen were a small group of predominantly men[25] who temporarily migrated from a country which was repressed by Hitler after the controversial Munich conference decision (29th September 1938)[26] with an urge to make a difference in a beckoning war. The position of the Czech RAF airmen within the British society was problematic (Hurt, 2004). By approaching the identities of the Czech RAF airmen as a subject of media reports and historical subjects and by contrasting the Czech and British representations of these identities, this cross-disciplinary and cross-cultural study creates a unique discussion, which adds a new subject to the recent media and memory research.

My original aim was also to study BBC radio broadcasts and the newsreel/documentary films produced between 1940 and –1945; however, the archive for these is very limited, as very few sources from this area have been preserved. The current research on media representation or audience theory focuses predominantly on the visual media, such as television and cinema (Ang, 1995, 1996; Fiske, 1987; Hall, 1996, in Curran, Morley, Walkerdine and Moores, 1998; Morley, 1980) or on current newspapers and magazines (Allan and Zelizer, 2004; Fairclough, 2000; Bignell, 1997; Fowler, 1991; Macdonald, 2003; O'Sullivan, Dutton and Rayner, 2003). Media representation in the area of Second World War newspapers seems to be only partially investigated in the UK. However, analogies can be drawn with the recent cultural studies approach to

[25] In total about 2,500 Czechoslovak men (no women) served in the RAF during the WW2, of whom 511 were lost (Hurt, 2004).

[26] In the Munich Agreement of 1938, Nazi Germany, supported by the UK and France, forced the Czechoslovak government to cede the borderlines. In 1939, the rest of Czechoslovakia was invaded by Hitler and divided into the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and the puppet Slovak State (Brown, 2000).

representation and audiences. There were also several other sources which I initially explored, however I later made a decision not to use them in this project. A propagandistic film 'Fighting Allies: Czechoslovak in Britain (1941) directed by Louise Brit archived in the Imperial War Museum is a public representation of the Czech RAF airmen which were arguably produced to highlight heroism of the Allies and promote their efforts amongst the British. The main reason for not including this film was my determination to keep this investigation tight, deep and thorough. By examining another type of source, the WW2 cinema and film, I would open up another theme with a wide theoretical background and potentially diffused my focus on the written and oral narratives. Furthermore, according to the Mass observation Film reports[27] examining reactions of the cinema audience to the newsreels, the propagandistic films were generally rejected as cinema was considered as a medium offering escape from reality and not a medium portraying real representations of the war. Other purely factual sources such as airmen's log books or documents were also excluded from this investigation due to the reasons explained in the introduction of Chapter 1 (lack of narrativity which this project is based upon).

After I finalised the bank of sources which would be utilised, I decided to employ qualitative methods, as they fitted better for my research questions, which explore representations of identities and possible causes behind media production and historical reflection. I needed to ask 'how?' and 'why?' questions rather than 'how many?' (Silverman, 2010). Roberts (2002) claims that the dominant hypothetico-deductive method based on quantitative data cannot be applied to life-story research, as it does not generate uniform data that one can simply categorise and generalise from. According to Tuchmann (1991), the most interesting questions about the newspapers and their news reports concern either process (e.g. the relationship between news and ideology) or the impact of news on individuals and institution.

[27] Mass Observation Archive at the University of Sussex

The human factor involved and the diversity of the data that cannot be quantified proposes that one has to inevitably apply qualitative methods (Tuchmann in Jensen and Jankowski, 1991). Despite some limitations of qualitative methods, such as a certain level of subjectivity – the results are more easily influenced by the researcher's personal biases - problematic generalisation and smaller number of sources, difficult to test research hypothesis, and the fact that it is time consuming (Jensen and Jankowski, 1991); I discovered numerous strengths of qualitative research methods. A qualitative approach is very valuable when studying a limited number of cases in depth, as it provides individual case information and understanding of people's personal experiences of phenomena (insider's viewpoint). It also allows spaces for exploration of the context of the phenomenon of interest and flexibility when changes occur during the research so the focus of study can shift during the process as a result (Jensen and Jankowski, 1991).

The variety of qualitative methods I selected for this project may be divided into three different fundamental categories. The first is archival research - locating newspapers and documents and textual analysis. This was to provide me with the written sources representing public memory. The second category, oral history, includes qualitative interviews and ethical issues that are an essential source of private memory; and the third is the comparative approach. This final complex evaluation investigates the interaction and interrelations of the public and private memory as sources of historical re-construction and negotiates actual historical, memory and media research methods. The employment of this method is essential because it synthesises selected sources of memory into one discussion about versioning, multidirectional memory and the problems of recreating history. The methods employed in this study can also be structured as data-gathering or data collection methodologies, including interviews and archival investigation, and data-analysis methodologies such as discourse analysis and methods of research enquiry (Brewer, 2000).

Before I move onto the actual methods that were employed in this research, I need to highlight two key issues that emerged from this type of project and justify how I attempted to tackle them. The initial methodological problem, which required resolution before I could progress into the next stage of this project, was the actual selection of language of the sources of public and private memory. The research as a whole was to be undertaken in English: thus, the sources I was to be drawing upon were preferably also in English. However, after my initial research, I discovered that only some newspapers produced by the Czech ethnic minority living in Britain were written in English and many were in Czech.

I was also aware that the potential interview participants, the former Czech RAF airmen, were Czechs and English was not their first language. How could I use all these sources and what was the most appropriate and effective way of interviewing? This specific situation therefore brought specific criteria into my methodology. In order to ensure that the full original text of all written sources employed in this study and the process of my further analyses was accessible to English readers, I decided to select exclusively material written in English[28]. Similarly, the preferred language of my interviews was English. This was also partly due to a practical reason. There would be no need for translations and no more possible further issues emerging from this process, such as mistranslation, would enter this project. Travelling abroad for the interviews involved would also increase the cost of my research. However, to a degree, the homogeny of the sources gained from a production of these in the English language and culture seemed important. Moreover, the space for the presentation of this research is limited. Therefore, I did not attempt to examine all accessible versions, but selected a specific sample – the 'English versions'. This is also why Czech RAF veterans who remained living in the

[28] However I also investigated *The Czechoslovak independent weekly* which was published in Czech, and I utilised its messages as background information during the analysis of *The Czechoslovak special issue* written in English. They both became the qualitative treasure of this study.

Czech Republic were not approached and included into this study. I deemed that broadening the spectrum from which I gained participants would increased the scope of this study significantly, as many more influences - notably political, linguistic, psychological and possibly ethnographical - would need to be considered.

However, if I had the opportunity to approach these men, it would be fascinating to see whether the fact that they spent the majority of their lives after WW2 in a different environment in a different country had an impact upon their WW2 memories. (All Czech RAF veterans who stayed in the former Czechoslovakia were suppressed by the communist regime. They were either imprisoned or punished by being made to work in harsh conditions for witnessing the Western culture, Hurt, 2004). I am fully aware that the angle of solely 'English versions' of the representations of Czech RAF airmen is quite narrow and specific. This perspective, however, makes this study unique and novel because it not only illustrates the existence of various non-master narratives but also aims to highlight the importance of inclusion of all versions of the past in a non-competitive, multidirectional way (Rothberg, 2009).

Whilst negotiating the production of various versions, I must highlight that the most crucial issue which runs throughout my methodology is the actual position of myself as a researcher in this project, the level of my objectivity (Chandler, 2005, Wakewich and Smith, 2006 and also Summerfield, 1998) and questions of validity and reliability. The key question is: how to maximise the validity and as a result the reliability of my thesis? I am aware that my knowledge, level of skill, nationality, age, gender, social background, personal prejudices and stereotypes had an impact upon the research as a whole. My initial aim was to set out honest limitations of this research and then carry out the methods as rigorously as possible with an intention of distancing myself from material gathered and being as professional during the interviews as possible. Furthermore, I needed to negotiate

all the above listed influences and how they affect my work during the whole process of my investigation.

Firstly, I needed to consider myself as someone relatively young and not British, which potentially had an effect on my ability to understand the position and power of WW2 and Battle of Britain on the British 'psyche'. Despite my theoretical knowledge of WW2, which I gained from the Master's Degree course in the History of Czech and European affairs, this fact limits my 'universal' viewpoint. On one hand, however, there are some advantages of being a Czech researcher exploring representations of the Czech RAF airmen. As a member of the Czech nation, I learnt patterns of codes, signs and symbols within Czech society and culture. Therefore, I should find connoted meanings used in the Czech newspapers as well as in the private narratives of the Czech RAF veterans easier to understand than an English researcher. According to Eco (1976): 'codes and subcodes are applied to the messages in the light of a general framework of cultural references, which constitutes the receiver's patrimony of the knowledge: his ideological, ethical, religious standpoint, his psychological attitudes, his tastes, his value systems, etc' (Eco, 1976, p.115). On the other hand, I must emphasise here that the whole study is written from the perspective of a Czech woman living in Britain at the beginning of the 21st century and the various versions of the Czech RAF airmen's identity this thesis reveals are to an extent co-constructed by myself as a researcher. However, in accordance with the very core of my argument about versioning, this should not be a problem for this research, but should instead introduce a potential uniqueness and thus become strength.

Would other researchers undertake this research in the same way and draw the same conclusions from the data available? I believe that each researcher is situated within a different context (intertextuality) and therefore would possibly draw similar but not necessarily the same conclusions. Considering the interviews, according to the social framework of memory, the presence of another interviewer would create a diverse

environment and thus trigger, to a certain extent, dissimilar memories (Halbwachs, 1992). Different researchers would therefore potentially create a different version of the representation of the Czech airmen. The interpretations of the newspaper articles would vary in a similar way. Furthermore, I must highlight the fact that the experience of English academic research was relatively new to me, as the majority of my academic career so far has taken place in the Czech Republic, in another system and in another language. This fundamentally affected my position as a researcher in the UK and at the University of Gloucestershire because for the first time, I was able to approach historical material, academic theories and methodologies critically and to go beyond descriptions of the representations of the past. A possible consequence of this is that some of my analyses and conclusions might lack experience. This novelty in my work, which caused several difficulties on my research journey, as I had to re-learn the way of thinking and handling data, became an exciting and beneficial opportunity for developing my knowledge and skills as a researcher. From this viewpoint, our knowledge about the past as well as our memory and how we present it, preserve it and examine it is never complete and always subject to change. Similarly, Carr (1964) sees the exploration of history as 'a social process in which individuals are engaged as social beings. Also, it is a continuous process of interactions between the historian and his facts, an unending dialog between the present and the past' (Carr, 1964, pg 30). Thus, despite my best intentions, maintaining trustworthiness, which is 'defensible' (Johnson 1995) and establishing confidence in the findings, in terms of validity and reliability, the degree of generalisation I achieved is lower than it would be in quantitative research. Arguably, this is also due to the nature of qualitative research, as discussed above.

Methods:

Method 1- Archival research and textual analysis

As this study is focusing on the Second World War period and therefore deals with historical events, a vast area of sources of public memory that offer selected information about Czech RAF pilots is available in archives. There I predominantly focused on the WW2 newspapers, but also I studied Mass Observation documents, and several memoirs[29], photographs and a pilot log book. Therefore, data collection methods involved mostly an investigation of library and archive sources lodged in the Imperial War Museum, the British Library and the Mass Observation Archive at the University of Sussex. In the actual research of the archival sources, the biggest problem was that it is currently difficult to find out what WW2 newspapers and newsletters were preserved or selected by the British archive for preservation, how many were disposed of as not valuable, and how randomly or systematically the current collections were created. In other words, it is now hard to claim whether there is something missing from the current historical sources. Whoever controls the archives to an extent controls the memory of any given event. Thus, I could only reflect on and interpret the data that has been made available to me as a researcher.

Identifying the sources and sampling

The initial stage of my research was to locate appropriate sources that would constructively support this study. A search of various British national archives and libraries on-line was conducted to enabled me to select which establishment held collections of recorded information about the Czechoslovak airmen fighting in the RAF during WW2. To

[29] These I only found published in Czech; I thus did not include their content in any other way but as a source of my deeper understanding of the historical context, which was essential, particularly when conducting the interviews.

understand the legitimacy of a particular culture, we need to investigate its relation to the archive – a site for the accumulation of records (Featherstone, 2000). These were to support the part of my research investigating the 'public memory'. Currently, most of WW2 newspapers produced in Britain are gathered either in the British Library Newspapers in Colindale or in the Imperial War Museum. The collections have been made over decades and I did not find much consistency in the preservation of WW2 sources. Sometimes 'material was either carefully selected for [or sometimes] randomly placed in an archive' (Blouin, Rosenberg, 2006, pg 1): thus perhaps not 'everything' that was printed reached the archives. Regrettably as mentioned above, the BBC archive of the radio broadcasts from the WW2 is almost non-existent. Therefore again 'the archive' determined to an extent what would be explored and so which sources represent official history. In the end, I selected three establishments: the Imperial War Museum, the British Library and the Mass Observation Archive at the University of Sussex, as they held numerous relevant[30] documents and newspaper articles; leaving other establishments (such as the archive in Kew, or newspaperarchive.com) unused as unsuitable due to lack of sources.

As 'it is rarely possible or desirable to analyse absolutely all media coverage of a subject, area or issue' (Hansen, Cottle, Negrine and Newbold, 1998, pg 100), firstly I needed to decide which British newspapers were the most appropriate representatives of the wide variety available. In order to investigate various versions of the past produced by different types of press that represented and targeted different groups of the WW2 British society, I selected three titles. My first choice was *The Times*, a dominant establishment newspaper, which was likely to represent the 'government voice' (Matheson, 2000). Its war reports had a specific tone, as the editor from 1941 onward was Robin Barrington-Ward, 'a first world war hero whose experiences at the front had turned him against war'

[30] The criterion for a 'relevant source' was a mention of the Czech RAF airmen in a British or Czech source published in Britain that would be either mediated or reflecting upon their existence in a creative narrative way through language. The idea was to compare the public narrative and the private one.

(Greenslade, 2004, pg 23). After initial support of the appeasement in the late 1930s, *The Times* was being closely observed by suspicious Churchill and the MOI as to whether they stood unequivocally behind the war effort (Greenslade, 2004). Nevertheless, the war *Times*' status in society was quite authoritative and official (Wadsworth, 1955). In terms of the war news, the newspaper brought a wide selection of reports from Britain, Europe and many parts of the world every day. Its coverage of political events was in general more dominant than its social section or any other part. This is why I presumed that such a newspaper would present its readership with more reports about the Czech airmen than any other. My research also benefited in terms of time effectiveness from the fact that *The Times* is available in The British Library in Colindale in London in electronic form.

The News of the World – the most popular Sunday newspaper in Great Britain during the war period (Wadsworth, 1955)[31] - was another source drawn upon in this research. The main reason behind this decision was its popularity. The high figures of around eight million readers a year suggest that this establishment entertained but also influenced a vast number of British people. Furthermore, I selected the tabloid *The Daily Mirror*, because it was one of the most popular and widely read of the daily newspapers in Britain at that time; also, its readership spread across all social groups and classes, particularly factory workers, women and members of the armed forces (Williams, 1998). This newspaper also became more easily accessible in 2007 when it became available in electronic form in The British Library. By comparing different types of British newspapers, I attempted to view the same subject of reporting, the representation of the Czech RAF airmen, from various angles.

My biggest aim whilst searching through the British archives, however, was to find some authentic editions produced by the Czechs living in Britain at that time that had

[31] *News of the World* - an estimated pre-war circulation of 3.75 million surged to an incredible 7.9 million by 1948 (Wardsworth, 1955).

never before been drawn upon or published. A thorough examination of British archival sources enabled me to discover six mediated texts (newspapers or newsletters) produced by the Czech community living in Great Britain during WW2 - *Our news ('Nase noviny'*) with a subtitle *'Czechoslovak Army Camp Daily'* (Appendix 1), *Czechoslovak newsletter,* a text produced during WW2 by the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a '*background material not necessarily intended for publication'* (Appendix 2), *Czechoslovak Military Review* ('*Vojenske rozhledy'*), '*The Spirit Of Czechoslovakia*', '*The Central European Observer',* a fortnightly review of Czechoslovak and Central European affairs, and '*The Czechoslovak*' ('*Cechoslovak*'), an independent weekly (Appendix 3). These remained available to the public and researchers in the Imperial War Museum in London or the British Library of Newspapers in Colindale. My initial aim was to consider whether they were actual newspapers, to what extent they were relevant to my research and whether they were published in English. I examined their contents, format, style and language; categorised them (see an overview in Appendix 4) and excluded those that did not fulfil the criteria above. The only Czech newspaper that represented the Czech RAF airmen and the Czech minority and was available for research in the British archives was *The Czechoslovak.* It was printed by Unwin Brothers, published mainly in Czech with some English special editions. This newspaper was established on 25th October 1940. It reported generally about the Czechoslovak exile government and its steps, the war, the Czech soldiers and pilots fighting in England as British Allies against the Germans; and about the news from Prague or London. This means that this source matched all my selection criteria for Czech newspapers used in this research: thus, it was selected for further analyses. The final discovery of this newspaper and selection of the three British WW2 newspapers transferred my attention from the selection of sources onto the selection of articles within them.

The next step was to find a sufficient number of samples/articles/documents, which is crucial even for qualitative methodology in order to be able to draw valuable and valid conclusions (Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock, 1999) to support my arguments. The selection criteria for the resource locations were simple: the dates of the newspaper issues had to correspond with the era of the Second World War (between 1st September 1939 and 8th May 1945) and the articles or documents had to contain information about the Czech RAF airmen or the Czech minority living in Britain during the Second World War. By this approach, I intended to gather all various representations about the Czech RAF airmen and samples that would help me to gain a wider understanding about the life of the Czechs in Britain and the background to the establishment of the various Czechoslovak newspapers. In order to minimise the problem of subjectivity and maximise the validity of the selection process, I used key word criteria (Roberts, 2002) in the selection of the samples. Thus my sampling consisted of searching through the library's electronic key word search and examining all articles or documents that were selected by the computer. In the case of the *News of the World* and all the various Czech newspapers, I read through the content of all issues from that era and searched for the key words mechanically myself. I found this method very repetitive and time consuming: the process of sampling would have happened faster if all sources had been available electronically.

Due to the uniqueness of *The Czechoslovak* and the fact that it has not been academically explored before, I treated this community newspaper, particularly its special English issue, differently to the rest of the selected newspapers. Besides examining the articles representing the Czech RAF airmen, I also studied the whole newspaper in depth in order to explore its community features and the possible reasons behind its production. A detailed analysis of *The Czechoslovak*'s special issue front page as 'a newspaper's front-page was also performed. This was to reveal a unique and potentially valuable complex text made up of several different segments, which contributed to its overall impact and

meaning' (O'Sullivan, Dutton and Rayner, 2003, pg 34). On the other hand, I must declare that my investigation did not successfully discover much information about the background of *The Czechoslovak* newspaper. Despite my efforts to search for more issues on the British and Czech archive databases and seek clues about this newspaper on British and Czech internet search engines, I did not find any further mention about this WW2 community newspaper. Not even the interview participants as members of the Czech community [32] could provide me with any information about *The Czechoslovak*. The only information available, therefore, is what was printed on the actual issues. From those I found out that the Head of the production team of *The Czechoslovak* was Bohus Beneš, a pre-war London correspondent for Czechoslovakia. This finding created my initial assumption that *The Czechoslovak* newspaper was a possible representation of an official voice of the Czechoslovak exile government. Similarly, I was not able to discover the size of its readership or the number of issues sold each week. There is no evidence as to whether it was distributed beyond the area of London, whether it was sold nationally or only locally in London[33]. Questions such as who edited it, who funded it and why remain unanswered. The absence of background information causes problems in my investigation, as my analysis of this newspaper are to some extent limited, lacking the wider perspective of the context of this newspaper or even possibly imprecise. On the other hand, the fact that *The Czechoslovak* becomes a kind of snapshot evidence without a sufficient background gives me the opportunity to focus on the text itself and what it reveals.

During the WW2 period, daily British newspapers such as *The Times* and the *Daily Mirror* produced over two thousand issues and weekly newspapers such as *The News of the World* about two hundred and ninety. From these I only located twenty-five British articles that represented the Czech RAF airmen or the Czechoslovak minority living in

[32] Members of the Czech community, predominantly Czech airmen fighting in the RAF and a widow of one Czech RAF airman, who lived in Great Britain at that time, who were potential readership of this newspaper.
[33] Offices of *The Czechoslovak* were located at 54 Keswick Road in London.

Britain. Twelve articles were published in *The Times,* thirteen in the *Daily Mirror,* evenly spread across the six years, and none in *The News of the World*. In order to be explicit about the range of my sampling (Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock, 1999), the full texts of these are displayed in the Appendix. The number seems to be sufficient for qualitative research in which I attempt to examine versions of the past in depth; however, it brings a limitation to this research in terms of generalisation of the outcome. The consequences of the number of articles and their frequency in each newspaper were emphasised in the actual analysis, as they suggest the ideology and orientation of each particular newspaper establishment and reveal the connection between media messages and historical events (e.g. during the Battle of Britain from July to September 1940, the frequency of representations of the Czechs was to be potentially higher, as there were 88 Czechoslovak RAF airmen involved in this operation; Hurt, 2004).

Discourse analysis

The selected method employed for the analyses of the WW2 newspaper articles was discourse analysis. By employing this method, I examined several categories: what was reported/excluded and why, the relationship to ideology and propaganda, the types of sign used and their coded connotations, the meanings of what was reported, what kinds of messages were communicated by the codes of news discourse, and the context in which the messages were produced by news professionals and decoded by readers (Bignell, 2002). However, as Gambles (1998) suggests, analyses are not able to uncover the readers' exact interpretations of the representations in the newspapers due to the constantly changing real social context, particularly given that my samples were newspapers from the past. My choice of this qualitative method of discourse analysis was supported by recent theorists and their approach towards similar data. Dijck (2000) claims that we 'do not treat news as transparent 'messages' whose contents may be analysed in a superficial, quantitative way.

[...We] examine the complex structures and strategies of news reports and their relations to the social context' (Dijk, 2000, pg 33). In the case of this thesis, by the context I mean the activities of journalists in the process of 'news-making' and the various ideologies of their newspaper establishments as well as the possible interpretations of the readership, including the role and importance of the newspapers during the WW2 period.

Discourse analysis enabled me to examine media texts from various angles, as it compiles a number of approaches such as semiotics (with its graphical, syntactic, semantic, stylistics analysis), news values, and socio-cultural and historical context, and the focus is on language as it is used (Gillespie and Toynbee, 2006). The tradition of using discourse analysis, first defined by Z. Harris (1952), started in the early 1950s; however, since then, it has been widely developed by a number of theorists such as M. Foucault (1969, 2002), N. Fairclough (2001, 2003, 2005), R. Wodak (2005) and M. Macdonald (2003). I employed Fairclough's approach towards discourse, because he recognises that media messages are specific types of text and thus that there needs to be undertaken a systematic study of structures, functions and processing of text (Fairclough, 2005). Similarly to Macdonald (2003), he analyses 'language in use in some detail [...] but always in relation to social and cultural processes' (Gillespie and Toynbee, 2006, p 122). As the interaction between the reader or the producer and the text enables the meanings to be negotiated and never absolute, this method opens a vast space for discussion about the relationships between media and the representations of social reality (Bertrand and Hughes, 2004), which is crucial for my research that focuses on versioning. Following Fairclough (2005), I explored and compared the literal or explicit meaning of words in the newspapers, denotation, with the cultural meanings attached to words that involve symbolic, historic and emotional matters, known as connotation. Through examining connotations in the WW2 newspapers, I attempted to identify the meanings under the surface of the written words. These might differ from what was actually written.

Therefore, an important part of the discourse analysis method is a semiotic approach, as it assesses how a text represents the world through codes, and in the case of this study, it added depth to the textual analysis through analysing signs by identifying the key signifiers (words) in the text and their signifies (meanings) within the historical and cultural context (Berger, 1998). With a connection to signs, I also considered the complex process of coding and decoding (Hall in Curran, Morley and Walkerdine, 1996). In order to understand the signified or mental concepts, which are normally organised through cultural codes (Hall, 1996), I examined how coherently the words were organised through technical codes such as grammar, syntax, and editing codes into systems (e.g. newspapers) that operate within a particular culture and era. Every culture in any era usually has its own ideology that might influence the production of the texts that have been written within it. Then, I followed the ideological signifier input through the signified line, which runs in parallel with the written line. This enabled me, for example, to investigate the influences of the WW2 ideology and propaganda or certain stereotypes such as heroism which operate within ideology, and thus to identify some specific influences of the public memory during WW2. Under the authorship lens, I examined the consistent authorial voice that should represent the whole institution and individuals, together with the 'authorworthiness'. From the readership point of view, I tried to identify what type of reader each article was addressed to by applying the language and cultural code analysis. Furthermore, I considered and investigated news values, as these possibly significantly influenced the selection of reported news and how news items were reported.

When employing discourse analysis, however, we must also be aware of the downsides of this method. It is important to highlight that it does not provide an exact answer to problems based on scientific research and that, like most qualitative methods, it explores text in depth and is therefore time-consuming. Hence, where a large sample of text needs to be analysed, the application of quantitative methods would be more suitable

(Silverman, 2010). On the other hand, it enables us to reveal the hidden motivations and reasons behind a text or its production. Discourse analysis allows us to gain a comprehensive view of the subject, as it allows us to view it from a higher stance (Jensen and Jankowski, 1991). 'A focus on media discourse analysis avoids both the narrowness of semiotic analysis, with its tendency to focus solely on the text, and the broad generalizations that often characterize ideological analysis of media representations [...] it acknowledges the role of media in constituting the very realities that are referenced in media texts' (Macdonald, 2003, p 2).

Thus, this methodological approach is vital for my study, which attempts to reflect upon and explore the representation of identities and the processes of production of such representations. It also allows me to examine the power relations between the dominant British establishments, representing predominantly British citizens, and the Czech minority in order to answer one of my research questions: Why did the Czech community living in Britain during WW2 produce their own newspapers? Due to its acknowledgement of the role of the media as co-producers of the represented reality, discourse analysis helped to provide me with the substance for my argument about versioning as a constant creation and re-creation of various versions of representations of an event in public memory. The private memories that enrich the more official versions were to be revealed by the method of qualitative interviews.

Method 2 – Qualitative interviews

Alongside the selection and analysis of the textual sources, the interviews with the Czech RAF veterans and their analysis became another vital tool that helped me to uncover the specific private memories of Czech RAF airmen, which had not been investigated, and thus to give 'a voice' to these unique witnesses who actually participated as 'subjects' of

the newspapers´ reports. 'Oral history evidence, by transforming the 'object' of study into 'subjects', makes for a history which is not just richer, more vivid, and heart-rending, but truer' (Thompson, 2000, pg 117). The reconstruction of the Czech airmen's autobiographical memory became, over time, their private story, and thus a possible alternative point of view to the public mediated narrative: history from below (Foucault, 1969), which enriched the official written history. I conducted individual interviews with the Czech airmen because this approach takes an individual out of the crowd and allows us to examine history from the inside. I believe that these verbal contributions or 'oral biography' can 'democratize history, by incorporating diverse perspectives of the nonliterate and of groups often excluded from the traditional historical canon' (Dunaway, 1992, pg 40). Following Perks (1992), I argue that oral history enables us to reconstruct the past with similar quality to written historical sources.

This method has its origins in the 1970s as a form of data collection for qualitative research (Silverman, 2010) and is widely used by oral history researchers such as R. Perks and A. Thomson (2006), as it allows researchers to obtain a lot of information and to use visual materials (in the case of this study, I used some samples of WW2 newspapers) to encourage responses (Perks and Thomson, 2006). Also a face-to-face interview is less likely to bore respondents and enables the interviewer to be more in control of channelling participants' focus on relevant data. Wakewich and Smith (2006) successfully used this method in their feminist research into Canadian women's wartime work. Rubin and Rubin (2005) emphasise the versatility of using qualitative individual interviews as a method where almost any type of researcher can listen to any type of participant 'as they describe how they understand the worlds in which they live and work' (Rubin, Rubin, 2005, pg 3). As this study does not illustrate what the veterans witnessed during WW2 but how memory or 'history' is captured and why, I wanted to be present at the interviews in order to be more in control of the process and the outcome of my interviews.

Finding participants

The participants for my interviews (former WW2 Czech RAF airmen who still live in Great Britain) were found initially through the Czech Embassy in London and their referral to the Head of the Association of Air Forces of Free Czechoslovakia, Colonel Arnost Polak. I was also directed to the same person by Mr Pavel Vancata, a producer of a web site about the Czech RAF airmen: http://cz-raf.hyperlink.cz/. I contacted Mr Polak via post and email in the spring of 2007 to officially introduce myself as a PhD student at the University of Gloucestershire and to inform him about my future aims to interview the Czechoslovak veterans. He advised me to join the commemoration of the end of the Second World War organised by the Czech Embassy in Brookwood Military cemetery on 11th May 2008. I prepared informational leaflets introducing my project, which I intended to give all Czech veterans who were to attend. **Example:**

INTERVIEWS ABOUT YOUR WAR EXPERIENCE

Tereza Jiruskova/Woolgar MA – University of Gloucestershire

Title: **IDEOLOGY, IDENTITY AND PROPAGANDA IN RELATION TO THE REPRESENTATION OF THE CZECH RAF PILOTS IN ENGLISH AND CZECH NEWSPAPERS PRODUCED DURING WW2**

As part of my PhD thesis I would like to carry out **interviews** with Czech airmen who fought within the RAF during the Second World War in Great Britain. These will be formal recorded conversations which should not take longer than 2 hours and can be held anywhere (e.g. in your own home). All participants will have a chance to see and discuss with me the copyright agreement prior to the interviews and will be able to withdraw at any time.

If you are interested in participating and willing to share your memories of this significant and remarkable period of your life please **contact me** on my email: tereza.jiruskova@tiscali.co.uk or mobile 07505 132842 (in the evenings, as I work in Westonbirt School and there is no signal; or please leave your phone number and I will phone you back). Should you require verification of my research status, please contact my supervisor Dr. Ros Jennings: rjennings@glos.ac.uk.

The interviews are scheduled for the spring and summer of 2008; therefore I would appreciate if you could contact me as soon as you feel ready.

My research objectives:

- To examine and compare representations of Czech RAF airmen in English and Czech wartime newspapers.
- To explore why the Czech community living in Britain during WW2 produced their own newspapers.
- To identify factors involved in the 'reconstruction of the past', comparing the representations of the Czech airmen in various newspapers published in between 1940-1945 in contrast with the Czech airmen's own recollections.

Thank you very much for your time and help!

My actions were not successful, as there were only two veterans present at the commemoration in Brookwood. One of them was Mr. Polak, who kindly agreed to be interviewed, and the other was a Czech RAF veteran, who did not feel confident and healthy enough to reveal his past in any way. My next step, therefore, was to correspond

with all the veterans (in total only about ten Czech RAF veterans still live in the UK) who would potentially be my interview participants but who had not gone to Brookwood. Due to their age and fragility, Mr Polak did not offer to provide me with their addresses. However, he agreed to re-distribute my leaflets in separate stamped envelopes to the others and thus give them the opportunity to participate in my project only if they wished to do so.

As stated above, all my potential participants fell into the 'vulnerable old people' category: therefore, I needed to ensure that all my actions were ethically correct and appropriate. Also, I could not afford to lose their trust, which would mean that they would not want to participate. I thus reflected upon, evaluated and where needed adjusted or corrected every step that I undertook. In this process, I modified my leaflets (enlarging the print, as the original size was too small for aged people, and improved the wording).

Example of my new letter:

YOUR WARTIME EXPERIENCE

Dear RAF veteran,

I am a PhD student who is carrying out research in Media studies at Gloucestershire University about the representations of Czech RAF airmen in English and Czech wartime newspapers. As a part of my study I would like to explore the life of the Czech community living in Britain during the Second World War.

Without wanting to intrude into your privacy and normal life, I would like to carry out **interviews** with you - Czech airmen who fought within the RAF during the Second World War in Great Britain and who still live here. These conversations should not take longer than 2 hours and could be held anywhere (e.g. your own homes). I live in Cheltenham; however, it would not be a problem for me to drive to meet you wherever you would feel comfortable. You will of course have your copyrights, which I would discuss with you as soon as we get in touch.

As my research is focused on Media (mainly newspapers), I can post you copies of some Czech and English wartime newspapers prior to the interview, to allow you to refresh your memories. At the moment I am in touch with Mr Polak, whom I also met in person at Brookwood cemetery on 11th May 2008, and he was kind enough to not only promise to participate but also to help me to distribute this leaflet to you.

I understand that for some of you perhaps the word 'interview' from a stranger could be 'off putting'; however, there are other ways you could share your memories with me if you want to help in a more private way, without me bothering you, at your own pace (such as written answers in a questionnaire etc.)

If you are interested in participating in whichever way and willing to share some of your memories of this significant and remarkable period of your life, please **contact me** either at my home address:
Tereza Jiruskova-Woolgar, 10 Tivoli Mansions, 115 The Park, Cheltenham, GL50 2RW
or my email: tereza.jiruskova@tiscali.co.uk or mobile 07505 132842 (in the evenings, as I work in Westonbirt School and there is no signal; or please leave your phone number and I will phone you back). Should you require verification of my research status, please contact my supervisor Dr. Ros Jennings: rjennings@glos.ac.uk.

Within three weeks after I sent these out, I received seven replies: six from former Czech RAF airmen and one from the widow of a Czech RAF pilot. Although she did not

have direct experience of fighting in WW2, she was part of the Czech minority living in Britain and wished to share her memories about the life of her husband. Although her version of his life was second-hand, I found her contribution, particularly about life in Britain, valuable. I assumed that the other two Czech RAF veterans, similarly to the one veteran I met in Brookwood who had declined to cooperate due to his health condition, were not able or willing to take part. In order to establish the confidence of the former RAF airmen in myself and develop a more personal relationship (Russell, 1999, also see Wenger, 2002), I contacted them all several times via letter or phone before the interviews.

Interview questions

In order to obtain as much relevant information as possible from my interviews, I redrafted my interview questions several times between the summer of 2007, when I selected interviewing as one of my methods, and the spring of 2008. Initially, I intended to only create wider topics to keep the interview as close to a 'natural discussion' as possible. Later, however, I decided to draft open questions that were not restrictive, artificial or lengthy, to serve as a guide and to be time efficient during the interviews. The list reflected my key research objectives, integrating details about life in Britain, WW2 media, the Czech minority, identity and ideology and propaganda. It was also designed to help participants to recall details. This is also why I posted the written questions to the participants prior to the interviews so they had the opportunity to familiarise themselves with them. Considering research ethics, I decided not to include direct questions about losses, the death of people who had been close to the participants or other emotional and possibly traumatising subjects. Also, I did not want to influence the participants' narrative too much by asking overly direct or manipulative questions, and I assumed that if issues such as trauma were strongly embedded in their memory, they would emerge naturally even without my input (see list of questions, Appendix 57).

The choice of the sub-topics and suggested questions was designed to help me in answering my research questions. I attempted to learn details about the Czech veterans' experience of life within the RAF and in Britain in general. This provided me with their private memory's versions of their identities and thus brought the specific aspect of memory work into this research. Not only were they providing me with information about RAF, WW2 ideology and propaganda; they were also reflecting upon their own life experiences and identity as members of the Czech minority in Britain. Questions dedicated to media and general information in WW2 led towards finding out about the potential reasons why the Czech minority living in Britain created their own newspapers. The interview questions were also influenced by my investigation of documents in the Special Collections at the University of Sussex Library in the Mass-observation archive, where I discovered reports about 'Public feelings about the Czechs' from March 1941 and April 1943. The knowledge of the relationships between the British and the Czech ethnic minority was an important part of my research, as it became an indicator of the reasons behind certain representations in the media and was able to contribute towards the motives behind the production of *The Czechoslovak.* It also helped me to understand the specific identity of the Czech RAF airmen.

Drafting interview questions was not, however, the only pre-interview preparation. I needed to reflect upon other issues that had arisen prior to the interviews. The already mentioned decision to use English as the language of the interviews proved to be a natural tool in gaining this data, as all Czech participants agreed to be interviewed in English (the reasons for my preference of English were explained in the introduction letters). This demonstrates that after over sixty years of living in Britain, where some of them had married English wives, English had become the language in which they communicated most of the time. English was also the primary language within which they had experienced WW2 in the RAF, and thus they were comfortable with producing their

narratives within it. Together with deciding on the language, I also considered to what extent I needed to study background information on the historical context in order to be fully aware of what I was searching for. Despite some arguments that presenting little knowledge to the participants is beneficial, as the participants tend to reveal more (Oral History Society), I thoroughly studied the literature about the Czechoslovak RAF airmen. I felt that without thorough preparation, the interviews might be rushed and not very helpful to this study. I also I believed that a prepared interviewer finds it easier to conduct the interview. Moreover, the grounding for my interviews included an examination of the selected WW2 newspapers' samples with the intention to use some of these during the interviews as mnemonic aids.

The process of interviewing

In order to truly understand discourse produced by elderly participants, I needed to take into account several other factors in my interview approach, such as their senses (sight and hearing), their mental and physical health as well as their activity levels and their use of language (Hamilton, 2003). It is broadly known that the following changes accompany healthy aging: 'increasing difficulty with lexicon retrieval, e.g. naming object on command [...], decreasing syntactic complexity in spoken [...] discourse production, increasing 'off-target' verbosity [...], and decreasing sensitivity to audience when gauging given' (Hamilton, 2003, pg 576). However, more importantly, due to the age of my participants, I must highlight here the ethical considerations in my research. The elderly participants in this study required special sensitivity in terms of the arrangements and the process of the interviews themselves. All contacts with the Czech veterans were governed by the University of Gloucestershire's research ethics guidelines and also those of the Oral History Society (Ward, 1995). Prior to the interviews, all interviewees were made fully aware of the purpose and use of the interview material and were guaranteed confidentiality

and anonymity (Copyright agreement, Appendix 45). All participants were informed that they were entitled to withdraw from the research project at any point and any information that they had given would not be used after that point. Prior to the interviews, all participants received and signed a specially designed consent form, known as assigning copyright (Oral History Society). Copyright of recorded speech expires 70 years from the end of the year in which the speaker dies (a change made in 1995 to the Copyright Act to bring the UK in line with the European Union) and all participants had no objections to me using their real names in the thesis (Appendix 45). They were offered to be interviewed either at the venue for the Association Annual Meeting or at a location at which the participants and myself would feel secure and safe. All participants chose their homes, and every interview became very friendly and relaxed.

I briefly considered employing a group interview method, as collective memory is formed in groups and individuals often need each other to remember, especially at this age. However, I dismissed this idea due to possible complications 'in terms of identifying individual contributions' (Daine, 2007, pg 108). The practical reasons also could not be neglected. The actual recording of group interviews in terms of clarity of all voices is usually difficult, and gathering participants who lived hundreds of miles apart in various parts of Britain would have been next to impossible. In addition, most importantly, I suspected that for the veterans, as older participants, it might have been more intimidating to share memories within a larger group. I also offered them the possibility of writing the answers to my questions at their own pace at home with no one else present. However, none of the veterans chose this alternative, as they probably found it quite an extensive task to accomplish.

Some other oral history methods, such as leaving the voice tracer with the participants, did not appeal to me for a practical reason. Because I was not collecting facts for a family or military history but trying to gather together various angles and points of

view on different subjects, I felt that interviews would generate higher quality data and the information collected would be far more relevant to my objectives if I could be present and help to shape the flow of memories and create an overall atmosphere of a natural discussion. When interviewing participants who might be considered as vulnerable (although the fact that the participants allowed their names to be used potentially indicates that they did not consider themselves as vulnerable), I needed to adopt a person-centred approach. I not only examined the wider social context within which both myself as a researcher and the researched were located, but also employed an appropriate dialogical style, a one-to-one type of interview, which tends to flow naturally, similarly to an ordinary dialogue. This was done in order to reduce the power differential between myself and the veterans. Despite the fact that one way in which we remember is through scaffolding or co-remembering (Barnier, 2010), mnemonic emergence is higher in collaborative groups – in other words, others help us to remember. My main concern was with the ethics in the process of interviews, because due to the age of my participants, I considered them as vulnerable. Rubin and Rubin (2005) emphasise that 'the researcher's empathy, sensitivity, and sincerity are important tools for the research' (Rubin and Rubin, 2005, pg 12). The researcher needs to build an open environment based on trust. Sharing of memories 'is a way of establishing, maintaining, or negotiating a distinctively social relationship with others' (Sutton, 2009, pg 224).

The privacy of one-to-one interviews minimised the exposure of the veterans' narratives to a wider audience, which could have been a stressful situation, and appeared to be potentially the safest environment for the elderly participants. The fact that all participants chose to be interviewed at home also contributed to a more comfortable atmosphere for them. None of the interviews exceeded two hours. As the Oral History Society advises: 'It is essential that informants should have confidence and trust in interviewers, and that recordings should be available for research and other use within a

legal and ethical framework which protects the interests of informants'[34] . Thus I tried to create a positive and friendly atmosphere (verbally and non-verbally) and to give the participants as much space and time for their replies as they needed. Also, in cases of lack of pace or fluency in my interviews, I experienced that all participants found my sub-questions encouraging and helpful.

All these aspects can sometimes also lead to a problem, however, as the interviewee wants to please the interviewer and may change the answer according to what the interviewer wants to hear, or due to new information, the participant may change his/her opinion about things that happened and present them differently than they would have done fifty years ago (Thompson, 2000). What is more, when trying to uncover facts from the WW2 era, there was a probability that some of the memories might be painful or traumatic and the interviewees would try to avoid them. All these potential problems will be reflected in my analyses.

Despite my thorough preparation, I used the list of my interview questions mostly only as a guide. In practice, I employed a semi-structured interview method (Perks and Thomson, 2006), giving the participants more space to express what they wanted to share without feeling too restricted. This method gave me enough flexibility to keep the interviews as natural as possible, as there is a great balance between structure and openness. The downsides of this method were the time cost and the fact that skill or practice is required in order to perform well and keep participants on track (Perks, 1992). All of my seven interviews took place in the summer of 2008[35]. Originally, I was hoping that the number of participants interviewed for this study would be larger; however, under the given circumstances, I felt privileged that I had the opportunity to undertake my interviews with these WW2 RAF veterans at all. As this is a qualitative study, despite the

[34] http://www.ohs.org.uk/ethics/index.php, April 2008

[35] See the full list of my interview participants, their brief personal details and my interview notes in Appendices 42 and 43. The actual recordings of my interviews are attached to this thesis on a CD ROM.

small number of participants, I believe that the uniqueness of their narratives makes this project worthwhile.

When reflecting upon the use of English language in the interviews, it is important to state that in majority of cases, this English communication between the participants and myself was natural and without problems. There were only some occasions when participants 'switched back into Czech'. In those situations, for recording purposes, I translated their statements into English and repeated them immediately. Then I continued questioning or reacting to their stories in English and tried to shift them back into English. On all occasions, my main aim was keep participants in a comfortable zone to give them the opportunity to express their memories without feelings of insecurity or being manipulated. The fact that I am also a Czech citizen settled in England helped me to understand some details in the language used and also their behaviour. However, I had to face other problems, such as interpersonal and intergenerational issues. I reflected upon these in my later analysis by asking questions: How does my presence (Russell, 1999), my age and the age of my participants (Chandler, 2005), and therefore power relations, and the difference in gender influence the recall of the participants, and also to what extent does their recall reflect 'social frameworks of memory' (Halbwachs, 1992)? There is a possibility that certain topics or feelings could have been suppressed during our discussions, as my participants (apart from one widow) were males over 80 years old. These factors had to be taken into account during the actual analysis. On the other hand, the fact that all the veterans were half-volunteers and very keen to share their memories meant that many recollections were let out by the participants themselves without me encouraging them. Moreover, forgetting also creates a limitation for the outcome of this study. The means that I employed to overcome this issue were based, as much as possible, on the same principle as the whole argument of the thesis about multidirectional memories and the importance of each memory in the process of re-creation of the past image. In the

case of non-recall of details, I cross-referenced all interviews and searched for a similar occurrence. Overall, I managed to gain a large number of valuable memories, the participants seemed to enjoy the conversations, and therefore I considered the method of interviewing as appropriate and beneficial for this project. The narratives gathered became unique versions of the past, which I could not find anywhere else.

The interviews were recorded; all data from interviews were kept securely during the study and copies of the recorded CDs were returned to the participants at the end with a 'thank you' letter. They all very kindly offered help in the future should there be any need. The recordings from my interviews were extremely valuable sources for this project; therefore, I needed to ensure that they were obtained at high quality and preserved securely. What were my options? There are many ways of recording interviews: a CD or a tape player and recorder with a microphone are often used by Oral History researchers[36]. However, I purchased a digital Philips Voice Tracer 2.2, as this device records sound in high quality and is compatible with PCs, and therefore enabled me to download and store my recordings on my hard disc and easily burn them onto a CD ROM. With the same intention and for similar reasons, I used a digital camera to re-photograph pictures or other documents where available, which enriched the narratives with context. Finally, in order to illustrate and gain a better understanding of private narratives, I explored personal documents, photographs and memoirs. Some of these I gained from the participants; others I found in the Imperial War Museum. Together, they provided me with a large volume of data and I considered omitting them altogether. What use did these sources have? I soon realised that together with the interview findings, these images of private memory enabled me to see many interesting details from the particular era and to understand some causes of individuals' behaviour and values.

[36] http://www.unesco.org/webworld/ramp/html/r9006e/r9006e0k.htm, February 2009

Although I conducted my interviews relatively early in my research journey, I had already gathered all my newspapers samples and thus knew their representations of the Czech RAF airmen. From that perspective, I felt well prepared; however, if I could do this research again, I would perhaps turn my interviews into a critical discussion, using the actual analyses of the Czech and British newspapers and asking about the participants' opinions about them. This could have brought my study about versions onto another level, where I could examine what happens when public memory confronts private memory. I also wish I had had more time and resources and could have extended the interviews into a wider piece of ethnographical research where I could spend much more time with my participants and investigate their identities at real depth. However, regrettably, I could not undertake my research in the real environment of WW2. In order to create an opportunity for private and public memory to meet and interact, I used my final method, the comparative approach.

Method 3 - Comparative approach

The last stage of data analysis was a comparative approach, which allowed me to investigate the interrelations between the versions of the past emerging from the interview analysis and the textual analysis. Here the private memory was merged with the public memory as a potential official narrated history. I evaluated and cross-referenced all my findings and investigated the possible connections between the representation of the Czech RAF airmen in the WW2 newspapers and the image of their identity from their own recollections in relation to issues of ideology, identity, propaganda and memory. By doing this, I created a conjunctional space in which the numerous versions of reality produced by the 'private' and the 'public' memory coexist and interact in a multidirectional way (Rothberg, 2009). However, I did not attempt to approach these versions in a competitive

way, giving preference to some and diminishing others. I also did not choose to distinguish between oral and written sources in order to seek objectivity (as I will argue for the impossibility of achieving objectivity in historical construction; Munslow, 2001) or to overcome an issue of subjectivity of the oral narratives. According to oral history, written history sources could be or are also subjective because they were recorded and produced by one particular person with specific beliefs and views, living in a particular era that would present a particular ideology. What is more, written history sources are always co-constructed by the writer and the editor (Perks and Thomson, 2006). The aim of my comparative approach was to draw together all voices I had discovered and selected and present how they contribute to the reconstruction and 'deconstruction' (Munslow, 2001) of the past.

The sources of my analysis in their unrefined version are available in the final section of this thesis, in the Appendix. Here its function is to be introduced, explained and justified. The Appendix is, however, not only a selection of visual resources placed at the back. It intends to become an interactive tool which, on one hand, demonstrates the outcome of public and private memory production, and on the other allows the researcher to engage with and receive this memory. This is also why the entire pages of newspapers and not only the selected articles were scanned where possible. (This was not possible with *The Times*, as only separate articles are accessible electronically in Colindale when using the e-search). There can be doubts about the rigour of this act; however, the intention was to preserve the original context of the particular newspaper, emphasising either broadsheet, tabloid or community media features mentioned in the analysis. Next to the newspaper articles, the Appendix also includes some factual documents and figures and my interview notes, which were taken during the interviews and then rewritten into more meaningful sentences directly afterwards. The reason for including these was to offer the reader a written version of the interviews; a brief summary, a timeline or a brief immediate

reflection on what has been said, as the full transcripts, due to their volume, are not included in the thesis. If needed, the full recordings of the interviews are available as an electronic audio version on the enclosed CD ROM. This is why the quotations from the participants are referenced in the minutes of the particular interview, in order to be easily found, instead of by page numbers.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I reviewed my research questions and introduced the methodology chosen in order to help me to examine and answer these questions. In my rationale, I explained the reasons behind the selection of my methods and how these are suitable for my qualitative research. Discourse analytical methods allowed me to examine the representations of the Czech RAF identities in newspapers' text as well as in personal narratives with the complexity and depth this project requires, while qualitative interviews enabled me to generate information from individual memory. Findings from both methods were then combined and contrasted in my final critical analysis. This allowed me to negotiate the relationship between the private and public memory and explore whether or how each version of reality is involved in the process of history construction. My methodology is predominantly drawn from socio-cultural and media studies and oral history and adapted to my project's needs (Reading, 2009), allowing me to investigate all sources without major difficulties, although searching through microfilms in the archives and conducting interviews in many different parts of England was quite time-consuming. Overall, I experienced only one specific 'methodological' problem, and that was that my interview participants were not always able to answer all my questions and sometimes talked about matters I had not asked them about. This kind of 'miss-meeting' in a dialogue does not necessarily demonstrate a failure of my methodology, but the complexity of the

life narrative and memory. The participants had their own ‘story to tell’ (Sommerfield, 1998), which had perhaps been told many times before, and therefore it was hard for them to suddenly adjust their narratives to my questions that approached the ‘happened’ from a slightly different angle. Thus, the ‘picture of reality’ I expected to find based on my previous investigation was to some extent altered and broadened; however, I do not consider this as a loss, but as a gain.

Chapter four: Discourse analysis of the WW2 press

Introduction

One of the resource archives for this exploration of various versions of representations of the Czech RAF airmen's identities were the British and Czech war newspapers published during the period 1939-1945. The period of WW2 dovetails with the increasing democratisation of the press from the 1930s (Conboy, 2001), particularly the tabloids, in which a greater number of perspectives were given on what happened in the past, and various versions, often popularised and approached and presented in a different way to the official versions in the broadsheets, were presented to the public. Here public memory does not simply stand as a context of events but offers more official versions of the past; an image which was selected by journalists and arguably propagandists to represent the happened. Unlike private memory drawn both from individual recollections and from the Czech community newspapers. These which presented a far more unique image of the Czech RAF airmen, reflecting a specific life experience with a real detail of the events. By exploring how the particular way in which subject matter is represented in the press contributes towards the historical reconstruction of reality, I have treated newspapers as an archival collection of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses. In other words, texts representing the more official public versions created in accordance with the government voice and their less official alternatives. With these points in mind, this chapter sets out to analyse how a selection of newspapers represented Czech RAF airmen, seen here as a group of people who did not form part of 'mainstream society' during WW2; and where these various versions connect or disconnect.

Such war journalism is here recognised as a 'site of memory construction [...], a primary source of information about the past and shared understanding of the past [...], the

first draft of history' (Kitch, 2008, pg 311). In this sense, the selected newspapers' articles stand here as artefacts, as archival objects in which memory is recorded and documented. Thus this study, up to a point, becomes an 'archaeology of ethnicity'; by this term, I mean uncovering public and private memory of the members of the Czech minority living and fighting in Britain. These memories can interplay or stand in binary opposition, but I will argue that they do not necessarily have to be in conflict with each other (Rothberg, 2009).

I am approaching the press here as a medium that both entertains and produces a form of public memory by informing about selected current affairs and as an archive that preserves this officially created 'collage' of memory. In other words, journalism can be seen as the first draft of memory, narrating stories about events that matter today and thus should be considered in the future (Kitch, 2008). By exploring the public collective memory of Britishness reflected by British newspapers and the quite private collective memory of Czechness represented in *The Czechoslovak* newspaper, my textual analysis aims to reveal a number of layers of public and private memory. Furthermore, I need to ask a question: what was the extent of a possible bias in the way Czech RAF airmen were represented in the newspapers chosen for my analysis? According to Fowler (1991): 'the institutions of news reporting and presentation are socially, economically and politically situated, all news is always reported from some particular angle' (Fowler, 1991, pg 10). To be able to answer this, I will situate my analysis within the historical context of the day (in this case, WW2) and explore the ideological conditions of the time.

This consideration runs alongside that of recognising the different perspectives offered on any event by individual newspapers, each operating from its own particular ideological position. Collectively, these factors contribute to different versions of history being recorded - versioning. Textual analyses of the way each newspaper represents the Czech RAF airmen should reveal the influence of different news values (Allan, 2004) and whether or how the messages produced were influenced by propaganda. And therefore I

will argue that propaganda became a specific news value during the Second World War. In the forthcoming analyses, I also distinguish between news values that are created by journalism as a profession and those that stem from individual newsroom (tabloid or otherwise) habits and traditions. Much of what happens in a newsroom is connected to and influenced by the mainstream culture of news production at any one time. However, my textual analysis will pinpoint some specific news values, such as the sensationalism of tabloids, and will suggest that propaganda could be viewed as one of the WW2 news values which, to an extent, influenced the production of specific WW2 versions of public memory.

When examining the various newspapers several different representations of the Czech RAF airmen: 'the political image' in *The Times*, 'the patriotic heroic image' in *The Czechoslovak* special issue, 'the Czech image' in *The Czechoslovak* weekly and 'the tabloidised story' in the *Daily Mirror*. Although the content of the Czech and English versions varies, there are some similar characteristics and subjects: the heroes – the strong British military forces and the Czech-determined soldiers and airmen kindly supported by the British government, and the villains – the German Nazis. Furthermore, on one hand the Czech RAF airmen's efforts were presented in newspapers to potentially boost British morale; however, I will explore the possibility that on the other hand, they did not blend in with the traditional patriotic attitudes of 'Britishness', since, as foreigners, they represented 'the other' in the British Second World War society.

In this chapter, the analysis of *The Times* revealed different themes, such as heroism, 'othering', the influence of propaganda and censorship that emerged from various representations of the Czech RAF airmen. This sets up the landscape for seeing *The Czechoslovak* and its representations as the alternative to the mainstream (or not) and a possible reification of hegemonic discourses (discourses performing political and ideological domination of a Czech minority living in Britain which was led by the British).

Thus, I argue that if we consider the British newspapers including the tabloidised newspapers, the *Daily Mirror* and *The News of the World* as public memory of the past, *The Czechoslovak* could be classified as a more private collective memory revealing unique representations of the Czech RAF airmen. All these analyses are used to understand historical representations of the Czech airmen's identity and the role of the press as an archive. The idea of the press as an archive is based on Fairclough's theory (1995) that 'any part of any text [...] will be simultaneously representing [the world], setting up identities, and setting up relations' (Fairclough, 1995, pg 5).

In order to explore the process of production various versions of the past, I also discuss the issues that emerge from the position of a journalist and the position of a researcher. A war journalist is creating a story during a conflict and thus is influenced by ideology and propaganda on the one hand and the ideology and ethos of the newspaper establishment on the other. These two also form the complexity of the newspapers' messages with the personal features of the journalist such as education, age, gender, nationality, values, opinions and reporter's sense of national identity (Allan and Zelizer, 2004). This consideration is crucial when contrasting the public collective memory of Britishness reflected in the British newspapers and the private collective memory of Czechness in *The Czechoslovak*. Kitch (2008) describes journalism as 'a ritual process of identity affirmation and as an evolving narrative shaped by memory and myth' (Kitch, 2008, pg 311). Similar elements, however, also influence the researcher or historian and his or her interpretation of the media text. In this study, my unique personal and professional features, and the social environment I have been a part of, influenced the way I approached the topic, undertook analysis, interpreted the data and evaluated the outcome. This way I contributed towards a production of yet another version of the image of the Czech RAF airmen. All these notions also assist me in answering some of this study's key questions - such as how the Czech RAF airmen were represented in various war

newspapers - and enable me to search for and examine the possible reasons behind the creation of the Czech community newspaper *The Czechoslovak*.

The 'political' British newspaper representations in contrast with the 'patriotic' Czech newspaper representations of the Czech RAF airmen

To keep my distance and remain as objective as possible in this analysis, my aim is to expose the selected sample of news discourse and to uncover the structured nature of its form of narrative (Pickering, 1999) without being judgemental or opinionated about the content. The usual 'nucleus' of most stories in *The Czechoslovak* appears to be the life of the Czechoslovak soldiers and airmen in the British RAF, and the satellite elements are the historical background and context, such as the relationship with Germany in contrast with England and the future progress; whilst the 'nucleus' of the British newspapers stories tends to be more the war progress and the Czech airmen are merely one of many groups of actors taking part. This initial observation already sets out the two main differences between the British and the Czech versions of the public memory. As I have already laid out in Chapter 3, the RAF Czechoslovak airmen were not represented in selected British newspapers as often as I had presumed: I only located twelve articles in *The Times*, published on 5th September 1939, 10th July 1940, 2nd August 1940, 7th August 1940, 27th August 1940, 24th October 1940, 29th October 1940, 14th March 1941, 31st July, 1942, 18th July 1945, 19th July 1945, and 24th July 1945. As is apparent from the dates, the coverage was spread fairly evenly over the WW2 period, although there was a higher concentration of articles during and after the Battle of Britain[37] and a lower concentration after 1942, possibly due to a shifting of focus onto the striking power of the late-joining U.S. forces. Following this notion, I also suggest that if the newspapers were influenced by WW2

[37] The RAF employed 595 non-British pilots (out of 2,936) in the Battle of Britain between 10th July and 31st October 1940. These included 88 Czechoslovaks (Hurt, 2004).

propaganda, they attempted to motivate foreign soldiers and airmen to join the British army and air force, and when they were fully operational and integrated, the media turned in a different direction.

Furthermore, thirteen articles were published in the *Daily Mirror*, again evenly spread across the initial four years of WW2, on 20th March 1939, 11th September 1939, 9th October 1939, 1st January 1940, 16th March 1940, 9th May 1940, 10th October 1940, 26th October 1940, 1st January 1941, 10th February 1941, 24th March 1941, 24th June 1941, 7th May 1942, and none in *The News of the World* in the period of WW2. During this period, daily newspapers such as *The Times* and *Daily Mirror* produced over two thousand issues and weekly newspapers such as *The News of the World* about two hundred and ninety. This shows that reports about the Czechoslovak RAF pilots were not selected very often as a newsworthy subject for the selected British broadsheets and tabloids. The sample presenting the representation in Sunday papers illustrates no interest in the theme at all. This relative lack of coverage of the topics concerned with the Czech community could have been one of the motivations behind the actual production of the alternative public sphere of *The Czechoslovak* newspaper, a WW2 community media producing more detailed and Czech community-orientated versions of representations of the Czech RAF airmen.

In *The Czechoslovak* weekly (produced between 1939 and 1945), reports about the Czech RAF airmen were included on a regular basis, at least once a month; however, these articles are not included in my analysis, as they were published in Czech. *The Czechoslovak* special English issue designated three pages out of twelve to the representations of the Czech RAF airmen. However, I cannot specify when exactly these were produced because I did not find any date on the copy of this newspaper. The only indicator of the period is the content itself, which reveals that this issue was published during WW2 (therefore before May 1945) and sometime after December 1942. The

evidence for the claim that this issue was produced during WW2, when former Czechoslovakia was still oppressed by Hitler, is that the writer claims knowledge of several anti-Nazi actions taken by Czech fighters for freedom, which however cannot be revealed, as they could have been endangered: '*the whole press of the world gave the story of the student who shot and severely wounded some Gestapo agents [...], we know dozens of other events about which it is not possible to write to-day*' (*The Czechoslovak* special issue, pg 5, Appendix 8). Furthermore, as the writer describes the following events as something that happened in the past, I assume this special issue could not have been produced before the end of 1942: '*in the middle of November 1939 when the Nazi conquerors began to murder the Czech students [...] immediately afterwards they closed all Czech universities for a period of three years*' (*The Czechoslovak* special issue, pg 5, Appendix 8).

Although the topic of the RAF airmen was possibly important to the Czech community, its reportability from the British point of view was perhaps not significant enough to 'make the news'. In other words, the news values of the British newspapers, such as relevance, personalisation, reference to elite nations, reference to elite persons, cultural specificity and negativity (Allan, 1999) did not match with the subject of the Czech RAF airmen. This was different for the Czech newspapers such as *The Czechoslovak* where the Czech RAF airmen as the nation's heroes fitted well with the Czech news values and thus their representations would become far more detailed and prominent even without propaganda. This notion therefore opens further debate as to whether or to what extent news values influence actual versioning in the public memory. I suggest that the more importance was afforded to the subject of the Czech RAF airmen, the more detailed was the version or representation of them produced in various newspapers, with a potentially changing viewpoint upon them. This shows how British public and

Czech more private collective memory disconnects and forms potentially different versions of the past.

The Times covered in brief the long journey of the Czech RAF pilots from their arrival in Britain at the end of 1939 and the early 1940s. When the Czech RAF airmen first appeared as objects of representation on the 'British WW2 media scene', they were referred to directly (in actual words used in the newspapers) as 'refugees', 'potential internees' or 'servants', thus indirectly as outsiders. Whether this representation was created on purpose, so the British government could express their power, or due to stereotyping and a lack of knowledge about the small middle European nation, or simply as a product of WW2 ideology is now very difficult to expose. The newspaper then, perhaps surprisingly, positioned the Czech RAF airmen in parallel with the British RAF heroes after the successful fights in the Battle of Britain in the summer of 1940; it also mentioned their continuous effort throughout the war, and finally briefly described their journey back home. I explore the possibility that propaganda was an influence on the viewpoint of *The Times* and thus of its versions of public memory.

Heroism and strength of British military forces – context for the representation of the Czech airmen

Before I focus on the actual representation of the Czech RAF airmen, it is important to state that their representation in British newspapers as well as in *The Czechoslovak* was often set up within the political context of the period, where the reporters primarily highlighted the heroism and strength of British military forces and thus the war ideology implemented by propaganda. The following examples are expressing this strength by highlighting the ability of the Brits to re-equip the Czechs and position the British RAF above the rest of the world in the war against Germany: '*The task of re-equipping several thousand officers and men of the Czech Army who succeeded in*

reaching this country [...] with nothing but their uniforms [...] is progressing steadily' (*The Times*, 02/08/1940, Undaunted Czech troops, pg 9, Appendix 18) and *'[...] there was never a force proved more challenging to the powers of Nazi evil than our Royal Air Force'* (*The Times*, 24/10/1940, Britain's air strength, p 6, Appendix 22). Similar connotations can be also found in another article: '*Had there been no British navy, thousands of Czecho-Slovak soldiers, with hundreds of political leaders and other civilian refugees, would have been delivered up to Nazi torture*' (*The Times,* 10/07/1940, Czech soldiers from France, pg 5, Appendix 17). In all three samples, the strength of the British is encoded in connotations of glorifying words such as 'force more challenging', or with the assertion expressed in a claim that without the British Navy, there would not be Czech refugees, which in order to increase the effect of heroism are put into contrast with the negative portrayal of the enemy: 'Nazi evil' and 'Nazi torture'. The messages also highlight the large numbers of Allies who would not survive without the British taking care of them – 'several thousand officers [...] with nothing but their uniforms', 'hundreds of political leaders [...] would have been delivered up to Nazi torture'. The conditional tense used also emphasises the ability of the British to save the Czechs from existing as well as potential dangers.

In the British newspapers, this feature possibly signalled the input of propaganda which was promoting the home strength in order to boost British morale and scare the enemy. Here, I would like to carry forward my earlier discussion from Chapter 1 about the differences of propaganda and ideological influence and consider the actual state of things during WW2. It is important to question in which cases the heroic portrayal of British forces was a deliberate propaganda with the aim to send out messages about the British equipment and the strength of the British military forces, and in which cases the narratives were influenced simply by basic notions of patriotism that are purely ideological. For example, it is very difficult to now interpret with certainty that the message in the above extract from *The Times*, 24/10/1940, Britain's air strength, p 6 (Appendix 22) was an

outcome of direct propaganda from the MOI or a spontaneous comment by a patriotic journalist who was under the influence of British WW2 ideology. This unclear distinction shows the complexity of these key terms, as they are not strictly and visibly separated but overlap in many cases, and thus the complexity of connotations of the representations they influence. These produced meanings can be decoded by the news readers in many various ways depending on the position and intertexuality of each reader. Thus I argue that this external influence of propaganda and ideology with a consequence of diffusion of produced and received meanings also contributed towards the process of versioning (or production of various multiple and multidirectional versions) of the public memory (Rothberg, 2009) of the Czech RAF airmen within the context of British heroism.

The British heroism was also reflected in messages in *The Czechoslovak* special issue: '*the British sailors, airmen and expeditionary force had surprised the world by carrying out the heroic evacuation of Dunkirk and rescuing the overwhelming majority of the British army...'* or '*Nevertheless the Czechoslovak soldiers, dressed in British battledress, are among the most loyal and readiest Allies of Great Britain'(The Czechoslovak,* special issue, The Czechoslovak Army and Air Force in Great Britain, subtitle: Soldiers with tradition and experience, pg 7-8, Appendix 10 and 11). Here the actual mention of the words 'world surprising heroic evacuation' connotes that the emphasis on heroism is possibly a product of the impact of propaganda and the Czechoslovaks' expressed admiration of the leading Ally nation suggests an appreciation of the British help. This message was set in contrast with the disappointment and negative feelings towards the French, who, after their surrender to Hitler, became a disappointing subject: '*after tireless diplomatic negotiations between the commanders of the Czechoslovak units and the French, and after a dramatic embarkation in Southern France, the Czechoslovak army at the end of June and the beginning of July landed on the soil of Great Britain...*' *(The Czechoslovak,* special issue, The Czechoslovak Army and Air Force

in Great Britain with a subtitle: Soldiers with tradition and experience, pg 7-8, Appendix 10 and 11). Furthermore, the subject of the 'British military heroes' was possibly very desirable in the WW2 newspapers in terms of news values. Here it is clear that propaganda determined the news selection and thus news values, hence I argue that propaganda actually became a specific news value during the WW2. The implementation of the British heroism was a very relevant topic at that time for the British newspapers, as the nation's future depended on the successes of the British military forces; while in *The Czechoslovak* favourable references to Britain were, arguably, helped by its status as an 'elite nation' as well as a country that had offered a new home to the Czech migrants. Thus here the strong presence of the Britishness framed even the more private Czech versions of the Czech RAF airmen and British heroism became one of the influences of a media viewpoint during the production of these versions.

Another example of the representation of British strength and heroism can be also found in the Czech version of *The Czechoslovak* weekly, a purely community newspaper, in an article that was written by an English journalist, O. H. Brandon. His reports seem to have a different meaning and aim in comparison to the original Czech ones in *The Czechoslovak* special issue mentioned above. He is arguably showing the diverse power relationship between the British and the Czechoslovaks where the Czech airmen are subordinate: '*The Czechoslovaks in British aircrafts meet Goering's Luftwaffe. They revenge ruthless bombing of English towns. They are fighting for Great Britain – however, they are aware of the fact that British victory will enable them to return home'* (*The Czechoslovak*, The Czechoslovaks fight for freedom, pg 6, Appendix 9). Here again the potential propagandistic promotion of 'British powers' is encoded in connotations - 'British victory', 'British aircrafts', and 'fighting for Great Britain' - by highlighting the word 'British' or 'Britain' and connecting it with positive and dominating nouns such as victory, aircrafts, fighting. Although the main objects of representation here are the Czech

RAF airmen, their position and identity is again vastly dictated by the British context. As Hall (1996) argues:

> Precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites [...]. Moreover, they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more of the product of the marking difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical [...] unity. (Hall, 1996, pg 4)

If we consider British heroism represented in the mainstream media as a specific environment within which the Czechoslovak airmen were situated, then it is important to highlight that in the power relationship between the British and the Czechs, the British appear to be more dominant. This again can be interpreted as a pure unintended product of the WW2 ideology influenced by a strong British patriotism, or we can question whether the various versions of representations of the Czech RAF airmen in the hegemonic discourse of the British newspapers were produced as intentionally chosen messages of propaganda (Dijk, 1998). The fact that such messages were not only present in the British newspapers but also in *The Czechoslovak* (where British patriotism was presumably not as strong as in the British press) points rather towards the influence of propaganda encouraging various media in emphasising British power. Furthering this notion of representing the Czech RAF airmen as a secondary, less dominant subject of news in contrast with Britishness, in the following section I will suggest that due to the WW2 political influence, some versions of public memory represented the Czechs as the 'other'.

Czechs as underdogs – problems of identity and 'otherness'

Initially, the versions in the hegemonic discourse of British broadsheets, which represented the British government voice, referred to the Czechoslovaks as refugees or 'underdogs'. In this section I will argue that these portrayals reflected the current political situation and thus were influenced by propaganda. First, the WW2 image of the Czechoslovak airmen in *The Times* was created in quite a bizarre manner - as a 'letter to

the editor' from V. A. Cazalet, who was then Chairmen of the Parliamentary Refugee Committee. This supposed letter was written in the House of Commons on 3rd September 1939 and published on 5th September 1939, just after the outbreak of the war (for full text see Appendix 16). The layout and graphics – a rather small column with a heading 'REFUGEES' SERVICES – to the editor of *The Times,*' where the capital bold letters are only slightly larger than the actual print – suggest that the aim of the article was to present its message in an informational and a quite formal way. There are no large emotive 'loud' headings or propagandist slogans; however, the article's vocabulary, content, style and grammar reveal a propagandist tone. In terms of content, the article informs about the difficult situation of the 50 000 refugees (Appendix 16) who have been given hospitality by the British government and proposes a way in which the government could deal with it.

The connotations appear to work on two levels: the British government's voice speaks to the British readers about the 'problem' of the Czechoslovak refugees and it also gives advice to the Czechoslovaks from a position of a home nation. As Dijk (2000) claims, 'text and talk about Others, especially by the elites, thus primarily functions as [...] a means of creating in-group cohesion and maintaining and legitimating dominance' (Dijk, 2000, pg 48). Consequently, following my earlier argument about the life reality of subordinate groups or ethnic minorities, I suggest here that the current notions of 'othering' and stereotyping can be used retrospectively as the evidence shows that the Czech RAF airmen's representations were negotiated and manipulated by the dominant group (Allan, 1999). This newspaper sample, as a propagandist text, is aiming to influence the target audience to adopt attitudes and patterns of behaviour that correspond with the desired ones (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1999): in this case, expressing the generosity of Britain and portraying the Czech volunteers who had escaped from their occupied homeland to help the Allies to fight the Nazis as refugees who need British help.

There are several pieces of evidence about sending a dual message in this version of public memory. Although the denotative meaning of this article's message is straightforward and informative, the connotations are present in every sentence. The ideology is 'embroidered in the language, as it was implanted there by existing social and discursive practices' (Fowler, 1991, pg 46). Firstly, the text reassures the 'middle class' tax payers that they will not be 'paying for' the refugees: '*To intern 50 000 refugees would [...] be a large and expensive undertaking [...]. Rather than intern them we should endeavour to utilise their services.*' *(The Times,* 5/09/1939, Refugees' services, pg 9, Appendix 16). Then another slightly intimidating connotation is visible in a message sent to the Czech refugees in order to reveal to them how it would be desirable for them to approach their situation. Although the term 'refugee' is not entirely accurate, as the migrants were either Czech Jews trying to escape from the persecution caused by the Nuremberg law, or Czech volunteers, former military pilots, mechanics, and soldiers who had fled their country after Hitler occupied every military base and confiscated all their ammunition, vehicles and planes in the hope of fighting Hitler under 'another flag' (Brown, 2000). '*All refugees, not being British subjects, must presumably be potential internees. [...] Practically every refugee is, I believe, not only willing but anxious to serve the country which has given them asylum. Many could join the fighting Services, some are expert pilots, others can make their contributions in work 'behind the lines''* (*The Times,* 5/09/1939, Refugees' services, pg 9, Appendix 16). These examples reveal that Czechs were referred to as outsiders, 'not being British subjects' and therefore the 'other' to the British. The expressive terms 'potential internees', 'anxious to serve' and 'make their contribution' are strongly persuasive and thus possibly carry traces of propaganda. Here the Czechs are indirectly threatened with the possibility of being imprisoned as refugees and thus put into a subordinate position in which they are indirectly dictated and thus motivated to serve the British who took care of them. To a point, however, the mentions of

the Czechs making a contribution could have been a reflection of the actual wish of the Czech volunteers to help the Allies to win the war, simply reflecting WW2 ideology. Here again I must therefore highlight the complexity of the process of media text production and its influences, such as propaganda and hegemony, which co-create various versions of public memory. Furthermore, the interpretations I present here are inevitably limited, as I am only able to approach the texts from one perspective – that of a contemporary researcher who is set within a very specific context or intertextuality - and thus can only provide readers with one version of all other possible interpretations.

The counterfeit letter style of the article, with its personal style – using the news as communication – covers well its impersonal persuasive propagandist connotation produced by the British Government. It is entitled 'Sir', the sub-heading explicitly says 'To the editor of The Times' and it is signed 'Yours truly, V.A. Cazalet, [...] and personalised by expressions such as 'I believe', 'I am convinced' and 'I hope'; however, the actual contents and the form of the article do not possess any further attributes of a letter-type text; the article simply reports about the situation of the refugees in Britain. Therefore I suggest that here the media producers represented the Czechoslovaks as underdogs, possibly because they were aware of the prevailing fairly negative public mood towards refugees, expressed commonly during the 1930s (Madge, 1939), and constructed a text which reflected this opinion in the WW2 era (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1999). At the end, Mr Cazalet openly turns towards the member of the Czech exile government, a Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr J. Masaryk, and proposes from a position of power another suggestion - to take the initiative and to assume charge of the Czech refugees so the British government does not have to. He states: '*I suggest that the Government should create three advisory committees – one for the Czechs, [...]. I hope that Mr J. Masaryk could be persuaded to preside over the Czech Committee. [...] Such a scheme would, I am convinced, be welcomed by the refugees themselves and by public opinion here. It relieves*

the Government to a very considerable degree [...]' (The Times, 5/09/1939, Refugees' services, pg 9, Appendix 16). As a consequence of intertextuality, the sophisticated grammar and the formal construction of sentences help to create the illusion of formality that is usually associated with letters to *The Times*.

The Times employed language as a tool in the process of signification of textual meanings, using the fact that all the potential meanings depend on the reader, his identity, his social connection with others (Bertrand and Hughes, 2004) and the intertextuality with which the text is consumed (Zelizer, 2008a). Here the evidence supports Tuchman's theory (1991), which suggests that: '[...] the ideas and actions of news workers articulate and serve the interests of a dominant class to which they themselves belong' (Tuchman, 1991, pg 87). All codes have a social dimension and the messages in the article were designed so that each particular message was coded using signs in a way that different types of readers could recognise (Bignell, 1997). The Czechs were represented as 'refugees', or homeless 'potential internees' placed outside of the British society right at the beginning of the war: '[...] refugees largely responsible themselves for their own people'. In this article, the British government exercised the power of words when signifying ideas reflecting the dominant British ideology (Gillespie and Toynbee, 2006) of the 1930s, distancing it from other foreigners (Colier, 1967). As Allan (2005) claims, 'when it comes to news representation of the other, in particular refugees and asylum seekers, [...] the dichotomy of 'us versus them' persists' (Allan, 2005, pg 278). Although this theory mainly considers current refugees in the 21st century, I propose that the Czechs were also put into a position of 'other' during WW2. In contrast to the representations of Czechs as 'potential internee' this article illustrates the almost imperial strength and power of the British, emphasising domination by using the words 'large' and 'serve': '*large number of individuals whose only wish is to serve England' (The Times*, 5/09/1939, Refugees' services, pg 9, Appendix 16).

Thus it seems reasonable to suggest that, among the story themes of the 'British' and the 'Czechoslovak', the issue of the 'other' in this particular version of public memory arises. To support my notion, I refer to Allan (1999), who claims that: 'There can be no 'national we' [...] without a 'foreign other', a dynamics which prefigures an 'ideological consciousness of nationhood'. [...] This 'nationalized syntax of hegemony' is evoked by news-workers claiming to speak to and for the nation as a homeland 'imagined community'' (Allan, 1999, pg 157).

In contrast with these British dominant versions of national identity, the Czech cultural identity or community membership might have seemed quite ambiguous, as it did not signify what the Czechs were so much as what they desired to be (Larrain, 1994). In seriously complicated living conditions during the Second World War, people's humanity, as well as their identity, was endangered. The Czech volunteers escaping from the occupied Czechoslovakian country to fight Hitler faced countless challenges on and off the battlefields. One of these was to overcome stereotyped representation of the ideologically influenced British media and to attempt to temporarily acquire rights of citizenship and formal equality within the British society and the RAF (Morgan and Evans, 1993). The need to belong to their own nation was crucial for the Czech airmen in their fight and it is well reflected by *The Czechoslovak* newspaper. However, they were geographically excluded from their home territory and became the foreign 'others' in Britain. Although they belonged to the RAF and fought side by side with the British, their actions were not covered in the same depth in media as those of the British RAF members, which appeared several times a week, every week. Because the Czech RAF airmen kept their own national identity, they were marginalised compared to British-born pilots. Thus establishing *The Czechoslovak* newspaper could have been a direct response to a need for the Czechs to express their national identity and discuss all the 'Czech matters' that were not sufficiently

newsworthy for the British press. There is, however, no direct evidence for this claim except from the actual existence of *The Czechoslovak* newspaper.

I suggest that *The Czechoslovak* became an alternative public sphere to the hegemonic discourse of the British mainstream newspapers: a text created by the members of the Czech community targeting mostly audience from this community and compiling versions of public memory which mattered to the Czech minority living in Britain during WW2 and which thus gave a full heterogeneous voice to this minority (Atton, 2002). This would consequently mean that there existed different versions of the public memory produced during WW2 and that the Czech audience was willing and able to make plural meanings (Stevenson, 2002), drawing from these versions. Furthermore, as I proposed earlier, the Czech newspaper would become a more private collective memory in comparison to the public British news discourse. Therefore I propose that due to the specific need of the Czech newspapers and their attempts to compensate for a lack of reporting of Czech airmen in the British press, the community or alternative media (that are nowadays often used in the context of contemporary media) was alive and well during WW2. I ground this claim in Atton's (2002) theory, which claims that the alternative media and their values have emerged as an 'aberration from a press that was historically and socially grounded in the struggles of ordinary people' (Atton, 2002, pg 118). Here the specific situation of heterogeneity of the WW2 community, where the Czech ethnic group shared the British public collective memory and at the same time wanted to create its own collective memory, constructed various versions or layers of multidirectional memory (Rothberg, 2009) and thus enriched the representations of the past. At the same time, I suggest that these pluralistic representations problematised the subject of national belonging and national identity of the Czech RAF airmen and positioned them outside of 'the British'.

To support my claim, I draw on Williams (2003), who argues that due to media power, readers can make judgements about groups of people or entire nations. At the outbreak of WW2, the 'other' was constructed under the politics of belonging with the purpose of subordination of other nations than the British by propagandist messages in the British media (Pickering, 2001), possibly in the hope of protecting the British nation by preserving its purity during and after the war. This theme remained the same throughout the war. The following sample illustrates the placing of other nations fighting besides the British in a position contrasting to 'us' and therefore the 'other' by referring to the British squadrons as 'our': '*Our squadrons daily fight along-side units of the Polish, Czech, and Free French forces'* (*The Times*, 24/10/1940, Britain's air strength, pg 6, Appendix 22). This further example takes this notion of 'otherness' further by illustrating actual dependence of the Czech RAF airmen on the British leaders and claiming that the success in battles of the Czechs was due to British training: '*Wing Commander Aitken [...] stated 'trained the Czechoslovak airmen placed under him in such a way that under his command they made remarkable progress in night fighting and achieved successes in night aerial battle.' Squadron Leader Maclachlan greatly helped several Czechoslovak pilots in his night fighter squadron with 'his wealth of experience'. In the fighting action together with the Czechoslovak night fighters he showed his high fighting qualities and comradeship [...]'* (*The Times*, 31/07/1942, British pilots' help to Czech comrades, pg 2, Appendix 23). This again shows the need of the British hegemonic discourse represented in *The Times* to dominate in the relationship between the Czechs and the Britons. Another example concerns Dr. Beneš, the exiled Czechoslovak president, who thanked the Czech RAF airmen, but expressed the subordinate position of the Czechs under the British as leaders: '*in the name of their nation, whose interests they could only defend and whose liberty they could only restore under the leadership of Great Britain*' (*The Times*, 07/08/1940, Czech airmen on service again, pg 9, Appendix 22).

This phenomenon of 'British' dominance also possibly caused the fact that the Czechs as a subject of news were often eliminated or excluded from the British public versions of the 'happened' in British newspapers in order to create a larger space for Britain's own successes. This signifies that the 'otherness' (see Pickering, 2001) of the Czech RAF airmen as opposite to the 'British heroes' meant that they were not considered particularly newsworthy in the above-mentioned British newspapers (Allan, 1999). Therefore, the fact that the vast majority of news regarding the Czech RAF airmen was not mentioned in the national news reports could then be a further piece of evidence supporting my idea of *The Czechoslovak* newspaper becoming a medium that reflected the diversity of institutional and personal experience during the Second World War and which became another source of alternative versions to the British hegemonic discourse. However, it is important to emphasise that the theme of British dominance is also apparent in the messages of *The Czechoslovak* newspaper itself. In the following example, the producer of the text even shifted the actual purpose of the fights of the Czech volunteers from fighting for freedom of their country to fighting for Great Britain: '*They [the Czechoslovaks] are fighting for Great Britain – however, they are aware of the fact that British victory will enable them to return home'* (*The Czechoslovak*, 18/4/1941, The Czechoslovaks fight for freedom, pg 6, Appendix 9). Therefore, this unifying element of representing British dominance in both British and Czech newspapers' representations of the Czech RAF airmen suggests that this theme was possibly enforced by the British propaganda encouraging all journalists working in Britain to utilise the notion of British power in their discourse. Although it is important to highlight that each quotation is open to at least one other interpretation. Here it could also demonstrate Czech loyalty to the RAF, or suggest a sense of internationalism and realistic assessment of the situation in Europe. This shows that the process of the production of various versions of representations of the Czech RAF airmen in public memory was influenced by many factors. As these influences, such as the

political situation, changed and developed during the war years, the various representations changed accordingly. During and after the Battle of Britain, where the Czech RAF airmen became successfully involved in their first combat in WW2, the versions of their representations shifted from 'underdogs' to 'heroes'.

Czechs as heroes

After May 1940, when the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain resigned and Winston Churchill took his position (Smith, 1996), the tone of the British newspapers changed. They were still strongly under the influence of propaganda; however, their messages moved towards more optimistic and war-supporting ones. Thus a new phenomenon appeared in the WW2 newspaper representations, which was the opposite of what I have so far discussed, portraying the Czechoslovak RAF airmen as heroes or highlighting their outstanding qualities: '*They are experienced soldiers, many of whom went through the last war and travelled round the world… they are prepared to play their part in the fighting in whatever way…*' (*The Times*, Wednesday, 07/08/1940, Czech airmen on service again, pg 9, Appendix 20). This would be in accordance with Hayes and Hill's (1999) theory of various periods of war where aimlessness and low morale alternated with determination and excitement. The newspaper representations of the Czech RAF airmen reflect this. To what extent these representations of the Czech soldiers and airmen were tailored by propagandists is a difficult question to answer; however, the ideological voice is clear in the specific style used throughout the passage: '*...All of them entered the Czechoslovak army with the fervour of sons of a nation shamefully oppressed by Hitler, all are determined to avenge the murdered Prague students and their fathers and brothers or sons who are being tortured by the Gestapo in the concentration camps.'* (*The Czechoslovak*, special issue, The Czechoslovak army and air force; the soldiers with tradition and experience, pg 8, Appendix 11). Terms such as 'determination', 'experienced

travellers' and 'fighters' demonstrate that the RAF Czech airmen apparently had all the characteristics and qualities the British were looking for in their Allies. Similar superlatives about the Czechs appeared in *The Times* after 1940: '*[...] it is really remarkable how the determination of these men surmounts them'* (*The Times*, Wednesday, 07/08/1940, Czech airmen on service again, pg 9, Appendix 20), and '*Their [Czechoslovak RAF airmen] greatest success has been won as fighter pilots. One squadron alone gained more than 50 victories in the heavy fighting over South-East England last summer.'* (*The Times*, 14/03/1941, Allies in the air war, pg 5, Appendix 25). Again here the connotations of success illustrate how good or how well trained as fighters the Czech RAF airmen were. Fundamentally speaking, these representations were now not in any way different from the way the British pilots were represented in the British press, thus in here the private and public collective memory clearly connect. This shows again the shift in the press attitudes towards the Czech airmen and the way in which versions of public memory created by the press change according to the political situation. The British heroism and patriotism was no longer the prevailing element of the newspapers' messages. The Czechs were no longer 'underdogs' but were on a par with the Brits and other nationalities; thus, the Czechs were no longer excluded from the British efforts as 'other' but were included as Allies.

When discussing the process of production of various versions of mediated memory in newspapers, it is however also important to distinguish between the purposes of or reasons behind the ways in which the Czech RAF airmen were represented in various newspapers, as these potentially partly caused this production of different versions of their identities. As seen above, *The Czechoslovak* newspaper's producers tried to portray the Czech airmen in the best way possible in order to highlight that they volunteered to join the RAF in order to save their country. This shows a strong influence of the Czech patriotism over the process of news production. However, the producers could have also been under the influence of the British optimism and determination to win the war that Churchill's

government disseminated (Donnelly, 1999). I must also consider the possibility that they wanted to create this image in contrast to the 'underdog' image that appeared in *The Times* in 1939. For the producers of *The Czechoslovak,* the representation of 'their heroes' also had strong news value, as it was culturally specific, familiar and relevant to the audience, which is why this positive representation has been consistently published in *The Czechoslovak* throughout the war. In contrast, *The Times* progressed towards more glorifying images only when foreign policy changed and when the Czechs proved themselves valuable in battles. In an article published in October 1940, *The Times* cited Lord Cranborne, Secretary of State for the Dominions, who said:

> '*The British people has a special sympathy with the Czechoslovaks [...] not merely on account of their cruel sufferings, but still more because so many of us feel that, in the 20 years of its free existence, Czechoslovakia, in spite of great difficulties, made great progress towards the establishment of those principles in which we also believe and for which we have always been ready to fight to fight.[...] I should like to pay tribute to the dauntless courage and persistent determination of the Czechoslovak people [...] Already their airmen are doing great things in the Allied cause.'*
>
> (*The Times*, 29/10/1940, Determination of the Czechs, pg 7, Appendix 24)

This demonstrates that the voice of *The Times* was shaped by current political issues and by propaganda, as were all British newspapers with mass production due to Regulation 2D (Curran, 2003). The propagandic influence over the British newspapers can be also seen from the actual more frequent inclusion of the subject of the Czech RAF airmen in these newspapers.

When considering that the criteria of news values, such as conflict, relevance, personalisation, reference to elite nations, reference to elite persons, cultural specificity and negativity, do not apply to it (Brighton & Foy 2007), the subject of the Czech RAF airmen was potentially not very newsworthy for the British audience. In comparison with the subject of Nazi Germany and the progress of war, their lives and efforts were not as significant, they did not represent an elite nation, they were not elite persons, their culture was not relevant to the British people and there was nothing negative about what they did.

Thus, without an outer influence, the Czechoslovak RAF airmen would probably not 'make the news' at all. However, as the British government started promoting its Allies through propaganda, the glorifying reports about the Czech RAF airmen appeared in British newspapers. This notion offers a suggestion that propaganda as a tool of state ideology not only influenced newspapers' messages but also possibly dictated or became one of the WW2 news values. This would mean that for the WW2 versions of the public and private collective memory, propaganda, to a certain extent, would be a unifying characteristic. The next section further indicates the complexity of versioning of the Czech airmen as a subject of news by revealing another perspective under which they were represented.

Czechs as only visitors

Despite the progress of the representation of the Czechoslovak RAF airmen in the British newspapers from 'underdogs' to 'heroes', their position as foreigners, men in exile in a foreign country waiting to go back home, was still apparent throughout the war. In the following examples, this message is encoded in the words 'their army', 'later they will go' [back to Czechoslovakia], 'freely and peacefully to return to the land of their birth', and they still carry meanings of 'otherness', living on foreign soil: '*In this country we have welcomed a provisional Czechoslovak Government [...]. Their army stands at our side and later they will go forth to play their part in restoring the cause of liberty in Czechoslovakia and throughout Europe*' (*The Times*, 29/10/1940, Determination of the Czechs, pg 7, Appendix 24) and *'[...] the day when they [the Czechoslovak RAF airmen] will be able freely and peacefully to return to the land of their birth [...]' (The Times,* 5/09/1939, Refugees' services, pg 9, Appendix 16). The possible effect of these samples is to spread positive feelings about the treatment of and attitude towards the Czechs across the British readership. Despite the obvious warmth of the relationship between the British and the

Czechs encoded in the words 'we have welcomed', and 'stands at our side', the British nation is here yet again positioned in an opposition to the Czechs – 'their army [...] our side'. It is not certain whether this representation of the Czechoslovak RAF airmen as only visitors of Britain who had every intention to leave the country straight after the war had ideological implications emerging from the British resentment of foreigners living in Britain as a newly settled minority or whether it was a simple stated fact. When *The Times* was announcing the final repatriation of the Czechs after the end of the war, it stressed that: '*The squadrons will be taking with them all their equipment, including aircraft'* (*The Times*, 19/07/1945, The Czechs going home, pg 3, Appendix 19) but expressed an opinion that they deserved the British military equipment: '*The Czechs will carry with them many good wishes and admirations of their R.A.F. colleagues. During the war against Germany Czechoslovak fighter pilots and bombing crews won a high reputation for their skill and courage, and made a useful contribution to the Allies' success in the air war'* (*The Times*, 19/07/1945, The Czechs going home, pg 3, Appendix 19). In this article *The Times* seemed to 'overlooked' the fact that all equipment used by the Czech RAF airmen was initially British and even named it 'their' ['the Czechoslovak equipment'] suggests that again this decision was made by the British government and thus proposed to the readers in the newspapers, possibly due to influence by propaganda, in a non-questionable way. These extracts also expose the process of a steady integration of the Czech airmen into the RAF which potentially affected their identity [38]('their R.A.F. colleagues') and the reason behind this acceptance of them as true members of the British RAF (they were admired for their 'skill and courage'). Despite this positive attitude towards the Czechs, the newsworkers in *The Times* positioned themselves as the speakers for the nation as a homeland imagined community (Allan, 1999) keeping the Czech RAF airmen outside of it; talking again about 'us', the British, and 'them', the Czech RAF airmen, the 'other'. Thus *The Times* as an

[38] More detailed examination of the Czech RAF airmen's identity takes place in the following chapter.

artefact, a later archival object, recorded and documented memory that contributed once more towards the propagandist positive model which formed the very specific versions of WW2 public collective memory of Britishness.

The notion of displacement and repatriation of the Czech ethnic minority group fighting in Britain was also represented in *The Czechoslovak* newspapers, where the producers referred to Czechoslovakia as their home country; however, again, the reason behind this representation was possibly different to the British one: '*All of them [the Czechoslovaks] entered the Czechoslovak army [in Britain] with the fervour of sons of a nation shamefully oppressed by Hitler*' (*The Czechoslovak* special issue, The Czechoslovak Army and Air Force in Great Britain, soldiers with tradition and experience, pg 8, Appendix 11). This example demonstrates how the private collective memory of Czechness represented in *The Czechoslovak* differed from British collective memory, as here the Czechoslovaks are referred to as volunteers and not refugees and so Czech patriotism is evident. Therefore it illustrates how the different versions of media messages enrich the historical representation of the Czech RAF airmen by showing important details, notably the fact that some Czechoslovaks did not agree with the politics of the Czechoslovak government, which surrendered to Hitler without a fight, and decided to go abroad and join the Allies in a fight against the Nazis.

The British public and Czech private collective memory (which was similarly to the Czech private individual memory far more based around the identity of the Czech airmen) engaged and disengaged in many various places. Beside the various versions of representations of the Czechs published in *The Czechoslovak* newspaper and British newspapers, there were also major differences in the aims and motives behind their production. The articles in *The Czechoslovak* and the historical context suggests that the main drive was to maintain the morale and national identity of Czech emigrants by reporting about famous Czechs or successful soldiers or airmen, to maintain the Czech

language and culture, to inform readers about what was happening in the Central Europe, but also to help them to improve their language and give them tips to make life easier in a foreign country. The fact that this newspaper was produced in Czech also suggests that the target readership were mostly, if not only, Czech emigrants. The producers expected a need for this alternative community newspaper amongst the Czech minority living in British exile; the need to open a community public sphere where the Czechs as heterogeneous 'other' in British society could voice what mattered to them (Atton, 2002). However, there were also some similarities in discourse produced by the British press, such as representations of positive emotions and advanced technology used in the war by the Allies (such as Spitfires and British bombers). Besides, *The Czechoslovak* presented some representations of negative emotions, notably a reminder of the European nations' betrayal of the former Czechoslovakia, which resulted in German invasion and oppression of Czechoslovakia: '*Munich...Europe's fateful mistake*' (*The Czechoslovak* special issue, pg 4, Appendix 7); and the terror that started in 1939: '*K. H. Frank answered the students' demonstrations, which expressed the Czech people's desire for freedom, not only by a series of barbarous arrests, but also by shooting and executions*' (*The Czechoslovak* special issue, ...And after, pg 5, Appendix 8) in order to increase the negative attitude towards Nazi Germany and motivate the will to fight against them. Lastly, there were always some optimistic future prognostics underpinned by photographs of smiling politicians and soldiers in order to maintain hope in the audience (see Appendix 3 -15). These were again obviously influenced, like the positive representations in the British press, by the British MOI's propaganda illustrating the WW2 written versions in public memory with matching visual representations. Alongside propaganda, another way in which the British government controlled the press, and thus another influence on the WW2 versions of the 'happened', was the use of censorship.

Censorship

Although many representations of the Czechoslovak airmen were admirable, readers could never find out the names of these mentioned fighters: therefore, the WW2 public representations of the Czechs were predominantly anonymous. The reason for this was not ignorance on the part of the British and Czech newspapers but censorship, which was another influence that shaped newspaper messages during WW2 (Balfour, 1979). To support this conclusion based on findings from newspapers' articles, I employ Stevenson (2002), who emphasizes that each modern state monitors the information that is passed on to its citizens. 'This, especially during times of intense social conflict, can lead to measures of censorship, effective representation or active discouragement of the transmission of sensitive information' (Stevenson, 2002, pg 140). I found several examples of this type of censorship: '*A German bomber and fighter formation, which was attacked by the Czechs [...]'* (*The Times*, 27/08/1940, Fight at 30,000 feet; Enemy aircraft in three waves; Czechs in action, pg 4, Appendix 21) and '*Another pilot from the same squadron, a Czech who fought in France and in the Battle of Britain, destroyed two Heinkel 111 bombers over the sea and also shared in the destruction of a Dornier 217. [...] this is the second time that the Czech has destroyed two raiders in one night'* (The Times, 27th August 1940, Fight at 30 000 feet, pg 4, Appendix 21). One of the reasons for not revealing the names of the Czech soldiers and airmen was, as I have already drawn from a quotation from *The Czechoslovak* (Appendix 6) earlier in this chapter, not to endanger their families still living in former Czechoslovakia. In this case, censorship appears to be (unlike Balfour, 1979, suggests) a positive and sensible management of a complex and possibly dangerous situation.

To support my claim, I also emphasise Summers (2007), who even talks about the 'value' of censorship and that censorship should be 'sensible, efficient and honest' (Summers, 2007, pg 18). The degree to which it was possible to achieve this during WW2 is a question for another study. The evidence for my claim about the anonymisation and

thus depersonalisation of the news reports in order to protect the Czech RAF airmen is that immediately after the war finished, their names were suddenly published: '*We seemed suddenly to be in the streets, but our Czech pilot, Flight Lieutenant Balek, made a perfect belly landing in a small recreation park'* (*The Times*, 24/07/1945, Mr. Lyttelton in forced landing, pg 4, Appendix 27).

The outcome of the employment of censorship in the newspapers' texts, the anonymity of the producer of the news discourse, heavily influenced the press messages and therefore the public collective memory and history and became another specific characteristic and, to a point, a unifying element of the WW2 versions of public memory of the Czech RAF airmen's representations, since WW2 researchers studying the Czech ethnic minority's collective memory and using the press as an archival source could never identify the successful airmen whose military operations were represented in WW2 newspapers. Also, I query to what extent censorship depersonalised the WW2 mediated memory by erasing the familiar details such as names and locations. Thus the representations of the war reality of the Czechs reported in the British press possibly became quite detached from its readers. This could have created another reason why *The Czechoslovak* newspaper continued its production throughout the war, as it offered more personalised versions of the representations of Czech RAF airmen, a non-mainstream media identity. For example, in the article 'Comrade' in *The Czechoslovak,* the writer talks to an RAF airman who died in battle as if he were still alive, showing the human side of the airmen by exposing their emotions: '*Today, unfortunately, we can only remember you. You were young for the duty of a flying instructor – only twenty-one years of age. [...] We remember your daily: 'Nazdar Evzen'. How your smiling face was worried when you said to us in Czech: 'Jarda is missing'. You did not need to tell us that you would avenge him, we knew that. We knew your magnificent fighting spirit*' (*The Czechoslovak* special issue, pg 9, Appendix 12).

This example also demonstrated that even the representations in *The Czechoslovak* were influenced by censorship. Although the airman mentioned was not alive, his name would still not be revealed because his family living in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia would have been punished for his efforts abroad. As well as the inability to reveal the names of the Czech RAF airmen, the locations of the military camps could not be made public either, again due to security reasons. This is evidenced in the following example: '*Today, somewhere in England [...] there is a fine winter camp in which the Czechoslovak army, newly equipped, completely self-sufficient and motorised'* (*The Czechoslovak* – special issue, The Czechoslovak army and air force in Great Britain, soldiers with tradition and experience, pg 7, Appendix 10). This example also demonstrates traces of propaganda in its confident description of a 'fine winter camp' with new equipment, showing the strength of the Allies.

Censorship was applied to even more radical newspaper establishments (Conboy, 2006) such as the tabloidised *Daily Mirror: 'A new Czechoslovak squadron of Hurricanes had their first victory in their first fight. Three were ordered up to intercept a Junkers 88 bomber making for Liverpool. Within eleven minutes of taking off they were back again – and the enemy had been shot down. The squadron was trained alongside another Czech squadron which has shot down about forty enemy aircrafts'* (*The Daily Mirror*, 10/10/1940, Czechs open their score – full text, pg 3, Appendix 34). In this short article, there are not only traces of censorship, such as not mentioning names and locations, and propaganda, notably glorifying the Czech air successes, but it also demonstrates the more exciting way of presenting news as an interesting story. This sample then shifts the focus of my textual analysis onto the specifics of the tabloidised press and how it represented the Czech RAF airmen.

'The Czech story' in tabloids – tabloidised perspective of the Czech RAF airmen representation in the *Daily Mirror* and the *News of the World*

In comparison with *The Times*, the Czech airmen were represented in a different way in the tabloids. Their representations contrasted as much as the two different types of newspaper establishments themselves. As Rafferty (2008) argues:

> The tabloids and the qualities do not just inhabit differing physical spaces in terms of subject, neologisms, topography and layout [...], but a different cultural space as well. (Rafferty, 2008, pg 225)

This suggests that various versions of the public memory representing the Czech RAF airmen were produced, even amongst British newspapers. Unlike *The Times*, the *Daily Mirror* was much more radical and controversial during WW2 and did not want to obey easily the propagandists' ideas about war reporting (Williams, 1998) such as demonstration of the strength of the British military forces and the strength of Allies, or the solely negative representations of the Nazis and heroic representations of the British and the Allies. I aim to investigate whether the discourse of this tabloid was or was not strongly politically oriented and whether it carries many signs of propaganda. After initial analysis of articles gathered from the *Daily Mirror*, I found that most reports about the Czech RAF airmen were more random and scattered, not following their journey during WW2 like *The Times* did, without strong political messages, but rather promoting the human side of the Czech airmen in a more personalised, simplified way, and often with thrilling stories which revealed either a conflict or something unexpected. This element of popularisation emerging from the texts I found supports Greenslade's (2004) description of this tabloid in the 1930s as a spokesman of the common British people.

Approaches towards tabloids differ: some academics claim that '[...] tabloid journalism lowers the standards of public discourse' (Örenbring and Jönsson, 2008, pg 24). However, Örenbring and Jönsson also argue that '[...] journalism defined as 'bad' in its

own time in many cases did a better job in serving the public than 'respectable' journalism'. (Örenbring and Jönsson, 2008, pg 24). I found an example of this statement in an article in the *Daily Mirror* which highlights the heroism and courage of a young Czech woman who refused to print Nazi propaganda in her newspaper in occupied Prague: '*She had old fashioned ideas of democracy and the freedom of the Press and refused to print what she knew was a lie'* (*Daily Mirror*, 10/02/1941, She defied Goebbels, pg 4, Appendix 37). This was published in a section called 'I am watching you women!', which also encourages equality of women and men. I found no such article in *The Times*. The example again portrays the dissimilarity between the two different types of newspapers and their selections of versions of public memory representing various members of the Czech minority living in Britain. Similarly to *The Times,* the representations of the Czech airmen were scarce in the *Daily Mirror.* Therefore, the fact that amongst the few articles about the Czechs, space is given to a representation of an ordinary Czech woman demonstrates that although this tabloid newspaper was also under the influence of WW2 ideology and propaganda, the main aim of the paper was not to highlight political issues and the heroism of the Allies (the propagandic messages) but common people and their lives. This evidence supports Stevenson's (2002) claim that 'the popular press represents the world in terms of individualised conflict between good and evil. [...] The quality press [...] is much more concerned with relating 'events' to the public context of social and political relations' (Stevenson, 2002, pg 100). Furthermore, the section of this article emphasising that the Czech woman had 'old fashioned ideas of democracy and the freedom of the Press' possibly suggests that these were also the ideals of the newspaper.

When analysing the *Daily Mirror*'s WW2 articles, it became clear that the Czechs are represented from a different perspective than in *The Times*; in the majority of articles, there are many more sensationalist and emotional elements in their representations. The stories about the Czechs are shorter and often (but not always) aim to entertain rather than

purely inform, in contrast to the broadsheets (Conboy, 2002). The Czech airmen are portrayed in many ways. The very first WW2 image of the Czech RAF airmen illustrates them as bitter and disappointed fighters who had to leave their bases after the Germans confiscated their planes in March 1939. They were represented mainly through strong emotional images (a tool of tabloids) capturing sad airmen leaving their planes with their heads down and a short, emotional and personalised description: '*Wearing fore-and-aft caps in this picture are Czech airmen...beside them a giant bomber that was once their pride. Now it is no longer theirs...Germany has seized it [...] Orders to quit... Czechs are leaving their quarters'* (*Daily Mirror*, 20/03/1939, Hour of bitterness, pg 34, Appendix 29). The negativity and the suddenness of the event connoted in 'now it is no longer theirs' and the present perfect tense used in 'Germany has seized' to stress the immediate effect. This representation of the Czech airmen as members of the ethnic minority was presented nest to German opposition which possibly improved this subject's newsworthiness, and so it was selected to be published despite the fact that the subjects are members of a small and, for Britain, not very important nation. The short sentences and emotionality in expressions like 'giant bomber', 'their pride', 'no longer theirs', 'seized it', 'quit' and 'leaving' emphasise the drama of the situation, which sets up the context for the representation of the Czechs. Therefore the tabloidised style, which appears to be more exciting, newsy, interesting or gossipy (Allan, 1999), creates yet another version of public memory of the Czech RAF airmen. The restricted structure of sentences and the language presented here is also more orally-based ('Orders to quit...'), in comparison with a more elaborated and complex set of codes, more common in written texts, which were employed in quality newspapers (Bignell, 2002) such as *The Times.*

Another representation that also carries features of the tabloidised style, such as strong simplification and personalisation, reveals the human side of the airmen and portrays them in various ways, for example as mad boyfriends: '*Two Czech airmen who*

were killed when their plane crashed into some houses [...] were stated at an inquest yesterday to have been circling round very low over a girlfriend's house at the time of the accident' (*Daily Mirror*, 24/07/1941, 2 killed stunting over girl's house, pg 12, Appendix 38). The choice of the topic for this example, the unprofessional and even scandalous behaviour of a Czech RAF airman motivated by affection for a girl, is typical of tabloidised versions of public memory, which, as Allan (1999) claims, want 'to provoke conversation' (Allan, 1999, pg 104).

In contrast, the *Mirror* on another occasion dwelt on how caring a particular pilot was as a father: '*a Czechoslovakian soldier who was visiting his wife and baby in one of the hospitals told the Daily Mirror: 'I am more than grateful for what the hospital have done for my wife and baby'* (*Daily Mirror*, 01/01/1941, Shakespeare names for war babies, pg 7, Appendix 36). Both samples demonstrate narrativity – a story-like style, and a strong personalisation of the representations of the Czechs as they employ connotations of a catastrophe due to human error and love. Thus the effect here is again that the news reports become more appealing for the readers, who can easily identify with the subjects (Conboy, 2001). It also demonstrates that in tabloids, as Deuze (2008) claims: 'one cannot draw a meaningful distinction between 'information' and 'entertainment'' (Deuze, 2008, pg 229). In other words, the versions of events (in this case the representations of the Czech RAF airmen) are influenced by distinct tabloidised features; in tabloids, the reported subject is presented in a popular way in order to entertain its specific readership. The selected samples therefore reveal different perspectives in representing the Czech airmen, by which they enrich the public memory in multidirectional ways (Rothberg, 2009).

Similarly, personalised and different to the broadsheets' reports appear to be the Women's Pages published in the *Daily Mirror*, produced by Hilde Marchant, which informed about 'genuine women's issues' [39]. There I discovered a 'great female story'

[39] http://www.adam-matthew-publications.co.uk/digital_guides/

about a young Czech woman, a heroine helping the Czech airmen: '*Without visa or passport and in considerable danger she crossed by a secret route into Poland as a voluntary exile. And once there she worked hard ... and we can thank this Czech girl in her twenties for many of the Czech pilots who are fighting with us now. The road she took she taught others to take. She found a way of getting hundreds of Czech soldiers and airmen out of the country by this secret route'* (*Daily Mirror*, 10/02/1941, She defied Goebbels!, pg 4, Appendix 37). *The Mirror* here again represented the Czech RAF airmen in a non-traditional way, in contrast to *The Times* – in a story about ordinary Czech girl where the subject of airmen appears to be secondary. In this article on the women's page, targeting particular female readership, the discourse addresses its readers differently, presenting a young ordinary Czech girl as a heroine who voluntarily placed herself 'in considerable danger' and helped Czech pilots into exile, as a potential opposite to the traditional male war hero, someone they could have easily identified with. Also it shows that tabloids had more 'freedom to write creatively without the constraints of mainstream newspaper conventions' (Deuze, 2008, pg 243).

Despite the role reversion, similarly to the previous samples, this one also carries traces of censorship (no name) and propaganda. Its producers again employed heroism (although this time the hero is an ordinary civilian), positive attitude and a morale-boosting story that encourages others to follow her example. However, this article provides this research with yet another version of the representation of the airmen, in this case presented from a more distant perspective as an anonymous large group - 'hundreds of Czech soldiers and airmen'. Again, the Czechs are referred to as 'they' in contrast with 'us' (British) – 'who are fighting with us now' – and thus represented as the 'other' in British society.

popular_newspapers_world_war_2_parts_1_to_5/Publishers-Note.aspx, 2010, May 2010

This article also displays another example of the *Daily Mirror* joining the British public opinion within the mainstream official public sphere and referring to the Czech RAF airmen as outsiders or only guests. This time, it is present in a quote from the girl herself when she comments on her position in exile: '*Our president, Dr. Beneš, says we are citizens of the Czechoslovak republic whose State for the moment is here. We are guests – and you are admirable hosts'* (*Daily Mirror*, 10/02/1941, She Defied Goebbels!, pg 4, Appendix 37). The emphasis here is on the citizenship of the Czechs in the Czechoslovak republic, not Britain – and their residency in Britain was only temporary. This indicates that the message that was to be sent to the British readers was of the termination of the Czechs' stay in Britain as well as the hospitability of the British. As Conboy (2006) suggests: 'The cohesion of the imagined community of nation within the tabloid newspapers is not only established and reinforced by reference to insiders [...] but also by a consistent pattering within the representation of outsiders to the community' (Conboy, 2006, pg 94). Thus, again the public collective memory of Britishness represented the Czech RAF airmen as the 'other' to potentially strengthen the cohesion of the British nation. However, here the context in which this piece of propaganda appears positions the message as an opinion of the Czechoslovaks themselves. The declarative mode of the grammar in this sentence is there to persuade the reader that all members of the Czechs ethnic minority are and feel like guests and will leave Britain immediately after the war. Thus the encoded message is similar to the ones in *The Times*; however, the form of this message is different, much more personalised, in accordance with the characteristics of the tabloids.

Another female element in the representations of the Czechs is noticeable in a different article, where the subject of the Czech men leaving for the war is presented through the eyes of their girlfriends, wives or sisters. Here, however, the roles of men and women are reversed back to more traditional men-as-heroes and their model women:

'*Sadly, but proudly too, Czechoslovak girls in London put on their national costumes yesterday. Then they went to say farewell [...] to their husbands, brothers and sweethearts who left for France as members of the first Czechoslovak volunteer army formed in Britain to fight the Germans'* (*Daily Mirror*, 09/05/1940, Czechs leave for the war, pg 4, Appendix 33). This sample displays traces of propaganda by using the notion of national identity and its power to motivate and boost the morale of the civilian readers by referring to pride in being a Czechoslovak volunteer led by the British against the enemy – the Germans. Expressions such as 'sweethearts' and 'Czechoslovak girls' connote familiarity and camaraderie (Bignell, 2002) in this version of public memory, which is wrapped in the emotional style of the text, articulated by phrases such as 'sadly but proudly' and 'to say farewell'. Here again, we see an emotional and story-like tabloidised version of the representations of the Czechs, which contributes towards the heterogeneity of the WW2 public sphere.

Despite the 'rebellious' urge of the *Daily Mirror* (Curran, 2002) to escape the influences of propaganda, I found several pieces of evidence that the influence of propaganda was visible in the representations of the Czech RAF airmen even in the *Daily Mirror* (some of which I have already revealed above). Similarly to *The Times*, the *Daily Mirror* also attempted to attract the Czechs to come and join the Allies: '*Defying a warning from German rulers in Prague that they would be liable to heavy penalties if they joined any military organisation abroad, Czechs living in France and Britain are rushing to offer their services with the fighting forces'* (*Daily Mirror*, 11/09/1939, Czechs defy Nazi threat – join armies of the Allies, pg 11, Appendix 28), and shows in bold print how many are already in the legions, friends of the Brits: '*Of 4000 Czechs in England [...] 1000 have already volunteered for the Czech Legion'* (*Daily Mirror*, 11/09/1939, Czechs defy Nazi threat – join armies of the Allies, pg 11, Appendix 28). The persuasive power of propaganda can be found in the connotative meanings of the words 'rushing' and 'to offer

services', and also the figures showing how many have already joined but also how many are still remaining.

Some previously mentioned propagandic themes such as heroism not only appeared in *The Times* and *The Czechoslovak* but were also present in the public collective memory produced by the *Daily Mirror.* Therefore, the representations of the Czech RAF airmen as good fighters and heroes without any human weaknesses were repeated in various WW2 newspapers, including the tabloids: '*A Czech sergeant and a South African flight–lieutenant from a famous Hurricane squadron played 'cat-and-mouse' with a Junkers 88 before shooting it down [...] at least three enemy bombers were destroyed over Britain at the week-end [...] The Czech pilot, although his ammunition was almost gone, attacked and damaged a Heinkel on the way back to his base'* (*Daily Mirror*, 24/03/1941, 3 more bombers down, pg 24, Appendix 38). The propaganda can be seen here in the representation of the power relationship between the Allies and the Nazis, highlighting the numbers of destroyed planes – 'at least three enemy bombers destroyed at the weekend' - and exaggerating the representation of the Allies as an unbeatable force whose victory seems to be effortless - a German aeroplane was destroyed by a pilot who was on his way home and whose ammunition was almost gone. In another article, despite the censorship, one extremely successful Czech pilot was honoured by being named and presented in a photo. '*Flight-Lieutenant Karel Kuttelwascher, the Czech pilot who recently shot down three Heinkel raiders in one night, bringing his total 'bag' up to eight'* (*Daily Mirror*, 07/05/1942, 3 Huns in night, pg 5, Appendix 40). This appearance of a full name in a national newspaper is very surprising and would at the time have been quite unique, as the majority of news reports were anonymous. It is difficult to recognise whether it was a possible provocation of the system or a tabloidised fight for personalisation of the content of the news.

The evidence from the above samples further supports my earlier claim that propaganda and censorship consistently influenced production of the WW2 versions of public memory and thus became one of their possibly unifying features. In other words, WW2 propaganda and censorship could become the specific elements that bridged all the different mediated versions of the public memory in one transnational (including the Czech and British versions) trans-mediated (unifying various newspaper discourses) collective memory (Radstone, 2010) of the Second World War. On the other hand, the fact that the WW2 propaganda to a certain point unified newspapers discourse across the board, including national quality newspapers, tabloids and community newspapers, demonstrates that the differences between various versions were not as marginal as perhaps they would be after the war. I must highlight here that despite differences between the tabloid and the broadsheet style presented throughout this chapter, the debate about the distinction between the versions produced by the two is not black and white, but quite complex. For example, *The Times* sometimes also personalised its stories to some degree if the type of story merited it.

Furthermore, based on my analysis of the evidence, I argue that not all tabloid stories were fun and entertaining, particularly the ones concerning war matters. From this perspective, I disagree with Allan (1999), who claims that 'the style of the tabloids tends to be described as 'fun' [...] news to be pleasurable and thus popular [...it]' (Allan, 1999, pg 104)'. The following sample, found in the *Daily Mirror*, reports about the Czechs in a non-emotive, non-personalised and non-entertaining way, simply stating facts about the mass arrests in Czechoslovakia, adding a detail, the figure '*more than 100 officers*', which makes the report appear quite precise: '*Gestapo officers are celebrating the first anniversary of the German invasion of Czechoslovakia by making mass arrests of Czechs [...] more than 100 officers have been arrested'* (*Daily Mirror*, 16/03/1940, Nazis' Czech purge, pg 10, Appendix 32). Despite the fact that the content revealed here (mass arresting

potentially innocent men by German Gestapo) has got tragic consequences for the Czechs, the report seems to be presented plainly without using pejorative adjectives describing the enemy or heroic connotations when mentioning the Allies. Thus it appears as if the tabloid aimed to remain objective by keeping distance from its subjects or merely inform about a situation in the middle of Europe which is mostly outside of the main interest of the readers. This interpretation would support my earlier notion of 'othering' the Czechs in British media.

To complete this analysis of the versions of public memory representing the Czech RAF airmen in tabloidised newspapers, I must state that during the WW2 period, there were no articles concerned with the Czechs in the *News of the World.* There are several possible reasons for this. One of them is that the representation of the Czech RAF airmen's identity did not match with the *News of the World*'s news values criteria and was therefore not included in the weekly newspaper's production. 'Newspapers are produced by professional workers who select some events for reporting for news and exclude others. The pattern of exclusion differs from one page to another' (Bignell, 1997, pg 82). Weekly Sunday newspapers occupy a specific area of news production, as they have less space than the daily newspapers. Therefore, their news tends to have less immediacy and many articles provide entertainment rather than information, as Sunday, for most readers, is a day of leisure (Brighton and Foy, 2007).

It is not always this simple, for example *The Sunday Times* has had some very famous campaigns in the past, as has the *Observer*; and the *News of the World* is infamous for some of its more controversial investigative journalism. However, when studying the WW2 *News of the World,* I found that only a small section of the newspaper was concerned with the actual news and the rest was more entertainment or celebrity driven. The fact that the representations of the Czech RAF airmen did not appear in the versions of public memory produced by the *News of The World,* which was read every week by

millions of British people for the entire duration of the Second World War, could suggest that the presence of the airmen in the British public sphere was perhaps not as important and strong as in the Czech public sphere within Britain. Despite the absence of this topic in the *News of The World*, this section investigating the representation of the Czech RAF airmen in tabloid newspapers has enriched the discussion about versioning in the production of newspaper representations by presenting new and different features of these representations. The following section narrows the focus onto solely Czech versions of the Czech private collective memory.

An alternative (or not) to the WW2 British newspapers - *The Czechoslovak,* special English issue - a case study

My final analysis is concerned with a special version of the rather private collective memory represented in community media - *The Czechoslovak* special issue published in English, which I discovered in Imperial War Museum. I analyse this newspaper with attention to detail, as a case study, because it is a unique source for this research and to my knowledge it has never before been academically examined. Initially, it appeared to adopt a tabloid style, as it possesses features such as bold and outsized graphics, large expressive images and sensationalised headlines. However, when exploring the content and language of *The Czechoslovak* special issue, I found most of the articles very informative and formal in style. For example, the representation of the Czech RAF airmen in the article '*The Czechoslovak Army and Air Force in Great Britain'* with a subtitle: '*Soldiers with tradition and experience*' (*The Czechoslovak,* special issue pg 7-8, Appendix 10 and 11) carried connotations of authority, formality, and seriousness, using detailed, long and well-structured sentences, using non-emotional, non-personalised language and displaying extensive vocabulary in describing the journey of the Czechs to

Britain and the conditions of the Czechoslovak Army and Air Force. These features, according to Bignell (2002), are present in the discourse of 'quality' newspapers. These connotations were, for example, apparent in expressions: '*After indescribable misfortunes, bloody fighting, tireless diplomatic negotiations between the commanders of the Czechoslovak units with the French, and after embarkation in Southern France, the Czechoslovak Army [...] landed on the soil of Great Britain.*' On the other hand *The Czechoslovak* special issue also displays connotations of familiarity, such as its use of the pronoun 'your' in '*Meet your Allies, the Czechoslovaks'* (*The Czechoslovak*, special issue, front page, Appendix 3), which highlights the relationship between the reader and the subjects (Conboy, 2006). Thus, in my analysis, I will be exploring whether *The Czechoslovak* special issue stood as a counter-hegemonic discourse offering alternative versions of representations of the Czech RAF airmen to the ones in the mainstream British newspapers or whether it reified the hegemonic WW2 discourse. For this, I must examine this Czech ethnicity within the context of the previous analyses of the British mainstream and popular press.

I selected the front page of *The Czechoslovak* special issue for my main analysis, as this component arguably sells the newspaper and thus carries the strongest and 'loudest' message (Carter, 2000) and could provide more evidence about the whole publishing process of the newspaper as an establishment. As I discussed earlier in this thesis, newspapers are a complex display of linguistic and iconic (photographic and graphic) codes or signs (Hall, 1996) that represent what happened in the world. However, they are also real businesses that are controlled by corporations with the aim to prosper. This massively affects the newspaper production as well as the selection of news and design of the front-page – one of the main tools of retail - because the key focal point shifts from informing onto selling (Bignell, 1997). According to Franklin (2008), 'the front page must fight for attention alongside myriad rivals' (Franklin, 2008, pg 213). If approaching a

number of British readers was an ambition of this special issue, it had to be produced in such a way that it could compete with the more well established British newspapers. The special issue of *The Czechoslovak* needed to gain more tabloidised features as according to circulation statistics (see Wadsworth, 1955), tabloids attracted more readers during WW2 than broadsheets. *The Czechoslovak* special English issue had many large pictures and sensationalised headings. The sensationalist treatment of the Czech story, which for most British people was not the most significant/important event happening at that time, indicates that *The Czechoslovak* special issue chose this new style for a reason. Also the change of language used from Czech to English indicates the change of the target readership that the newspaper was addressed to. *The Czechoslovak* weekly, written purely in Czech, was probably not targeting English readers at all and thus the special issue was not targeting the Czech readers. Therefore, I argue that *The Czechoslovak* special issue adopted a more tabloid style in order to appeal to more readers and by doing so it created another, possibly different, version to the British public memory published in British newspapers.

Layout and topography

The Czechoslovak special issue's front page (Appendix 3) is an array of the newspaper's title, a striking headline (but no other text), a picture and photographs of the Czech airmen and soldiers with specific connotations that dominate the space and support the text of the headline. Thus it appears to be quite loud and expressive. The topography and layout are characteristic of tabloids, using various typefaces for the headlines and strong images (Conboy, 2001). The largest print on the page is the name of the paper, using quite a gentle, soft font, and is written with Czech spelling, using caroms and marking the vowel length with a short line. This detail suggests that the producers respected and aimed to preserve the Czech tradition. The only headline there speaks to the

British target audience very clearly by using five simple words – 'Meet your allies: The Czechoslovaks' - and a blunt, bold typeface. It is positioned at the top of the page to draw readers' attention; to increase the impact, the producers have used 'kerning' – expanding of the space between individual letters (Franklin, 2008). The name of the newspaper is surrounded by minuscule print adding some extra detail in the Czech language. It claims that it is '*nezavisly tydenik,*' which means 'independent weekly' and an English special edition, and it translates the name of the paper, '*Cechoslovak*', into English – '*The Czechoslovak'.* This 'small print', which at first glance might appear insignificant, actually adds authenticity and importance to the newspaper by disclosing its independence and emphasising that it is published in the English language. What is more, the 'special edition' label of this newspaper supports the illusion of exclusivity, which would create another strong selling factor. The reason why there is no date on the front page (it shows only price: a sixpence - see Appendix 3) remains a mystery to my analysis.

The most dominant image - a romantic drawing of the face of a Czechoslovak soldier - is situated in the right bottom corner where it can be seen as clearly as the headline. These two largest items of the front page appear to be the entry points into the page. The motif behind having several entry points could be the designer's aim to 'retain the interest of the reader for as long as possible' (Franklin, 2008, pg 212). These two segments of the front page are the most important parts, as they are there to attract the buyers/readers. The main image is surrounded by another five photographs representing groups of soldiers in various activities: officers discussing a problem, soldiers shooting from a vast gun, pilots gathering around an aeroplane, exercising bare-chested soldiers standing tall in line and a war detail - soldiers marching through the countryside. The photographs are positioned alongside the left hand side of the page and underneath the 'dominant image' so that they appear to be optically in an L-shape column almost framing the drawing. I suggest that the effect of this layout is to add some extra detail into the story

of the front page; to link the romanticism of the idealised drawing with the still very positive-looking 'reality' when the reader focuses more closely onto the smaller photographs. Therefore, this front page appears to represent the Czechs in a quite complex and expressive way, highlighting their strengths and abilities as well as their human side.

Headlines and graphics

An interesting feature is the actual name of the newspaper itself. '*Cechoslovak*' or '*The Czechoslovak*' means a member of the Czechoslovak nation, an equivalent to naming a newspaper 'British man'. My assumption here is that such a personalised address uses powerful connotations of familiarity by singling out an individual from a small European nation, possibly known in the British public sphere due to the Munich conference in 1938 and the Czechoslovakian oppression by Hitler. This could be the reason why the graphics of the name are more dominant than the graphics of the actual headline. In this case, the name of the newspaper almost appears to be a code itself. Berger (1998) notes:

> Codes are highly complex patterns of associations that all members of a given society and culture learn. These codes or 'secret structures' in people's minds, affect the way that the individuals interpret the signs and symbols they find in media and ways they live. (Berger, 1998, pg 26)

The fact that the newspaper's name is spelled in Czech even in the English special issue emphasises the possible aim of its producers to express an integrity with the Czech minority – presenting the newspaper as 'one of us' - and also supplies a sense of the exotic for its English readers. This need to retain an identity is another specific feature of this Czech version of the collective memory representing the Czech airmen. On one hand, *The Czechoslovak* special issue was published in English, thus potentially targeting a British audience; on the other hand its producers seem to be determined to produce a purely Czech 'product' – a discourse that was solely about the Czechs. The motives behind this bizarre act are connoted in the large heading placed at the top, which was the only one on the

entire front page: the producers had only one important message to send and that was 'Meet your allies: The Czechoslovaks'. The heading's connotations appear to be quite clear: it is all about the process of meeting, getting to know and learning about something new.

This notion offers the possible reason behind the establishment of *The Czechoslovak* special English issue, which is one of this study's research questions. My presumption is that it was produced as a counter-hegemonic alternative discourse to add detail and depth to the representations of the Czech RAF airmen in the British mainstream media, and thus create heterogeneity in the WW2 public sphere. The community media often desire to widen or expand beyond news values of the national newspapers and give voice to the ethnic minorities (Howley, 2009). I discussed in the first chapter that community newspapers usually inform and motivate the actual community or ethnic minority living in a different culture. Here, however, because the imaginary target audience of *The Czechoslovak* special issue was people outside this community, the newspaper was produced as an informative discourse about the Czech minority living and fighting in Britain. Its version of WW2 reality thus becomes unique and very different to other versions in the British press, as the image of the Czech RAF airmen is consciously created within a message sent across cultures.

As the content of the newspaper was not an immediate reflection of current events, I propose that the producers spent a longer time creating the articles and preparing the launch of this special issue more carefully than in the case of *The Czechoslovak* weekly or British daily newspapers. Evidence that supports this claim is the producers' strategy of creating the illusion of a tabloid in order to appeal to a wide range of English readers, particularly members of the British working or middle class, who would respond to this format of the newspaper. By the imperative 'meet' used in the headline, these readers received the urgency of the message and were almost forced to gain interest in the Czech

minority living in Britain. The pronoun 'your' expands the meaning towards the audience. It attempts to appear relevant to the audience, as do many tabloid texts. Furthermore, the connotations of the subject 'Allies' are used for similar reasons – as a possible attribute of a positive relationship, bond and responsibility for one another.

Finally, the producers used just the simple name of the nation again in order to promote the people, their actions, ideas and lives. After reading this only headline on the front page, the readers should not only have felt curious but also keen or almost obliged to read this newspaper. This again would be in accordance with the more aggressive and dramatic headlines created by the tabloids as they 'sought new audience' (Biressi, Nunn, 2008, pg 31). All these messages are also condensed in the images on *The Czechoslovak*'s front page. The assortment of selected photographs and a drawing suggests that the aim of the producers was to initially strike the English audience on the emotional level. They were trying to present the readers with the real faces of the Czechoslovak soldiers who lived, worked and fought in England at that time and wanted to be recognised.

The largest image is a very personalised drawing of a proud, focused soldier whose eyes are almost romantically gazing into the future and who has the name of his home country 'Czechoslovakia' embroidered on his shoulder. By using an oversized image of a face, *The Czechoslovak*'s front page promises to present its potential readers with a more personalised story about the Czech culture, which could initially appear perhaps 'less important' on the large national or international WW2 scale but possibly appealed to readers who seek interesting or even sensational stories about individuals from abroad. This personalised effect was enhanced by real photographs of Czech airmen, officers and soldiers, which were, however still not quite realistic[40]. This purposefully designed collage reflected the image that the producers thought the imaginary audience might have wanted

[40] All photographs were carefully chosen and 'cropped' in order to draw attention to the positive details, such as hard work, focus, determination and physical ability. Moreover, in some pictures, it is obvious that the soldiers were posing for the reporters.

to receive: positive and reassuring messages in the stressful war time, delivered by handsome, sophisticated and brave men who were fighting for the homeland they had lost. The message of the 'front page story'– this collage of pictures and a heading - strikes the reader even before he or she has read a word. The main image reveals that prominence is given to the Czechoslovak men – the allied soldiers and airmen who are proud to be Czechoslovaks and who have worked extremely hard on many fields to help Great Britain defeat fascism.

In order to further the discussion about this special Czech version of the WW2 Czech community and the intentions of the producers, I propose that *The Czechoslovak* special issue became a kind of self-reflective representation of the Czechs with the aim to introduce themselves to others who were presumably not well informed about this nation[41]. This would suggest that the versions of the Czech collective private memory in this special issue were potentially more detailed but also possibly more polished, highlighting mainly the good sides of the Czechs. From this perspective, this version presented in *The Czechoslovak* would be more self-consciously and self-evidently authored than other public media narratives (Munslow, 2001) in a similar way as history is produced. This would have a large impact on the actual versions and their higher artificiality in terms of confabulation, re-narration and self-reflected editing. Thus, with this in mind, I will examine the level of consciousness with which these versions were produced later in this chapter.

Beyond the front page

When looking beyond the front page, inside *The Czechoslovak* special English issue there are several more visual representations of the Czech RAF airmen. There are

[41] The Czechs were generally liked by the British population, however with the exception of Munich conference only little was known about them (Mass observation archive – File reports on 'Public feeling about the Czechs', 608, 18.3.1941).

two photographs of a group of soldiers marching – one in England, one in the Middle East - an officer receiving a medal, soldiers building their own barracks, a smiling pilot with a thumb up, and pilots being visited by their exiled president, Dr. Beneš (Appendix 10 and 11). All of these images reflect them as positive, hardworking and successful men, possibly heroes. The two images of perfectly synchronised marching soldiers connotate discipline, professionalism and unity. These visualised representations played a very important role in the communication process between the producer as coder and the reader as decoder (Hall, 1980). Together with the articles, through the power of imagery (Lacey, 1998), they create a certain image of the Czech airmen, promoting heroism, which is presented to its readers as a representation of reality.

The idea of the need for self-representation or a presentation of the Czech version of the Czechoslovak identity to the British nation is also supported by the structure of this special issue. Firstly the Introduction (see Appendix 5) is a description of Czechoslovakia written by a famous Czech writer, Karel **Č**apek, published in memoriam. This illustrates to the readers the vivid history of this newly re-born state[42]. It involves readers in active imagination of the country, its position within Europe and the political situation that is determined by this position: '*If you look at the map of Europe, you will perceive that this oblong formation of Czechoslovakia occupies just about the centre of Europe [...] the situation of this tiny land surrounded by far more powerful and belligerent States and nations*' (*The Czechoslovak* special issue, Introduction, pg 2, Appendix 5). The introduction sets up the context for the representation of the Czechs as a hardworking, harmless nation trapped in the middle of a '*collision of races and cultures*' (*The Czechoslovak* special issue, Introduction, pg 2, Appendix 5), which therefore needs support and protection from other strong nations like Britain. This notion of relations between England and Bohemia is expressed in the following article written by Dr. R. R. Betts

[42] Czechoslovakia was established in 1918 after WW1 and the fall of the Habsburg monarchy, to which it belonged for almost five hundred years. Prior to this, it was an independent, prosperous state.

(Appendix 6), which reminds its readers about the important historical links between the two countries. With this chapter, the Czech producers possibly wanted to remind readers of the tradition of political engagement between Britain and Czechoslovakia, which was disturbed before WW2. This broken link is discussed in the article about the Munich conference with a title 'Europe's fateful Mistake and Churchill's and Attlee's remarks about Czechoslovakia and Munich' (Appendix 7 and 8), which follows. Here the British reader is presented with a recapitulation of recent history and detailed consequences of the decisions at Munich: Czechoslovakia lost a significant amount of land, and the borders were now open to German invasion, which soon followed. The producers explain in detail how the oppressed country suffers under the Nazi regime, describing '*barbarous arrests and execution, cultural oppression and economic plundering*' (*The Czechoslovak* special issue, ...And after, pg 5, Appendix 8). Again here the representation of political events creates a frame for the image of Czech soldiers and airmen whose families in Czechoslovakia are endangered and who, despite the hopeless political situation, decided to escape and help the Allies to fight against Hitler.

The discussion is taken further into a more detailed illustration of how the Czechoslovaks fight for freedom through the Czechoslovak provisional government in Britain and Czechoslovak airmen and soldiers fighting alongside the Allies (Appendix 9). This is a particularly valuable section for this thesis, as it reveals a more detailed representation of the Czech RAF airmen. Similarly to the front page and the photographs throughout *The Czechoslovak* special issue, there is an obvious influence of propaganda, which again idealises the Czechs and portrays them in a heroic way: '*The Czechoslovak Army and Air Force in Great Britain have an old and rich tradition*' (*The Czechoslovak* special issue, The Czechoslovak Army and Air Force, pg 8, Appendix 11), and further, '*They are experienced soldiers, many of whom went through the last war and travelled round the world as Czechoslovak legionaries*' (*The Czechoslovak* special issue, The

Czechoslovak Army and Air Force, pg 7, Appendix 10). Here the main value of the Czechoslovaks seems to be war experience, which predisposes them to success.

Pages seven, eight and nine are dedicated to the Czech army and airmen (Appendix 10, 11 and 12), creating a special version of memory, which was arguably created in order to persuade readers that the Czechs did not deserve Nazi oppression of their country and that they deserved the support of the British people: '*many of whom [the Czech airmen] went through the last war and travelled round the world as Czechoslovak legionaries [...] all are determined to avenge the murdered Prague students*' (*The Czechoslovak* special issue, The Czechoslovak Army and Air Force, pg 7, Appendix 10). '*The Czechoslovak war industry was before 1938 the greatest arms exporter in the world [...]*' (*The Czechoslovak* special issue, The Czechoslovak Army and Air Force, pg 8, Appendix 11). To further this portrait of successful and determined members of the Czech nation, page ten introduces the most famous Czech literature and artists (*The Czechoslovak* special issue, pg 10, Appendix 13) and emphasises their contribution towards society: '*the Czechoslovaks have given the world a whole line of composers who are among the greatest in the whole history of music in the world*' (*The Czechoslovak* special issue, pg 10, Appendix 13).

All of these articles appear greatly patriotic, as they display an array of representations of state ideology, highlighting glorious aspects of Czech history and culture and politically reasoning for the independence of Czechoslovakia. The potential reason why the majority of this special issue is very informative and attempts to portray Czechoslovak culture and explain the Czechoslovak situation to its British readers could be Czech identification, a condition of establishing their identity (Aulich, 1991; see also Edensor, 2002). The representations in *The Czechoslovak* special issue appear to be an expression of Czech public cultural identity: a detailed context to supplement what has been published in the British newspapers. This could have been a spontaneous act or an

organised process. The highly sophisticated and traditional language and style employed in *The Czechoslovak* special issue, however, indicates the latter: '*If you will look at the map of Europe, you will perceive that this oblong formation of Czechoslovakia occupies just about the centre of Europe, equidistant from north to south and from west to east. To be thus exactly in the centre of Europe means to be in the very heart of history's melee, for no collisions of the races, of cultures, and ideas have been spared in this area*' (*The Czechoslovak* special issue, Introduction by Karel Capek, pg 2, Appendix 5).

My suggestion is that *The Czechoslovak* special issue did not emerge impulsively from Czech patriotism alone, but that there was potentially a strong input from the Czech exile government with regard to the content of this issue and possibly even the initiation of its production. Its discourse would thus reflect the official Czech and British government's voice[43], which would provide a carefully constructed and glorified historical and cultural ground for the Czechs who were involved in fights and lived in Britain during WW2. From this perspective, the versions of their representations appear to be the most idealistic of all newspapers examined in this study. However, I argue that regardless of whom the potential producers were, this 'war representation' or 'war version' of the Czechs became a part of the heritage and the WW2 collective memory of the Czech ethnic minority's identity. The producers had the same right to their memory (Bundsgaard, 2006) and creation of this WW2 version of the 'happened' as the producers of British newspapers. All versions of the Czech RAF airmen's image differ in many ways, but also overlap in places. Due to the influence of war these collective memories, which circulated around the Czech airmen's heroism, for example, reached beyond national boundaries and became trans-national. Special WW2 ideology and circumstances created tools such as propaganda and censorship, which forced journalism in Britain (produced by whichever nationality) to send

[43] Similar to the newsreel 'Fighting Allies: Czechoslovaks in Britain', 1941, directed my Louise Birt and produced by Ministry of Information where the Czechoslovak people were portrayed in a very positive light as helpful friendly hardworking nation. (Imperial War Museum)

unified hegemonic messages. In this case, they were the representations of the Czech RAF airmen. This Second World War public collective memory was possibly the early cosmopolitan type of collective memory, where nations and their memories were inter-connected through the engagement in the war. This notion to an extent challenges Halbwachs' (1992) concept of collective memory as always associated with national identity while at the same time identifies Radstone's (2010) nation-transcending commonalities of memory which are however used retrospectively onto WW2.

The Czechoslovak special issue thus engages journalism, collective memory and issues of identity and reveals a very unusual WW2 version of the collective memory where one culture is a part of another. It is difficult to decide here whether *The Czechoslovak* newspaper stood as an alternative to the mainstream newspapers. *The Czechoslovak* weekly, as a community newspaper, provided cultural and linguistic support to the Czech ethnic minority settled in Britain and mostly showed traditional features. The articles in *The Czechoslovak* presented their readers with various topics. Beside reports about the war, politics, Czechoslovak soldiers and airmen and Prague, there were also advertisements such as goods for sale and job offers written in English and Czech. This suggests that the readership could not have been inconsiderable, as no English business would advertise in a newspaper with little or no readership.

In general, the articles reflected the day-to-day life of a foreign community living in Great Britain in the middle of WW2. The situation in occupied Czechoslovakia forced many Jewish people, and some proactive Czech citizens who felt the need to fight against Hitler or who were endangered, to emigrate and try to settle somewhere safe (Brown, 2000). The majority of refugees wanted to return to Czechoslovakia as soon as their country was freed; therefore, they were focused on fighting for freedom and temporary settlement. (They received help from, for example, The Czech Refugee Trust – records in IWM – 8/4/1938, Miss J. Brunner, see Appendix 56). *The Czechoslovak* weekly thus

presented news in Czech from London, Prague and the rest of Europe, arguably in order to inform the members of the community whose English was not fluent enough to understand the English newspapers. This assumption is supported by the fact that on the last page of each issue, there was a section called 'The language corner' dedicated to teaching and learning Basic English. In this section, the paper included basic English phrases and vocabulary always covering a specific topic such as shopping, travelling and food.

The Czechoslovak weekly and *The Czechoslovak* special issue also produced some counter-hegemonic discourse, however, when rebelling against the mainstream newspapers at the beginning of the war. It disputed the image of the Czechs as helpless refugees, and provided more detailed representations of the Czechs than those published in the British national daily or weekly newspapers. Arguably the very existence of *The Czechoslovak* can be classified as counter-hegemonic in contrast to the hegemony of Britishness, particularly between June 1940 and May 1941 when Britain stood alone in the fight against the Nazis. Thus, although my analysis revealed that *The Czechoslovak* repeated the hegemonic representations in many ways, I argue that its mixture of styles appears quite original and alternative. In addition, the fact that *The Czechoslovak* special issue became a kind of a written newsreel or a presentation of the Czech nation and culture to the British audience is also unusual.

Conclusion - historical representation in the press

During my examination of the Second World War press, I uncovered several versions of representations of the Czech RAF airmen. Each WW2 newspaper establishment reported war events and represented the Czechs according to its own aims, style and target readership. The image of the Czech RAF airmen reflected by British tabloids was, to a point, dissimilar to the image from British quality newspapers. *The*

Czechoslovak newspaper offered another alternative and potentially counter-hegemonic version of the mediated memory. The Czech RAF airmen were represented in written public memory as underdogs and refugees, as heroes, as only visitors in Britain, as strangers or the 'other' in contrast with the British heroes, as fathers and boyfriends, as members of a small oppressed nation, and as friendly Allies and proud volunteers who displayed excellent skills and great experience in flying. This process of creation of pluralistic versions of the Czech airmen's reality by the WW2 newspapers, in other words versioning of public memory, is a key idea in this study. I argue that one reality or one event can be reflected from various angles and thus in different ways, creating various versions of such reality or event. These further multiply when interacting and being interpreted by researchers (Connelly, 2007). However all versions are equally important in the process of historical reconstruction as they all represent specific aspects of the complex reality.

Versioning was also influenced and the various versions of the press unified to a certain point by the developing political situation in Britain and other external influences such as propaganda, WW2 ideology and censorship. The complexity of these terms causes a difficulty for a current researcher to clearly distinguish in the text between propaganda and ideology. However I also argued that these influences jointly simplified the questions of cultural identity of the Czechs and possibly co-created a specific 'war identity' of the airmen, which led in places towards the creation of a trans-national and homogenous WW2 discourse (Radstone, 2010) that represented the Czechs as heroic Allies, members of the RAF. When I examined the effects of propaganda and WW2 ideology, I also suggested that censorship was not always negative. It was often applied to protect military operations and people involved in them, so the information would not fall into enemy hands and thus the media would not jeopardise the safety of the troops (Taylor, 2003). Propaganda became a unifying war element in WW2 newspapers' discourse and, to a certain extent, a news

value, as propagandic messages were promoted by the MOI and thus desired to be published. Therefore the majority of the versions of the public memory representing the Czechs were influenced by propaganda. I argued that the subject of the Czech RAF airmen was potentially not the most vital topic for the British press, particularly during WW2 when endless events were happening on local, national and international levels all the time and only a small fraction of them could be selected and reported in newspapers. This is why only a few representations of the Czech RAF airmen were included in the British press, which possibly motivated the establishment of *The Czechoslovak* and the creation of *The Czechoslovak* special issue. However it is important to stress here that I did not find direct evidence in the newspaper texts which would help me to support this argument or to answer with certainty why *The Czechoslovak* was produced.

When analysing the selected newspapers, I found some politically informed reports in *The Times*, more personalised and sensationalised representations of the Czech RAF airmen in the *Daily Mirror* and a more alternative voice in the Czech newspaper *The Czechoslovak*, particularly in its unique special English issue. This unique issue that I discovered, although appearing to be a tabloid, contained articles of quite significant depth and seriousness. Its skilful graphic design, number of photographs, maps and pictures were used by the producers of *The Czechoslovak* special issue in order to succeed against fierce competition on the British newspaper market. In particular, the design of the front page had to carry strong commercial implications. Inside, however, its messages about the Czech history, culture and patriotism were possibly produced to inform and persuade its readers about the quality and integrity of the Czechoslovak nation. Although it repeats the heroic representation of the Czech RAF airmen from the hegemonic British discourse, it reveals another perspective upon the Czechs and thus another version of their represented lives in the WW2 public memory.

Arguably then the notions of versioning need to be taken into account when newspapers are treated as an archive and approached critically during the creation of historical reconstruction. I suggest that press in a role of archive is a rather dynamic source, which does not create a single record of the historical reality but provides readers/researchers with multiple memories. In brief, although we use newspapers as an important source of information for reconstructing history, we need to recognise that their value is changeable. For example, in my analysis I could only estimate the interaction between the socio-cultural processes that influenced the news production, the readers and the produces. As a researcher living in the 21st century I was not able to guess exact interpretations of the WW2 readers (Gambles, 1998). In the above discourse analysis I created my version of understanding of the language in use as a part of the socio-cultural context and acknowledged that its interpretations due to the changing viewpoints over time upon the meanings in media text they are always evolving and never absolute. Thus I propose that public memories reflected in media texts need to be approached as multidirectional (Rothberg, 2009), each equally important in enriching our past. The next chapter will examine further versions of the Czech RAF airmen represented in private memory, which was revealed in the recollections of the Czech RAF veterans.

Chapter five: Analysis of private individual narratives

Introduction

> More than 50 years after its conclusion the war continues to engage the minds.
> (Hayes and Hill, 1999, pg 323)

This chapter furthers the previous debate about the newspaper representations of Czech RAF airmen during WW2 by enriching them with the Czech veterans' own recollections. The evidence is drawn from seven interviews, which took place in the summer of 2008. My interview participants consisted of various RAF airmen and members of the WW2 Czech exile community: Mr Liskutin (*1919), Mr Lamberton (*1922) and Mr Svoboda (*1918) are former Spitfire pilots, Mr Zeleny (*1914) was an officer, Mr Polak (*1921) was a navigator in bombers, Mr Mellion (*1918) is a former RAF clerk and Mrs Halata is a widow of a former pilot, Mr Halata (*1927).

I reveal the preserved Czech veterans' first- and second-hand (in the case of the widow) private versions of the RAF airmen's identities, which, due to the fragility of the respondents caused by their scarce numbers and their age, make this examination of oral history sources unique and thus a valuable contribution to WW2 history. These recollections are also investigated from the viewpoint of memory studies, therefore examining the production and influences of the production of these narratives. 'The term 'narrative' is the way this process of telling stories is organised – how stories are shaped, structured and then potentially decoded and understood' (O'Sullivan, Dutton and Rayner, 2003, pg 44). My analyses aim to answer one of my research questions about how the Czech RAF airmen were represented in the veterans' individual recollections and uncover some details from the experience of the Czech RAF airmen living in Britain, which contribute to the debate about the potential reasons behind the production of the Czech community newspapers. This chapter also provides evidence that there are various versions

representing one event or group of Czech RAF airmen which connect or disconnect in multidirectional way (Rothberg, 2009).

The complex ways in which my participants constructed their own recollections in their life narratives (Lowenthal, 1985), creating living memories, were influenced by internal elements such as age or forgetting, and external aspects of a lifestyle of being war migrants in Great Britain. In this chapter, using the theoretical foundation from Chapter 2, I argue that oral history is an important part of historical reconstruction, as it gives a voice to the ordinary people living in a particular historical era and a different, unique, more private outlook upon the historical event. It also incorporates the detail and the complexity of individual life stories into the historical context (Wakewich and Smith, 2006) which then can challenge the master narrative of public memory. This research, however, in contrast to Wakewich and Smith (2006), approaches private memory as an enrichment of other versions in a non-competitive way (Rothberg, 2009) highlighting the right to memory (Reading, 2010) of people who witnessed a particular event even if their recollections do not connect with one another.

This approach is in parallel with Keramida (1999), who claims that 'the importance of life stories and their interpretations has been acknowledged in the social science and the personal narrative, which give the teller an occasion for the negotiation of meaning, can be utilised as a means to link the personal to the cultural and as a tool to explore social relations and cultural meanings' (Keramida, 1999, pg 75). At the same time, I am fully aware of the limitations that using sources of oral history can bring into my study. Thus, when reflecting on my interviews, I will need to take into account features such as subjectivity, problems with validity and reliability of memory, co-construction, pre-selection (Green, 2004), problems with recalling of details (Wessel, Moulds, 2008), a 'story telling' phenomenon (King, 2000) and also my position as a researcher who has played an active part in this memory construction process.

The first section of this chapter articulates some specific characteristics of memory in relation to this research, and its influences on private narrative, such as forgetting (Wessel and Moulds, 2008), storytelling or the presence of the researcher. I argue that the above play a major role in how we construct, retain and share our memories and thus how we produce various unique versions of the recalled past. Arguably forgetting can be considered as a positive element which during WW2 worked as a filter which allowed a certain level of normality to people's lives. Furthermore, this chapter claims that our memory production is influenced by several other aspects, notably community memory (Jenkins, 2008) and the changes of our memories during our lifetime.

In the section 'Characteristics of the Czech RAF airmen', I interpret the actual various representations of the Czech RAF airmen that emerged from the private memory of the Czech participants in the seven interviews I undertook. I therefore treat the recollections revealed in the interviews as private archive, as a source of versions of the WW2 reality, not the actual past reality. Bergeson (2007) claims that '[...] what is commonly known as a fact is not reality as it appears to immediate intuition but an adaptation of the real to the interests of practice and to the exigencies of the social life' (Bergeson, 2007, pg 239).

Moreover, I negotiate whether or to what extent the external elements, such as public versions and social context, influence the private versions and identity and whether the specific WW2 environment created, similarly to the war discourse (Dedaic and Nelson, 2003), a specific war identity or war memory. Although collective memory is often conceptualised in terms of nation and national memory (see Halbwachs, 1992), my research suggests that there was an engagement between the collective memory of two different communities; however, it also uncovers a collision between the two: the Czech ethnic minority and the British or multinational RAF, of which the Czech airmen were members. Thus I argue that collective memory, particularly a memory of a conflict such as

WW2, can become trans-national (Radstone, 2010). The Czech airmen's complex identity, which consisted of their Czechness as well as the RAF military identity, was influencing parts of their perception of reality and thus their later recollections (Lawler, 2008), which therefore again defuses collective memory into endless individual versions of the past. It is important to stress here that individual and collective memory, which is reflected privately or/and publicly, partly overlap along with retention of distinct elements. The main similarities are the factual context based on the memories of flights and fights, location of bases, equipment and planes used. The enriching detail comes from different priorities and angles from which these memories were created. Individual memories which are private are influenced by emotions and the personality of the participant. Collective mediated memories which are mostly public[44] and thus become official versions of reality are heavily influenced by news values and propaganda.

Furthermore, this chapter investigates external aspects which possibly influenced the Czech RAF airmen's identification, such as the British attitude towards the Czechs and to what extent the Czech airmen considered themselves as the 'other' in British society. These external social influences not only played an important role in the Czech airmen's identification and self-portraying process, but also in the processes of remembering and recalling the past. This notion draws upon Allison (2006), who suggests that: 'remembering is shaped by context, viewpoint and audience and [...] narrative is used to make coherent and meaningful sense of significant and traumatic events' (Allison, 2006, pg 221). In the following analyses, I explore private memory in the WW2 context and draw attention towards the various versions that are created by the different narratives.

[44] Although in the case of The Czechoslovak newspaper the Czech community's collective mediated memory appears to be rather private and thus alternative in contrast to the British public hegemonic memory published in the mainstream British newspapers.

The features of private memory revealed through personal narrative

When analysing the content of private memory and representations of the past, I examine several phenomena that emerged from the participants' narratives, such as forgetting, storytelling, selective remembering and the selection of language in the narrative. As King (2000) claims: 'narrative always involved a kind of 'forgetting' since the complex visual scene represented by [...] memory can probably never be completely realised by language' (King, 2000, pg 25). Likewise, Halbwachs (1992) argues that individuals retain only incomplete memories, which are based on 'the disordered play of corporeal modifications' (Halbwachs, 1992, pg 41-2) and set within the social context. On the other hand, Cohen and Conway's (2008) experimental study, which argues that the characteristics of the event itself determine the extent to which it becomes 'unforgettable', proved that the subject of war stood high in the ranking of topics we remember well, alongside the topics of family, holidays, illness and education-related memories (Cohen and Conway, 2008). I will argue in this section that the Czech RAF veterans' memories of events that were consciously or subconsciously selected as important or interesting remained in their memories for over sixty years and created their unique private versions of memory of WW2.

In my interviews, participants generally remembered many aspects of the WW2 period and were able to recall the characteristics of themselves as RAF airmen. However, when I asked a very specific question about a particular detail, such as what war newspapers they had read, most participants did not recall these. Mr Polak could not remember any specific articles about the Czechoslovak pilots and he also thought these would not have been permitted. Similarly, when the participants were asked about their typical day, most of them did not remember the actual routine: '*Nothing to say that is worth writing about. Except from - I had a car'* (Interview recording, CD ROM, Mr

Svoboda, 11.15 min). This demonstrates that what the participants subjectively selected as important determined what stayed in their active memory and what was forgotten (Connerton, 2008). Correspondingly, Mr Lamberton remembered wonderful porridge, kidneys and beans on toast in Manchester, and the fact that they were quite civilized, as they even had sheets between blankets. This remembered detail of the conditions in which the Czech RAF airmen lived during WW2 (which would probably not be represented by a journalist in mediated memory or other public written memories) on one hand demonstrates the importance of oral history in the process of reconstruction of the past. On the other hand, I also argue that private remembering as well as forgetting contributes to versioning. Similarly to Mr Svoboda's car, Mr Lamberton's preference of remembered details makes his private memory, his version of WW2, unique and enriching to the public memory of WW2. What he chose to remember determined what he forgot, and therefore the shape of his later narrative. My suggestion is that our initial selection and processing of the witnessed reality that is to be remembered commences the process of versioning, the creation of the versions of our personal memory.

This does not mean, however, that what the RAF airmen did not include in their personal narrative of the past revealed in the interviews no longer exists for them. As Singer and Conway (2008) claim, information in our memory that we cannot recall is not lost but is in various states of inaccessibility. This accessibility of memory, as discussed in Chapter 2, is determined by several factors such as age, relevance to the person who remembers and emotions. It is, however, almost impossible to recognise whether the participants would ever be able to access certain memories, as Wessel and Moulds (2008) claim that no one knows whether 'forgotten' memory traces are lost or retrievable. Unfortunately, as I worked exclusively with elderly participants, the chances of losing some memories are higher. 'Cognitive aging research documents reduced access to contextually specific episodic details in older adults' (Levine et al, 2002, pg 677). A

possible 'boosting' effect for my participants' recollections would be interviewing them in groups rather than individually: they may have remembered more through prompting each other, according to the scaffolding and co-remembering theories (Barnier, 2010). However, as I explained in Chapter 3, due to the frailty of my interview participants, I did not select group interviews as my research method.

The recollections of Mr Liskutin illustrate a specific phenomenon in the context of this research in terms of the volume of remembered events. His remembering of the war was, however, more conscious than the remembering of the other participants, as his early initiative during WW2 was to document the war for the future audience. He took many photographs and kept a diary where he recorded all facts about events that happened, and in 1988 he published a memoir[45] (Liskutin, 1988). The fact that he was motivated to remember all events he witnessed and that he had actively recollected and retold his memories many times since the WW2 possibly caused his recollections to be particularly detailed and more structured and complete than the recollections of the other participants. Unlike young people, for whom the most important aspects of memorisation are the event's characteristics, such as emotionality and importance, the elderly in particular need this rehearsal to memorise and remember events (Cohen and Conway, 2008). By talking and thinking about their remote memories, they preserve them and keep them vivid (Cohen and Conway, 2008).

Although with age, episodic memory is slowly replaced by semantic memory (Conway, 2005), the interview participants' (here notably Mr. Liskutin's and Mr Lamberton's) recollections of specific details show that the elderly still recall a few episodic memories. These revive personal experiences of those who remember and reinforce their identity as they age (Piolino et al 2002). When constructing a life narrative, the Czech RAF veterans also often repeated these, for them, particularly important details

[45] He published these events in his book 'Challenge in the Air, A Spitfire Pilot Remembers'.

from their past. Thus, over time, their narratives became well rehearsed, very well structured and fluent life stories (see Cohen and Conway, 2008; and King, 2000). As Beike et al (2004) claim: 'most autobiographical memories that remain with us take on a narrative form' (Beike, Lampinen and Behrend, 2004, pg 123). Over the years, they became their war stories, as I mentioned earlier, the foundations of their identity, and they had the need to narrate them over and over (Perks, 1992). The interview participants sometimes continued with their stories regardless of the questions. For example, although one of my questions was to describe their 'arrival in England', all participants spoke about the 'journey' to England in the smallest detail. Mr Polak, who is Jewish, described his and his brother's escape from Prague before the outbreak of WW2 due to the Nuremberg laws. Mr Zeleny's monologue about his journey from Czechoslovakia to England, which started with the sentence '*It's a long way, I am afraid...*' (Interview recording, CD ROM, Mr Zeleny, 1.35 min), lasted 30 minutes. Mr Liskutin started with the sentence: '*Something I should put ahead of that is a description of what happened after Munich, Chamberlain,...*' (Interview recording, CD ROM, Mr Liskutin, 0.54 min) and first explained the political situation in Czechoslovakia in the late 1930s before describing his journey to London through Poland and Sweden. This demonstrates that the memory of the elderly tends to engage in restorative practices. Halbwachs (1992) claims that old people are usually quite pro-active in restoring past memories and suggests that this is natural or almost subconscious. 'In primitive tribes, the old are the guardians of traditions' (Halbwachs, 1992, pg 48). Also, Johnstone (2003) suggest that: 'the essence of humanness [...is] the tendency to tell stories, to make sense of the world through narrative' (Johnstone, 2003, pg 635). Thus I propose that my interview participants consciously and sub-consciously created such stories, possibly to highlight the positive and most important memories and to preserve the dominant representation of their versions of the WW2 reality, which would be repeatedly narrated and thus would never fade.

My questions sometimes appeared to be an irritating factor and I was politely silenced by expressions such as '*I finish the story'* (Interview recording, CD ROM, Mr Zeleny, 30.45 min). Mr Liskutin included in his answer to my question about his arrival in England a 'funny story' from Morocco, where he was serving at the beginning of WW2, and as a young inexperienced pilot, he could not wait to start combat. Therefore, he found it hard to just do training and wait for weeks for a potential attack from Italy. However his leader did not want his squadron to rush into fighting and advised the pilots to enjoy the wine and the girls for as long as they could. Mr Liskutin's recollections of his service in the RAF in general were scattered with personal stories like this one or air fight stories. He was trying to describe the identity of the Czech RAF airmen through these anecdotes. This was possibly due to the fact that 'a memory evoked too often, and expressed in the form of a story, tends to become fixed in a stereotype, in a form tested by experience, crystallised [...] which installs itself in the place of raw memory and grows at its expense' (King, 2000, pg 25). In other words, his construction of memories was influenced by personal engagement with the past and his version of the events was a story consciously produced. As most participants appeared to find it much easier to describe the WW2 period through their personal stories, I thus suggest that one way of reconstructing our memory is through storytelling. However, it appears that the details from everyday life of the Czech airmen at the RAF bases in England were possibly overshadowed by the combat experiences and mostly faded away. This corresponds with the theory that in autobiographical memory, the detail disappears first, as it is partly replaced by semantic memory (Piolino et al, 2002). Thus, in time, the Czech veterans were left with general knowledge of the era where their recollections were mixed with their knowledge of the context of the era, learnt from media and history and their personal stories, their constructed narratives – their private versions of the past.

This notion of re-creating our personal narratives over time also offers a question: to which point do our private versions of the past evolve and change with our age and increasing distance from the remembered event? Would my interview participants' recollections have been different fifty years ago? Would they be less story-like in form and more of a detailed documentary of life and fighting in the RAF in WW2? If so, this would mean that the production of various versions of the past not only occurs as a result of remembering an event by different interview participants, but also as a result of the development of their life perspective and forgetting. There were, however, several more external influences over versioning of the private memory of the representations of the Czech RAF airmen. The process of participants' memory reconstruction was also affected and stimulated by my presence as a researcher (Summerfield, 1998). I need to consider whether the outcome of my informal interviews might be different to the outcome of a formal interview with a journalist or a government representative, or possibly even to the outcome of an interview with a man or a British person. The fact that I was always warmly welcomed and all participants seemed to be relaxed, friendly and open during the interviews suggests that my presence influenced the spontaneous creation of their narrative (Bergeson, 2007). Because of my nationality, age, gender and my research focus on the social side of the war, the participants were potentially more open about their personal lives, talking freely about quite private matters such as dating girls (Mr Svoboda and Mr Lamberton), egg hunting on the coasts and rabbits shooting (Mr Polak), family life during the war (Mr Zeleny) and getting away with being drunk in pubs due to the RAF uniform (Mr Lamberton). They did not represent themselves formally with a focus on air battles and technical details of the planes they were flying.

As I discussed in Chapter 2, according to Halbwachs (1992), within the social frameworks of memory I provided specific tools for the participants' recollections and thus their memories were co-produced by myself at the time of the creation of the narratives,

and also during my later interpretations. Other potential shaping forces, internal and external, which influenced the creation of the Czech RAF representations were the airmen's identity, propaganda and WW2 ideology. All of these will be discussed later in this chapter and in the following chapter, however I would here like to emphasise that due to these influences, which to a certain extent limited the recollections I gathered, my analysis could not be as complex as I was initially hoping. In order to gain as full insight into the private recollection and narrative process as possible and thus to understand the potential reasons behind the creation of particular versions of the past that I received in my interviews, I now analyse in detail the characteristics of the Czech RAF airmen gained from the individual autobiographical memory of the Czech veterans.

Characteristics of the Czech RAF airmen

Despite the fact that the veterans as a group were set up in the same historical context and social environment that framed their experiences, or their versions of reality, they created unique representations of the past, particularly when they recalled their private lives during WW2. Halbwachs (1992) suggests that 'it is of course individuals who remember, not groups or institutions, but these individuals, being located in a specific group context, draw on that context to remember or recreate the past' (Halbwachs, 1992, pg 22). I agree with this claim to a certain degree. Veterans' collective memory, which they shared as Czechs in exile (learning English, sharing the same cultural values and history) and as RAF airmen (war operations, flights, and daily routines) co-constructed their collective identity as RAF Czech airmen. However, the evidence drawn from the interviews demonstrates that the participants' individual memory on one hand is unified by the presence of WW2, but on the other varies significantly in their personal stories, emotions and opinions. Therefore, the personal element of their memories causes the

variability of their versions of the past and their collective viewpoint only exists within the individuals' original narrative (Perks and Thompson, 2006).

The Czech veterans portrayed themselves as determined, skilful airmen with self-discipline and a drive to beat the Nazis, with an optimistic and positive view about their survival and the outcome of the war. Mr Zeleny recalled that the Czechs had a very good reputation, as they were very skilled in navigation and successful in attack. Mr Lamberton remembered how professional the Czech airmen were. Their focus was mainly on flying, and their morale was high. Even when the squadron lost pilots, they were soon forgotten (not completely, but never mentioned again). Yet it is hard to decide whether this image and their possible perception of what their life story should look like was a product of the WW2 propaganda influencing them through the WW2 media, an effect of the WW2 ideology or a reflection of the actual skills of the Czechs. Brunner (2003) suggests: 'telling others about oneself is, then, no simple matter; it depends on what we think they think we ought to be like' (Brunner, 2003, pg 211). The participants also expressed quite strong patriotism, pride and confidence, which were not shaken even by their poor knowledge of English on arrival in Britain. Mr Svoboda recalled that to be good wasn't good enough: '*I was always cool. Clear thinking...*' (Interview recording, CD ROM, Mr Svoboda, 34.01 min). Mr Liskutin stressed several times that the Czech airmen were volunteers, not refugees. However, it is important to stress that in their recollections, the participants voiced their right to memory (Reading, 2010) of their own lives in their way. The representations recollected by the participants, unlike the written public record, revealed the human element of the Czech RAF airmen – the Czechs had hobbies such as football, shooting rabbits, driving cars and sunbathing, and enjoyed their social time, such as dancing, drinking, dating or family lives (see the full record of the interviews, CD ROM).

In slight contrast to this image stand two other characteristics of the Czech RAF airmen that emerged from all interviews, namely determination and professionalism. Their

everyday fighting reality was very stressful, demanding and repetitive. I presumed that the participants' narratives would be very traumatic; however, I did not detect any traces of trauma in the participants' recollections: '*We were briefed every morning in the Operational room, and then off we went to our planes. Engines were ready: we just jumped in. The whole squadron, 12 of us, always together. Flights were about 2.5 – 3.5 hours*' (Interview recording, CD ROM, Mr Lamberton, 18.52 min). Why did the participants seem very positive, calm and smiling, without strong emotions? One alternative is that traumatising memories were replaced by positive ones, as trauma can be approached as a hidden core of memory (Huyssen, 2003); or their attitude reflects how rehearsed their stories actually were and how detached from the narratives the participants became over the years. Another possibility is that the determination of the Czechs to fight against Hitler and win, their professional approach during the WW2 and their love of flying were stronger than fear and sadness from losing friends: '*I had an exciting life, really...*' (Interview recording, CD ROM, Mr Zeleny, 1hour and 34.32 min), and the fact that they survived. '*Flying was everything, all we were interested in. Then my personal life suffered due to it. I couldn't switch off. We were an elite group within the RAF, and we had a task to do*' (Interview recording, CD ROM, Mr Lamberton, 35.30 and 37.25min). Furthermore, the fact that I did not discover signs of trauma in the participants' recollections or in their behaviour before, during and after the interviews could be caused by the distance between WW2 and the present, as a result of which their memories have lost their emotional edge. This transformation of memory is described by Piolino, Desgranges, Benali and Eustache (2002), who claim that autobiographical memory consists of more recent episodic memories and more generalised semanticising memories, which are more persistent because they do not have the specific temporal context. Thus, with time, autobiographical memories reveal predominantly generalised recollections rather than detailed reality. Also, the tendency of memory to confabulate stories (Hunt and Robins, 1998) and our preference

for remembering and narrating positive memories rather than negative ones possibly played an important role during the process of creating the WW2 representations in the veterans' recollections.

When analysing the interview recordings, the evidence seemed to support Argembeau and Van der Linden's theory (2008) of a positivity bias (i.e. subjectively remembering positive events with more details than negative events). These biases seemed to affect the Czech RAF veterans' autobiographical memory and were used for maintaining their positive self-image. They all seemed to be proud of what they had achieved and happy about their past (see full Interview recordings, CD ROM). This element could therefore be conceded as a unifying force in the process of creation of veterans' private memory.

However, despite their seemingly unified positive attitude, their recollections showed many versions of how they recalled and dealt with the WW2 reality. For example, participants responded to the question of how they survived the war and how they dealt with difficult moments quite differently. Some admitted that the disciplined way in which they soon overcame losses of friends without deep thoughts about the consequences of everyday involvement in combat involved a certain degree of madness. '*We drank each time when someone died but then quickly forgot and off we went again. I must have been mad*' (Interview recording, CD ROM, Mr Lamberton, 37.40 min). This recall demonstrates how we review and reflect upon our memory of the past events from our current viewpoint. Others did not think it would happen to them (Mr Polak). On the other hand, Mr Svoboda remembered the humorous side of dealing with losses. When he was in trouble in his plane during one flight, the boys were already drawing lots for his car. When he came back, they were disappointed. '*Cheeky monkeys*' (Interview recording, CD ROM, Mr Svoboda, 49.18 min). Mr Liskutin and Mr Lamberton felt that they survived because they all showed strong will, optimism, great skill and passion for flying. This shows the diversity of life

experiences and self-concepts (Gruneberg and Morris, 1992) and thus the diffusion of war memory which consists of various self-histories.

Furthermore, the Czech former airmen also revealed that they had to give a hundred percent in their fights, which was very tiring. Mr Svoboda remembered that once his friend came to him when he was asleep after returning from his flight and shot a pistol next to his ear as a joke, but he was so deeply asleep that he did not wake up. But they also simply lived from one day to another, and they were proud as volunteers. These details of autobiographical memory, or individual knowledge based on self-experience (Nelson, 2003) bring a very specific and interesting outlook upon the history of the Czech airmen serving in the RAF during the Second World War and displays how beneficial private memory becomes as an element in the co-creation of such history.

Due to the complexity of the whole process of remembering and recollection, which is unique to each individual, and the personal characteristics of my interview participants, all seven veterans created different versions of the past. Sutton (2009) claims that: 'Some people who happen to have shared experiences clearly do not have a shared or collective memory: even if each of them separately retains information about the same event, and even though their distinct memories could in principle be aggregated, the social dimension of memory in this case is in an obvious sense accidental or superficial' (Sutton, 2009, pg 226). This study brings evidence that there are various versions of memory within public as well as private memory. Therefore, to a certain extent, the notion of versioning challenges Halbwachs's (1992) theory of collective memory in the sense of inability to reflect different individual versions of the past. However, in accordance with the theory of multidirectional memory and non-competitive memory (Rothberg, 2009), versioning does not dispute the theory of collective memory.

By studying different versions of representations of the Czech RAF airmen, this study also exposes personalised memories representing life outside the planes and fights,

the human side of the Czech RAF airmen, revealing the detail that oral history offers and official public representations often miss (Perks and Thomson, 2006). This is another reason why the voices of the Czech RAF airmen are so unique and valuable. The participants described various things they enjoyed in their free time, from an organised social life within or outside the Czech club in London (Mrs Halata), dancing and dating (Mr Svoboda), many married English women (Mr Zeleny, Mr Svoboda) to playing football, chasing rabbits (Mr Polak) or writing a diary (Mr Liskutin). For example, Mr Liskutin's hobby was taking photographs and thus he had documented everything around himself, even secret matters such as attaching bombs to Spitfires (Appendix 46), the duty notice boards (Appendix 47) or the interior of the Operational room (Appendix 48). When the airmen were in readiness, they had to wait in the crew room for long hours. A compensation for these long hours was a lot of leave. '*In our free time we did pub-crawling, we all had our cars, and I kept a dog. We all had our girlfriends – life was normal* (Interview recording, CD ROM, Mr Lamberton, 23.36 min). How do these characteristics represent the lives of the Czech RAF airmen?

I suggest that these private memories show that there were several layers of identity of the airmen. One was their professional side emerging from their membership in the British RAF and the other one was a personal side which likely reflected the human side of the 'WW2 heroes'. Despite the fact that their lives were endangered every day and they were achieving often heroic successes in air battles, they tried to lead normal lives and to find such normality in ordinary things, possibly in order to survive and preserve their sanity. However I argue that this layer of identity would not potentially be included into the WW2 public memory produced by the newspapers which under the influence of propaganda portrayed the RAF airmen as fine brave young gentlemen and thus would not become 'official history' (Connelly, 2007). It is also important to question whether their attitude towards life reflects their age (they were all in their twenties or early thirties and

therefore possibly more carefree then they became later in life). As Mr Svoboda remembered in a reflective way, the Czech RAF airmen were mostly only worried about their immediate surroundings. '*We were actually selfish in a way'* (Interview recording, CD ROM, Mr Svoboda, 34.45 min). I learnt from the participants that their need to find out about the basic current affairs motivated them to listen to the radio, mainly Churchill, although they rarely read newspapers or went to the cinema. This demonstrates a particular routine and situation at the RAF bases and the lack of free time they had. Mr Mellion remembered that they had some special shows at the base in English just for their squadron. These consisted of projecting films in English and some RAF educational programmes. However, those who were married mostly stayed with their families when possible. Such characteristics of the Czech RAF airmen expose their human side and potentially do not match up with the official public representations of perfect allies-heroes produced by the public memory. The public and private memory will be contrasted in the following chapter. Here, however, in order to deepen this debate about the various versions of representations of the airmen, I examine the problems of their multiple identities.

Issues of identity in the Czech RAF veterans' recollections

Earlier, in Chapter 2, I argued that identity influences and is influenced by our recollections, and therefore plays a major role in the process of remembering and recalling the past. Hodgkin and Radstone (2003) claim that: 'identity is not something foundational and essential, but something produced through the narratives people use to explain and understand their lives' (Hodgkin and Radstone, 2003, pg 17). As the identity of the Czech RAF airmen varied, consequently their private memory, influenced by their identity, produced various versions of their WW2 image. The following points sum up the evidence concerning identity as it emerged from the interviews: The Czech RAF airmen developed

strong friendships within their squadron, which was a closed and tight community, not much exposed to others or to real life (Mr Polak). Mr Polak specified that for example on their aircraft *Liberator*, there was a crew of eight men. They all were a team, close friends. Within this group there were some truly special friendships between 2 – 3 men. There was never a problem between the Czechs and the Slovaks: they were just one group (Mr Lamberton). This highlights that the personal bonds between the airmen, established during the specific environment of WW2, reached beyond different nationalities.

All participants also emphasised that the relationships amongst the airmen were friendly because they were all in the same situation and they had to get on. This notion emphasises the degree of professionalism of the airmen. They often knew airmen from other squadrons, but they did not know many other Czechs living in Britain outside the RAF. What is more, the interviews in general revealed that the Czech RAF airmen did not recall relationships with many Czech civilians and did not have a particular interest in building a Czech community in Britain at this time (Mr Mellion, Mr Polak) or establishing or reading Czech newspapers (Mr Svoboda). Mr Liskutin even expressed the fact that he was much happier in an international squadron than in a Czech squadron. There was not a strong Czech national spirit (apart from occasional socialising in the Czech club in London) amongst the Czech RAF airmen despite the fact that they all came to Britain to fight for their oppressed country. This lack of 'active' patriotism amongst the airmen that would have motivated them to establish or join a Czech community in Britain is one of the few unifying elements of the participants' narratives. The possible reasons why these young men did not feel the 'Czech national spirit' are several. On the one hand the closed character of the men's community within the RAF contributed to their isolation from a sense of the Czechoslovak spirit. Their community seemed to be closed in two ways; spatial - due to their location on air bases which often moved from one place to another, where the men were spatially isolated from the London-centred Czechoslovak community

(centred on the Embassy and the Czech club); and social. There is a strong sense from those who served during the WW2 of a sense of social distinctiveness and distance from those who do not serve. Arguably the Czech community which did not serve cold not understand the lives and experiences of those who did; particularly during the Second World War period when talking about the war experience was censored.

This notion also opens a door to another important debate about the transnational identity of the members of Czech squadrons fighting within the British RAF. Furthermore, by studying the issues of identity of the Czech RAF airmen, I gained a better understanding of reasons behind the creation of various versions of the WW2 reality. The discovery of this evidence illuminates my initial research assumptions, where I expected the Czech RAF airmen, who had come to England as active volunteers to fight for the freedom of their country, to express strong patriotism and stand at the centre of the Czech exile community in Britain. This idea was also based on a recent theory. Hall and du Gay (1996) suggest that people take with them 'a part of the total culture' (Hall and du Gay, 1996, pg 54) from their homeland. The evidence summarised above, however, challenges this notion because the Czech RAF airmen did not start to establish their country in miniature in Britain. Their identity became much more complex after leaving their oppressed country than a simple Czech national identity. As Jenkins (2008) claims: 'identity must be understood processually, [...] we should always be concerned with processes of identification, trajectories of *being* and *becoming*' (Jenkins, 2008, pg 75). Here the process of identification was influenced by the working environment. Although the airmen *were* Czech patriots, they *became* members of the RAF, a war community, which partly or completely displaced them from the Czech community in exile. '*We were there to fulfil the task, and only if we were as anybody else we could do it properly'* (Interview recording, CD ROM, Mr Polak, 29.20 min). They did not hold onto their Czech national identity, as

groups of immigrants commonly do (Triandafyllidou, 2001), in order to keep their national identity abroad alive.

The airmen became members of a war community that was partly British but partly international and they did not want to be treated any differently to the British members of the RAF. In his interview, Mr Liskutin even explicitly stated that he did not want to be labelled stereotypically as a refugee but as a volunteer. This is why I propose that they did not want to be seen as the 'other' in British society. When using the term 'other', it is important to highlight that as a contemporary concept, it is being applied retrospectively, and thus to consider the problems of employing theory in an anachronistic way. The potential risk of this is a rather artificial implementation of a concept that does not naturally fit the historical text and its context. However, I believe that in this particular case, the parallel between the Czechs and the 'other' can be drawn, as they became an ethnic minority living in Britain (similarly to various ethnic minorities living in the UK now), albeit only for a short period of time. Moreover, the idea of 'other' used for issues in the WW2 era can be also found in recent theories such as Summerfield (1998), whose suggestion is that any group other than white British men was considered by British society as the 'other'. From these points, I draw a conclusion that the RAF community and the 'universal' war memory of fighting for freedom have the potential to override national identity. The veterans' individual memories revealed an existence of further three layers of identity emerging from the British, Czech and RAF communities with which the Czech RAF airmen engaged and disengaged during the war period. This notion of an ongoing process of evolving identity also reflects Hall (1996): 'identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being' (Hall, 1996, pg 4). When the Czech volunteers arrived in England from France, they only had a basic knowledge of English: thus they immediately started English courses. In the beginning, the English language was a barrier that prevented them from flying and

operating the radios (Mr Svoboda). As Mr Lamberton pointed out, for some, this language barrier appeared to be very difficult throughout the war.

Although many Czech RAF airmen showed determination to learn English quickly, some of them did not learn enough to be able to read newspapers, for example; or the limitation of their English vocabulary constrained the selection of the British newspapers they read. Mr Liskutin explained that it was more difficult for beginners to read the higher quality newspapers such as broadsheets, so he, as well as Mr Polak, chose to read tabloid British newspapers such as the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mirror*. Similarly, Mrs Halata preferred reading the *News of the World*. The suggestion that the Czech airmen's English was not very fluent is also supported by Mr Zeleny's recall that there were some Czech transcripts of British newspapers available for the Czech airmen at the bases. Mr Lamberton claimed that most of the Czechoslovaks did not speak very good English. It was good enough to operate the radios on the planes, but not sufficient to be able to adapt well.

This problem of language possibly shook the stability of the very identity of the Czech RAF airmen (Hall, 1996) and this is probably where the layer of RAF identity overruled the layer of Britishness. The Czech airmen were able to speak English sufficiently well to become RAF airmen, true members of the RAF community; but not well enough to assimilate into the British society. The fact that the Czech RAF airmen spoke amongst themselves mainly in Czech possibly caused their partial isolation from the British community in which most of the Czechs remained during WW2. Furthermore, as the Czech RAF airmen had to spend the majority of their time at the RAF bases, they could not even attempt to assimilate with the British population. Similarly, due to their 'social visibility' (Triandafyllidou, 2001, pg 4) and their different language and uniform, they could not truly assimilate. Furthermore, the actual level of fluency in English, which varied from one airman to another, inevitably influenced the war experience in Britain and thus

the private memory of each Czech RAF airman. Potentially, the variability of knowledge of English was another shaping force which contributed towards production different versions of the past - versioning.

Moreover, the interview narratives revealed that the relationships between the Czechs and the local British people living outside the base remained distant for the whole period of the war, despite being positive. This might again have been due to a language barrier, as all participants were unified in claiming that Czech-British relations were mostly positive because the Czechs were quite popular amongst the English community. '*We were conscious of the fact that we were very well thought of. We had our top button undone and hair as long as we could get away with.*' (Interview recording, CD ROM, Mr Lamberton, 42:18 min). Also Mr Svoboda remembered that the local British community treated them well and with respect: '*They liked us, and looked after us [...] English people understood when we got drunk. [...] In the uniform, you could get away with many things*' (Interview recording, Mr Svoboda, CD ROM, 13:52 min). Further evidence that supports this claim of a positive bond between the two communities includes the fact that many Czech RAF airmen married English women during or straight after the war. Mr Zeleny got married in 1942 to Vera Drake, and Mr Svoboda's wife was also English. Their family life then also further influenced the war experience of these men in contrast to other airmen who remained single during WW2. Mr Zeleny recalled that he spent all his free time with his new family, so he did not experience the same events as the single airmen. Furthermore, because his wife was British, unlike the single airmen, he lived in an Anglo-Czech environment. This demonstrates that the trans-national layer of the airmen's identity, creating trans-national version of their private memory (Radstone, 2010), was caused not only by their belonging to the RAF but also by the emergence of the multinational family environment.

On the other hand, the interviews also exposed the fact that the Czech RAF airmen always knew that they could not become members of British society and thus did not even attempt to do so. Mr Svoboda directly expressed that the airmen kept themselves to themselves and the locals did the same. This problem of difficult identification also infiltrated into their narratives and most of the participants' memories were set up within an identity frame. They often defined themselves in contrast to the British, within a social construction 'based on the distinction between 'us' and 'them' (Rapaport, 1997, pg 17), claiming that the Czechoslovak position in the RAF was established immediately after the training (all pilots were sent on a complete flying course, which they mostly appreciated, as it was very good and thorough). As soon as they started flying, they became successful because the pilots had considerable experience from Czechoslovakia and then fighting in France (Brown, 2000). Mr Polak narrated stories about the best Czech pilots who succeeded in fights in the Battle of Britain, such as General Frantisek, flying with the Polish squadron, and famous Kutlwasser, nicknamed 'Cat's Eyes', with a remarkable ability to fly in the dark. Such heroic representations of the Czech RAF airmen were produced retrospectively by the private individual memory, potentially in order to somehow promote the Czechs' efforts in Britain and boost the Czech national identity. This need emerges from the identity battle between Britishness and Czechness, which was also obvious in the discourse of *The Czechoslovak* newspapers (see Chapter 6).

A supportive argument for the idea of a war trans-national 'RAF' military identity being stronger than the airmen's Czech identity is the fact that the foundation of our identity is predominantly formed in late adolescence and early adulthood (Schroots, Van Dijkum and Assink, 2004). For the Czech RAF airmen, this period would match with their RAF service in Great Britain. '*We were a Czech unit but we were all behaving as members of the Royal Air Force. Our aim was to be seen as any other squadron – no differentiation*' (Interview recording, Mr Liskutin, CD ROM, 51:45 min). Similarly, Mr Svoboda

remembered that he did not feel any different to the British pilots within the RAF. They all were in 'the same boat'. In general, the military identity of the Czech RAF airmen was visible from their positive attitude towards their service and claims of high morale (Franke, 1999). It would be interesting, however, to be able to investigate whether their identity and thus their versions of private memory would have been formed differently if they had joined the RAF later on in their lives as middle-aged men after spending their early adulthood in Czechoslovakia. Also, did the fact that they settled in Britain after the war and thus their identity and their recollections were influenced more by the English environment shape their versions of their private memory in any way? Would they produce a different image of the past from former Czech RAF airmen who had returned to Czechoslovakia? As the interview participants were only later settlers in Britain, their Czech national identity possibly weakened and their recollections adjusted accordingly because we revise our memories in our later recall to suit our identity (Gillis, 1994). The memories of the returned airmen who reviewed their past from the perspective of men living in former Czechoslovakia would possibly reflect more Czech patriotism; on the other hand, the RAF identity could have been emphasised and glorified, as after their service in Britain in 1948, they were persecuted by the Czechoslovak Communist Government for their 'Western experience' (Brown, 2000). These strong feelings of RAF membership could also have been influenced by WW2 propaganda, which strongly promoted the positives of the Allies (Balfour, 1979) and the co-operation of the foreigners and the British military forces (Morgan and Evans, 1993). Furthermore, another potential explanation for why the RAF war layer of identity was the one the participants most identified with may have been due to the intensity of the experience of being an RAF pilot in 1940 and the Battle of Britain. However, it was not the case here because in general, most of the Czech Units were not yet operational during the Battle of Britain, as they were

all formed gradually, and unfortunately none of the interview participants took part in the Battle of Britain because they joined the RAF or started flying after that.

To broaden this debate about the different layers of the Czech RAF airmen's identity and whether it affected the versions of their private memory, it is also important to emphasise that all Czech RAF airmen initially came to Britain as volunteers to fight Hitler[46] in order to free their homeland: thus, they must all have initially been devoted patriots who were prepared to risk their lives for their nation. Despite this strong RAF influence, the fact that all interview participants described the Czech RAF airmen as men who were fighting for 'their country' and who wanted to return to Czechoslovakia after the war can be analysed as a shared element of belonging to the Czechoslovak nation, which potentially also influenced their private memory. For example, Mr Liskutin recalled his strong fear of the possibility of not being able to return to Czechoslovakia after the war because it was occupied by the Russians.

The notion of a return to Czechoslovakia after the war possibly played a role in the identification process: it shows that the airmen did not think they would join British society after leaving the RAF bases. The conflict between the Czech national identity and the war RAF identity was apparent throughout the interviews and illustrates the fact that 'our subjectivities are multiple and constantly in process' (Reading, 2002, pg 170). Mr Zeleny and Mr Polak felt the need during the interviews to narrate several historical stories about famous Czechs in order to highlight how rich the Czech culture is. This shows that the third layer of their identity, the Czechness that they were all born with, remained very strong and set a specific perspective for their autobiographical memory – 'the Czech story'. As Reading (2002) claims, 'what we remember is articulated by who we are, and in turn re-articulates, articulates or disarticulates what we remember' (Reading, 2002, pg 144). This element of their memory distinguished their private versions of the past from the

[46] The rest of the Czechoslovak army and air force surrendered to Germany on 15th March 1939 (Brown, 2000).

versions of the British or other nationalities within the RAF, and thus to an extent became a unique representation of the WW2 RAF experience. On the other hand, this third layer of their identity became one of the characteristics unifying the versions of the Czech RAF airmen and creating their collective memory.

However, as I suggested earlier, the Czech RAF airmen's trans-national identity, where their Czech identity overlapped with or was taken over for a period of time by the 'war identity', was a very complex matter. The participants expressed in their interviews that it was also very important for them to prove to the British RAF officers that the Czech nation had a rich history and culture. These feelings were possibly triggered by the refusal to be 'the other' – not British - in the RAF and a determination to be true members. Mr Mellion remembered that they were proud to be Czechs but they were also proud to be a 'proper' part of the RAF. This notion of feelings of 'otherness' could have also sprung from the scarce British knowledge of the Czechs and the political situation in Europe, particularly after the Munich conference in 1938, when the Czech politicians in exile constantly fought to persuade the western cultures that the Czechoslovak nation had the right to be independent (Brown, 2000). The need to make themselves better known, more visible and in a way equal to the British led the Czech RAF airmen to present facts about the Czech history and culture[47] (the same tendency also revealed in *The Czechoslovak* newspaper: see Chapter 4). Mr Svoboda recollected that his future father-in-law did not want him to marry his daughter because the Czech nation had no history. This need to magnify the existence of the Czech nation again potentially influenced and distinguished between the Czech versions and the versions of the British members of the RAF. However, due to a limited sample of interview participants, I could not investigate whether the British RAF airmen shared the Czech airmen's collective memory and representations of

[47] The only information that was widely disseminated by the media (particularly newspapers) about the Czechoslovak nation was from the pre-war political discussions about the Munich affair (Appendix 43, Mr Mellion).

the Czechs in their versions of private memory. This research has, however, revealed that the various versions of private memories of the Czech interview participants create a compound spiral of identity, which appears to be support the view that memory is always evolving (Radstone, 2002) and moving in a range of directions (Rothberg, 2009).

Drawing from the data collected, I propose that during WW2, the Czech identity of the airmen did not play an important role and was soon subsumed by the RAF military identity. This notion is also supported by the interview participants themselves, who claimed that after the war, when they returned to their homeland and the communist regime started in 1948, they felt betrayed by the Czechs and decided to immigrate back to England. Many of them initially went back to their RAF bases to ask for jobs as airmen. Also, when describing the atmosphere during WW2, the veterans suggested that nationalities did not play the most crucial role in their lives in the RAF; the relationships between men were often determined by their personalities. The identities of the Czech RAF airmen thus spread across three different levels: the personal level, which included their and others' personal characteristics, which they liked or disliked regardless of nationality, the national level – their Czech patriotism and their position in British exile; and the professional level, including their role as RAF airmen. Consequently, these layers can be defined as multiple identities (Hall, 1996). 'Identities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different [...] discourses, practices and positions' (Hall and du Gay, 1996, pg 5).

Within this complexity the personal side of the Czech RAF airmen's identity stood in potential contrast to their military identity. However the interviews revealed a quite harmonic relationship between these two. For example, for Mr Svoboda despite the fact that he recalled many details from his free time, he equally portrayed his professional life as if these two were simply two sides of one coin, which coexist well together. Similarly,

Francis (2008) claims that 'those who were not married, found their youth, their heroic deeds, and the allure of their grey-blue uniform made it impossible for them to resist the attractions of females' (Francis, 2008, p4). I found another example of these complex relationships in the narrative of Mr Liskutin, who was a proud volunteer and a devoted Czech patriot, but who quite often found that the Czech Squadron leaders did not have the right approach. Although they flew with the men all the time and were good organisers, they did not like the ordinary pilots.[48] This he did not experience from the British commanders when he served in a foreign Squadron, no. 145. '*The foreigners were friendly, just like my own people.*' (Interview recording, CD ROM, Mr Polak, 13:10 min). This corresponds with Franke's notion (1999) who sees identity as a contextual and dynamic process of self-categorization and assumes that attitudes and values, through which individuals form attitudes towards reality and produces their versions of such reality, are determined by the social group (in this case RAF).

To conclude this complex investigation of the identity of the Czech RAF airmen, I suggest that their Czech national identity influenced their choice to come abroad and fight Hitler, but the new professional RAF or war layer of their identity was possibly the most essential to the Czech RAF airmen during their active service, and therefore overshadowed their personal and national identity. For them, the Czechoslovak nation was only an imagined community (Anderson, 1991) of which they were only peripheral members. Their conscious reality at that time consisted of the war reality and the trans-national community they had joined – the British RAF - which influenced the process of establishing this complex trans-national identity exposed by the autobiographical memory in the private narratives. The Czech veterans experienced a real assimilation with the British community much later, after the war, when they returned to Britain from the

[48] When they lost a plane, the Czech Squadron leader blamed them and said that they had cost the Czechoslovakian government £6000 (Appendix 43, Mr Liskutin).

communist Czechoslovakia[49]. Then their war universal RAF and Czech patriotic identity assimilated into a contrasting one - the British. They were no longer Allies in a war but, similarly to Mrs Halata, refugees seeking asylum in a foreign country. Mr Svoboda remembered that after the war, they felt deflated, with no attention, and so they had to live for the future.

This shows how truly specific the Second World War reality, which bridged different social classes (Donnelly, 1999) as well as arguably various nations, actually was. Furthermore, it also demonstrates that the membership of the RAF community was very important in the Czech RAF airmen's lives, as this layer of their identity extended even beyond WW2: when back in Britain after the war, they all sought flying opportunities through the RAF. Thus, after the war, their former RAF identity became their 'professional' RAF identity, which they later promoted again, above their national identity, possibly due to the historical circumstance of the communist oppression. This process of a complex evolution of identity according to the life situation also reflects Hall and du Gay's (1996) claim that: 'identities are [...] the positions which the subject is obliged to take up whilst always knowing [...] that they are representations [...] from the place of the Other, and thus can never be adequate – identical – to the subject processes which are invested in them' (Hall and du Gay, 1996, pg 6).

Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have analysed the WW2 private memory of the Czech RAF airmen, as expressed in their interviews, which created various versions of the past. All seven interview participants performed as individual, unique witnesses, creating

[49] Many of the former Czechoslovak RAF airmen returned to Britain in 1948 when the Communist regime took over the former democratic republic and all citizens who had experienced democracy in Western Europe were persecuted (Hurt, 2004).

heterogeneous reflections of the WW2 reality according to their individual values, intellect, experience, level of English, morale, courage, age, gender, opinions, and family background and upbringing (Perks, 1992). As former members of the RAF, the veterans shared certain collective war memories; however, as soon as they started to reflect on and interpret their lives in the role of interview participants, their individual memories began to differ. Despite being members of a close Czech RAF community, meaning that a part of their selfhood was consciously and subconsciously created through identification with this community, they all appeared to have gained different experiences in Britain during WW2. As Jenkins (2008) claims: 'the members of a community may all assent to the collective wisdom that they are different from other communities in a variety of stereotypical respects. But this is not to say that they see each other, or themselves, manifesting these differences similarly' (Jenkins, 2008, 113). Some representations in their autobiographical memory almost appeared to be in contrast with each other: whilst one participant highlighted the seriousness and importance of being a member of the RAF and the pride of being a volunteer and a patriot, another appeared to be far more informal, highlighting the human side of the airmen and their pure passion for flying. Thus, the interviews exposed various representations of the Czech RAF airmen's identities stored in their personal memory. Some memories revealed a strong influence by the military identity whilst others were based more on the personal layer of airmen's identity. I suggest that the reason for this heterogeneity of the collected private memories is due to internal influences such as the different personalities and different viewpoints of the participants (see Sutton, 2003) and external circumstances, such as propaganda, which shaped their lives during and after WW2.

Furthermore, when analysing memory, we must consider the issue of movement or evolution of memory (Bergeson, 2007). 'The past we know is partly a product of the present; we continually reshape memory, rewrite history, refashion relicts' (Munslow,

1997, pg 26). Also memory is constantly shaped and self manipulated when narrated, probably due to frequent rehearsals (King, 2000). Then memory becomes a story of preferred models (Dijk, 2007) of the past, which is created by the narrators to be interesting for the listeners. Or as Dunaway (1992) claims, 'oral biography provides a multiplicity of voices where the life is encompassed rather than definitely concluded' (Dunaway, 1992, pg 44). Moreover, I must stress here that my age, gender, knowledge and national identity possibly influenced the reproduction of collective frameworks (Halbwachs, 1992), the creation of participants' narratives and how I interpreted them in relation to reconstructing the past.

Another shaping element that I also discussed in this chapter is the issue caused by the most destructive element of memory and the process of recall – forgetting (Jefferson and Conway, 2008). When analysing the participants' recollections, I distinguished between two elements: episodic and semantic memory (Hunt and Robins, 1998). The episodes, the 'stories', are possibly the most authentic, but are still developing as individual lives change and are usually the first to be affected by forgetting, whilst the semantic memory is constructed from the outside, being influenced by public memory and shaped by the social environment (Sturken, 1997), and usually lasts longest. Despite the fact that with increasing age, episodic memory turns into semantic and my interview participants could not recall clearly all aspects of day-to-day life at the RAF bases and the content of WW2 media, they still remembered several stories or detailed episodes, which enriched this study. Gruneberg and Morris (1992) claim that 'at any given time a person can relate a coherent life history and illustrate it with recollections' (Gruneberg and Morris, 1992, pg). However, I suspected that another possible cause of the recollection of these stories was frequent rehearsal, which meant that certain memories created artificially produced narratives. Regardless of these fixed and over-rehearsed stories or the absence of some aspects of their lives, the Czech RAF airmen's recollections provided me with very

special and unique personal versions of the 'happened' which enabled me to understand better the life in exile in WW2 Britain and their complex identities. Thus, I consider their private memory as a living archive of the past, which creates a unique perspective of the WW2 based on the image of ordinary life and which in places engages and disengages with collective public memory published in the British newspapers.

The issue of the Czech identity and how it possibly influenced the veterans' recollections and their self-image as RAF airmen appeared to be probably the most complex matter in this chapter's discussion. The Czech RAF airmen's need to belong to a professional RAF collective obliged them to assimilate the RAF customs, values and beliefs. In joining the British RAF to help fight for their own country – the former Czechoslovakia – the airmen were required to be the same and different. In other words, they held numerous identities to define themselves (Connelly, 2007).The extent to which they assimilated British, or RAF customs and values or maintained Czech culture during and after this period, revealed through my primary research interviews and archival research, contributes to theories of memory and identity by drawing attention to how one connects with personal and collective pasts in the present moment.

In the case of the Czechoslovak RAF veterans, there were several factors contributing to their recollections, such as the drama of the Second World War, the new foreign environment in which they happened to end up and their enthusiasm to save their own country, with which they migrated to Western Europe and joined the Air Forces as volunteers[50]. Moreover, their memories have been constantly refreshed by media, historical texts and various Remembrance Days since. This special attention to the subject of identity was also caused by my pursuit of the possible reasons behind the creation of particular narratives. As Fivush claims, 'stories we tell about our lives very much define who we are as individuals' (Fivush, 2008, pg 49); in other words, our identity and narrative emerge

[50] This summary is built upon the RAF veterans' claims in the interviews. See Appendix 43.

from each other. Also Lowenthal (1985) suggests that the past, memory and our identity are interconnected: 'the sureness of 'I was' is a necessary component of the sureness of 'I am'. Ability to recall and identify with our own past gives existence meaning, purpose, and value' (Lowenthal, 1985, pg 41). The interview participants often represented and identified themselves as being in a relationship with the British. This chapter proposes that 'identities are constructed through, not outside, difference' (Hall and du Gay, 1996, pg 4).

I also discovered an interesting phenomenon - all participants claimed to be Czech patriots, although they all had poor links with the rest of the Czech community living in Britain. They did not desire to assimilate fully with British society, as they had come to Britain to fight for the freedom of Czechoslovakia, not to settle; however, they did not join the Czech exile community established by the Czech refugees. In reality, as the Czech RAF airmen became part of the RAF, their war identity became transnational (Radstone, 2010). The participants' recalled identity, established during their young adulthood, possibly also influenced their future identity (Schroots, Van Dijkum and Assink, 2004). Thus, this chapter also proposes that autobiographical memory, which provides us with narratives, plays a major role in our life, particularly when we age, as it connects the present with the past and thus constructs a foundation for our identity (Piolino, Desgranges, Benali and Eustache, 2002).

Following Poole's (2008) theory of memory having both individual and social aspects, in my further analysis in the upcoming chapter, I will connect the private and public memory of the Czech RAF airmen and allow these two to interact in order to create an interactive space where different versions of memory contribute in multidirectional ways (Rotheberg, 2009) towards a more complex image. In other words I will examine whether or to what extent each remembrance of one history tends to enrich each other, compete with or to erase the previous ones. This is important for me as a researcher who aims to co-create and reveal a much fuller and more complex representation of the

existence of the airmen. However, as I stated above, the image of the Czech airmen, the version of their reality this thesis creates is not and perhaps cannot be complete or absolute as it draws together only a few memories which I gathered, analysed, interpreted and assembled.

Chapter six - Sources of historical reconstruction – comparison of the private and public memory

Introduction

The previous two chapters revealed and analysed various images of the Czech airmen, providing evidence for the answers to my research questions about how the Czechs were represented in British and Czech newspapers and in their personal recollections and suggesting potential reasons why the Czech minority produced their community newspaper. The aim of this final chapter is to compare and evaluate the analysis of public mediated memory archived in the press and an analysis of private memory in the role of a living archive gained through the oral contributions of the subjects involved in the particular past event (see Wakewich, and Smith, 2006 in their feminist research about the WW2 experience of Canadian women). It also explores how the private memory interacts and correlates with public officially mediated versions - the potential traditional historical master narratives (Radstone, 2000) - and thus how these contribute to the historical reconstruction of the past. Here history is understood, as I presented in Chapter 1, 'as material that presents itself as being a record and interpretation of [remembered] events' (Reading, 2002, pg 34). In other words, I approach history as a process of remembering, recording and interpreting of various versions of the past and therefore constructing representations of the Czech RAF airmen in multiple ways. In this section, I again highlight the occurrence of versioning and draw upon Rothberg's (2009) theory, which suggests that memories do not compete with each other but interact, engage and disengage, creating a spiral of multidirectional memories. Thus I argue against the theories of Green (2004), Summerfield (1998) and Wakewich and Smith (2006) by suggesting that the various dissimilar versions of private memory do not have to be in tension with the official

memory represented in newspapers during the process of creation of historical reconstruction Keramida (1999).

Narrated private memory in contrast with public memory in WW2 newspapers

War memory and war identity

Without repeating what has been said in the previous chapters, I expound the ways in which the various representations of the airmen's own memories and the representations in the English and Czech newspapers were similar and/or different. One of the unifying elements of all versions of the image of the Czech airmen became the nation-transcending WW2 'war identity' or 'war memory'. Despite Triandafyllidou's (2001) claim that migrants cling onto their national identity in order to keep their national identity alive while they are abroad, I did not find this to be the case in the British newspapers or in the Czech veterans' recollections. The airmen were classified in the Czech and British newspapers (see Chapter 4) as well as classifying themselves as skilled and well-trained airmen, true members of the RAF. In fact, the newspapers built in assimilation from the beginning and this had continued to the present day in the participants' recollections. However it is important to highlight that the airmen interviewed were 'settled' UK citizens not those who had returned home after the war. The WW2 newspapers' discourse revealed, besides other representations of the Czech airmen, a trans-national war collective memory, and in the private memories of the Czech RAF veterans I discovered traces of trans-national identity as one of the layers of their more complex identity. Although the producers of *The Czechoslovak* emphasised the patriotism of the Czech airmen, the representations of the Czechs were set within the specific environment, politics and ideology of WW2: therefore, to some extent, *The Czechoslovak* also created a 'war memory' of the Czechs. These notions of WW2 trans-national war collective memory and

trans-national identity contribute to Radstone's (2010) model which explores current war memory and classifies it as cosmopolitan and thus trans-national. To an extent Radstone's model becomes then modified in a sense of the possibility of application of trans-nationality of war memories to other war conflicts and their memories, not only the most current ones.

Ideology and propaganda in WW2 memories

Another unifying aspect of the majority of versions was the external influence of the features of the WW2 period. I argued earlier that WW2 news discourse could not be solely a neutral echo of the events that happened, as ideology and propaganda (in the case of the WW2 period) are always expressed in the discourse (see also Muslow, 1997; Dijk, 1998). Examples of this were the representations in *The Times* and *The Czechoslovak,* where the Czechs are mostly presented only in a positive way as hard working, calm, brave men, almost without emotions, who always finish their task. The Allies were described in the best light in order to boost morale and possibly frighten the Nazis. However, I must consider that the motive behind these heroic portraits in *The Czechoslovak* could have also been motivated by the Czech patriotism. As Radstone (2010) claims: 'there is no unified interpretation, not a totalizing signifier containing the same meaning for everyone' (Radstone, 2010, pg 404), and the textual analysis that informs this thesis represents only one possible interpretation – my understanding of the texts.

When analysing the interviews, I also tried to indentify to what extend propaganda influenced the versions of private memory. Were the airmen aware of the British MOI propaganda representations of the WW2 reality in media, did propaganda influence their representations of the WW2, and if so, how? The participants' predominant response was that were not particularly aware of the British ideology and propaganda during WW2. Mr Liskutin claimed that the morale of their Squadrons was high, as they

were fighting for the freedom of their country, so they did not need propaganda. Mr Polak said that when fed on propaganda, they mostly believed it, apart from when it was too obvious (such as exaggeration of the numbers of the planes shot down by the Allies, as they knew the true numbers from their friends). But he also admitted, '*if the news was good, one was happy to believe it because one wanted to believe it*' (Interview recording, CD ROM, Mr Polak, 30.26 min). This need of good news in the period of the Second World War corresponds with Balfour's (1979) claim that perhaps the urgency of the war situation shaped views of the media audience differently and the boundaries of acceptability were wider.

However, despite the fact that the lives of the Czech RAF airmen were most likely influenced by the ever-present propaganda (Balfour, 1979), in general, all participants expressed in the interviews that they had no real interest in politics or in the Czech exile government. This would mean that the private versions of memory they produced were less reflective of politics than the public memory in newspapers. For example, Mr Svoboda remembered that the airmen were too busy, sometimes having three flights a day, to worry about politics. Also Mr Liskutin said that the politicians were doing their part, whilst the pilots were contributing to the same goal but in a different way. They considered themselves as professional soldiers who were apolitical. '*I believed in freedom and did not care about ideologies*' (Interview recording, CD ROM, Mr Liskutin, 41:13 min). Similarly, Mr Polak claimed that they admired their President Beneš but they were quite detached from the efforts of the Czech exile government. However, on the other hand, the strong need of belonging to the RAF was evident in the interviews with the former Czech airmen. This potentially demonstrated the influence of the WW2 propaganda, which strongly promoted the positive characteristics of the Allies fighting side by side with the British.

Overall, the private lives and memory of the airmen appeared to be influenced on a much smaller scale by propaganda than the press; however, censorship was a common

tool that was widely accepted by the airmen. Mr Lamberton informed me that it was generally taboo to talk about details from their lives on the bases. This message was also reinforced by several posters that were distributed round the bases to encourage the Czechs to keep military secrets – 'Keep your mouth shut'. Thus, here, the personal narrative illustrated how the censorship and therefore propaganda was implanted into the WW2 RAF everyday life - the power was exercised and enacted in media discourse influencing public memory of WW2 (Donnelly, 1999), and this power of propaganda also spread beyond discourse into the general knowledge of people and thus partly shaped the Czechs' private versions of memory.

The evidence shows that in *The Czechoslovak* as well as in the British press, the representations of the airmen were often connected with the politicians and the Czech exile government. '*Here they [the Czechoslovak airmen] are with President Dr. Edward Beneš and keeping their spirit high*' (*The Czechoslovak*, special issue, pg 8, Appendix 11), '*Dr. Beneš reviewed to-day at two separate stations of the R.A.F. a bomber squadron and a fighter squadron composed of Czech airmen*' (The Times, 7th August 1940, pg 9, Appendix 20); '*In this country we have welcomed the Provisional Czechoslovak Government, headed by men who were among Masaryk's chief lieutenants, and including as its Foreign Minister his son. The Czechoslovak airmen and soldiers, who have joined us here, [...] are doing great things in the Allied cause*' (*The Times*, 29th October 1940, pg 7, Appendix 24). This connection potentially increased the importance of the airmen as a subject in the news, presenting them ideologically as a tool of the Czech war exile government.

As I argued earlier, representations of the airmen in the newspapers' text were influenced by the heroism that had been implanted there by the WW2 propagandists in order to spread this optimistic and morale-boosting message to the masses. According to Cottle (2000), 'media discourse is the main source of people's knowledge, attitudes and

ideologies, both of other elites and of ordinary citizens' (Cottle, 2000, pg 36). As a consequence of this, I propose that news discourse is an artificial and manufactured product of journalism (Munslow, 1997; Eldridge, 1995), presented as a written public memory or a historical documentation of events, in turn affected by current ideology or propaganda (during the war years). Also, according to Rose (2003), memory shared in a narrative is possibly artificially manufactured according to the context in which it is revealed.

Otherness

As it possibly did not fit within the WW2 propaganda or the then current news values of the British press, except from *The Czechoslovak* and partly the tabloidised press, the broadsheets did not integrate the human side of the airmen's identities into their news reports and only portrayed them as a fraction of the British military serving a purpose to win the war. British newspapers' representations of the Czech RAF airmen also completely ignored the facts that the Czech airmen were repatriated and not assimilated into British society, and only portrayed them from the British point of view. Although the British press reflected that the Czechs were needed within the RAF and acted as heroes, some representations of the airmen also carried traces of 'otherness'. This feature of the WW2 media versions reflecting patriotic Britishness in contrast with foreign 'otherness' reflects the fact that 'most of the images that we encounter in the media reflect the experiences and interest of the majority group in our society' (Gross, 1998, pg 88).

As discussed earlier, national identity was to an extent important to the participants, and they, similarly to *The Czechoslovak* newspaper, had the need to present the rich Czech history to the British people in order to support the claim to independence of the Czechoslovak nation. The Czech ethnic minority expressed here 'the right to memory' (Reading, 2010) in any mode, in any format, in their special way. Similarly *The*

Czechoslovak newspaper, which captured one particular moment or particular identity, was articulating the right to commemorate the Czech culture and the Czech airmen as heroes or a subject that was not commemorated much by the British press. This claim supports Matheson's (2000) argument that 'the news texts [have the] right, authority and ability to state the facts of something that happened' (Matheson, 2000, pg 570). By this, *The Czechoslovak* enriched and contributed towards the creation of the memory of that era.

Similarly to the newspapers, the participants represented themselves as very proud, patriotic and skilful airmen with positive/optimistic views; however, their narratives uncovered some deeper characteristics. As discussed before, the Czech airmen did not aspire to assimilate into British society, and nor did they aspire to become members of the Czech community in exile; they came and stayed as guests and war allies. This notion also explains the strongest dissonance I experienced when participants reacted to the image of them as refugees or underdogs – they did not feel like heroes, but highlighted that they had been volunteers who did not escape from the former Czechoslovakia to settle in a foreign country but who came to join the Allies in a fight against Hitler[51]. This corresponds with Summerfield's (1998) claim that 'public memory (or discourse) is not drawn upon indiscriminately in the production of personal memory, the story that is actually told is always the one preferred amongst other possible versions' (Summerfield, 1998, pg 17). Concerning this particular point, in the representation of the Czech RAF airmen, I suggest here that the newspapers' image of the Czechs as refugees and underdogs was caused by propaganda and created in order to influence public opinion and the British public sphere. This version can, to an extent, be seen as a misrepresentation of the airmen where the British as a dominant group were seeking to subordinate the Czechs and express social difference and power (Radstone, 1999).

[51] This notion has also been portrayed and highlighted in Jan Sverak's film Dark blue world (2001).

This interaction of all these various versions of representations of the airmen shows that an examination of various memories is very complex. However, I argue that all versions coexist with each other, to an extent influence each other and contribute in the process of historical representation like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, each of which is equally important despite being different. Therefore, I disagree to some extent with Green (2004), who says, 'in practice, individual and collective memories are often in tension, and the recollections of individuals frequently challenge the construction of partial accounts designed primarily to achieve collective unity' (Green, 2004, pg 41). This research found various versions of the representations of the Czech RAF airmen which engage in many aspects, for example the image of the Czechs as skilled airmen; and disengage in other, notably the bipolar images of the Czechs as underdogs and heroes or diverse individual perceptions of the war revealed in the interviews. However, the various memories do not erase each other, but enrich, inform each other and often increase each other's meaningfulness. Public memory offers socio-cultural and historical context to the private memory, which on the other hand provides the public memory with the detail and the personal first-hand experience expressed in a narrative. As Keramida (1999) claims: 'personal narrative, which gives the teller an occasion for the negotiation of meaning, can [...] be utilised as a means to link the personal to the cultural' (Keramida, 1999, p. 75). For example, the newspapers reflect the events surrounding the Czech airmen, however the insight of what it meant being a Czech RAF airman was more likely to emerge from the personal narratives. On the other hand, the life of the Czech RAF airmen described by the veterans in the interviews gains its shape through the photographs of the RAF bases in the newspapers. Also the understanding of the relationship between the British people and the Czechs, together with the question of the identity of the airmen, becomes fuller and deeper after examination of all sides – the versions in the Czech newspapers, the recollections of the veterans and the British newspapers.

Czech RAF airmen as a potential target audience of the WW2 newspapers

The relationship between the participants themselves as target audience and the newspapers is also important for this negotiation about versioning because as a 'living organism', it potentially influenced the production of the press (Moores, 1999) and it reflects the extent of influence on private memory by public memory. In general, the participants agreed that there was not much attention paid to the media at that time. Although information was crucial, they seemed to rely on the leaders to tell them about what was happening, or ask each other. My interview participants did not recall reading many WW2 newspapers articles and most of them never saw *The Czechoslovak* newspaper; there were usually only British newspapers at their bases. They remembered that they had had some pamphlets (in Czech) about what was happening in Czechoslovakia, which were only typed not properly published, and they did not know who had produced them. They might have been produced by the Czechoslovak Embassy. But the participants admitted that it was all they needed at the time, as they were busy with their own things. This lack of engagement with media is fairly unusual during a war conflict where media are the main source of information (Allan and Zelizer, 2004), however it illustrates the specific environment of the RAF bases, where all information they needed was given to them by their officers. Despite the small sample of participants interviewed, I could generalise here that the Czech RAF airmen were not the potential target audience of *The Czechoslovak* newspaper. This Czech community alternative medium did not have nationwide reach that would spread across the whole range of society (McCoy Blackburn, 1997), but probably approached the local non-military exile Czech community in and around London which was Mrs Halata described as an active body that gravitated towards the Czech Club. However, the Czech airmen did not truly belong to this

community, despite being Czechs living in British exile; they were at that time mainly RAF airmen fighting in the Second World War. By this claim I am also returning to my previous argument about the war community memory and transnational identity (Radstone, 2010).

Furthermore, the fact that the Czech RAF airmen did not read newspapers very often shows their real priorities and the way of life in the RAF bases at the time. At the same time, however, the participants were quite aware that newspapers published their successes in battles, which they were proud of (Mr Lamberton pointed out that Spitfire pilots were mentioned much more often than the bomber pilots, with nothing about the crews, and thus that they felt sorry for them). In general, the participants claimed that they did not worry too much about how they were represented in the newspapers. They lived for the day because they did not know whether or not they would survive (Mr Svoboda). Mr Lamberton remembered that airmen were not interested in publicity; however, it was often their wives who sent stories about them into the newspapers. As Andersen (2006) claims 'war stories are constructed as complicated amalgams drawn from the bits and pieces of favoured myths and stories of battlefield heroics' (Andersen, 2006, pg xvi). This would mean that some sources of the public memory were more personalised and pre-narrated or re-narrated by others before they gained their official media version. Such versions of oral personalised stories (Bignell, 1997) would probably have appeared mostly in the tabloidised type of newspapers, but either way, such versions would reshape the reflected reality even before such reflections reached the reporters.

This notion of re-narration leads toward an importance of critical consideration of the limitations of public and private memory as direct sources of historical reconstruction, as there are many various influences that shape them, such as ideology, propaganda and news values for the newspapers and age, gender, forgetting, opinions, and social influences in the personal narratives. 'Different events are remembered in different ways – some

almost immediately represented in narrative, others remaining 'snapshots', [...and...] different people remember in different ways' (King, 2000, pg 28). These factors mean that memory is constantly recreated (Thompson, 2009) and re-versioned, and that similarly to the newspapers and their public versions, there are also countless versions of representations of the past created by private memory. However, the above evidence does not suggest that public memory and its ideology influenced participants' private memory strongly. Some interactions between the media and Czech veterans occurred in the case of Mr Lamberton, whose knowledge of newspapers representations of the Czech airmen made him feel sorry for the 'Bomber boys' whose actions rarely made the news in contrast with the Spitfire pilots such as himself. Here the public memory represented in media text contributed towards creating his positive self image. Similarly, the private memory of Mr Polak revealing that he was happy to believe the news when it was positive despite the awareness of possible influence of propaganda, was potentially co-created by the media and thus WW2 propaganda.

Moreover, it might be reasonable to suggest that there is a strong possibility that the general knowledge about the events in the Second World War, which the airmen have gained from media and historical books, generated their semantic memory (Conway, 2005; see also Sturken, 1997) and therefore influenced their private memory and their later narratives. Similarly, Hoskins (2004) talks about mediated templates which frame memory and connect the past with the present. He suggests that 'news templates can function reflexively to reshape or at least recontextualize their historical subject matter' (Hoskins, 2004, pg 38). In other words, as I negotiated earlier, memory and media transform each other (Dijck, 2007). If news is the first version of memory (Fowler, 1991), then it is also the first public reflection of what happened which is narrated to the readership, and potentially shapes their view upon events. Although the veterans claimed that they did not read much, they all remembered being consumers of some type of WW2 media – either

British newspapers or radio - and later on in their lives they consumed further representations of the Second World War, which possibly influenced their perceptions of reality and thus their recollections. This claim is based on Reading's (2002) assertion that 'our memories of the past are constructed dialectically; they develop in part through history and from historical accounts which in turn are fed back into collective and popular memories of events' (Reading, 2002, pg 33).

This notion of my interview participants being potential WW2 newspapers readership brings my discussion to another important point. As presented in the Methodology chapter, I included selected Czech newspapers in the interview process as a tool to assist me to gain more information about the representation of the Czechoslovak airmen, working as a trigger for memory. According to Kuhn (2002), we can retrieve certain details of our recollections more easily when re-familiarising ourselves with memory artefacts such as old photographs or documents. We can consider the selected WW2 newspapers as mnemonic devices, as a 'memory tool for restoring the connections to one's own ancestors' (Weston, 2002, pg 158). I provided my interview participants with this stimulus; however, they did not respond to it. They completely ignored the copies of the WW2 newspapers that I posted to them prior to the interviews, and did not intend to comment on them. This possibly happened because they did not know them from the war era and the texts were not connected with their memories. This therefore shows the power of memory and how fixed or rehearsed their stories/versions became over time, and how they grow into their identity. 'Assumptions about the nature of memory shape not only notions of personal identity but also the relationship of culture to its past, and the nature and structure of the narratives that reconstruct the past' (King, 2000, pg 28). These memory artefacts were not a part of 'their' past like their old photographs or documents and thus could not be included into the process of memory recollection and narration. The participants were not going to be interrupted by the outside elements. Even Mr Liskutin,

who was a very keen and active participant, and who had written a book about his own life and taken and collected hundreds of photographs, did not show any interest in the newspaper copies. This demonstrates how the public and private memories disconnect in this project and how the importance of media can be overestimated. Thus it is important to emphasise that although newspapers are important source of our past, they only publicly represent a certain version of reality and narrate stories about reality (Brivati, Bruxton, Seldon, 1996) and its actors, such as the Czech RAF airmen.

On the other hand, many of the interview participants considered war newspapers as a source of a specific kind of memory, where facts such as dates and places can be recovered when their private memory fails or cannot provide all information (Wessel and Moulds, 2008). Also, as Poole (2008) claims, 'all of us rely on the existence of external traces [...] to provide access to the past' (Poole, 2008, pg 152). This supports the idea of treating the press as one archive and memory as another - the living archive - such that they become shared sources of historical representation where they both compound and enrich each other, although the tensions between the two need to be considered during the creation of the historical representation, as demonstrated in this study.

In this thesis, I created a more complex image of the Czech RAF airmen by drawing these archives together in a space where they can interact, studying how they challenge each other and also detecting where the public and private versions overlap. This thesis reveals that the memory that is shared by the public and private memory is the collective memory. Edy (1999) suggests that it is 'the narratives of the past that have important impacts on our collective memory, later drafts of history are [...] written by journalists' (Edy, 1999, pg 71). Even tabloidised newspapers' articles, which present the events in a more personalised and story-like way (Conboy, 2006), are based on the shared collective memory. The common past that is recalled by all members of the group reaches the official public memory (such as broadsheet newspapers), which is later used for

historical reconstruction. In this process of ongoing interaction and influencing each other, public and private memory create a space in which they settle, despite various dissimilarities. In the case of this study, this space would be filled with the war discourse, notably general memories of the fights, the routine in the RAF squadrons and public opinions of the British towards the Czechs[52].

Despite the fact that some characteristics of the Czech RAF airmen's identities revealed by the private memory provide a very different image to the heroic portraits produced by the newspapers, it is important to emphasise that they are not necessarily antagonistic. They only illustrate again the spiral of memory, which reveals various representations of the same object in multidirectional memory (Rothberg, 2009). Following Rotheberg's (2009) question, 'What happens when different histories confront each other in the public sphere?' (Rothberg, 2009, pg 2), this thesis builds its key argument around the inclusion of different types of memories into the process of historical construction. On one hand, there is personal memory as a specific 'past excavator', creating perhaps subjective but unique versions of reality; on the other, the public mediated record based on official hegemonic discourses, which again only reflect certain versions of memory. They both create a spiral of memory discourse, enriching each other whilst engaging and disengaging. Based on this claim and the evidence from this research, I therefore disagree with Summerfield's (1998) and Wakewich and Smith's (2006) argument that many historical representations of war subjects have only been selectively incorporated into 'official memory' and therefore could stand as a cause of tensions between cultural representations and personal narratives.

This study suggests that the notion of versioning, the occurrence of various often diverse versions of the representations of the Czech RAF airmen in private and public memory, is a positive element in historical reconstruction, as it offers a fuller image and a

[52] Mass Observation, also see Madge, 1939

deeper understanding of the past. The private memory representations, which were not and could not be recorded by the official memory in newspapers (except for the tabloidised newspapers seeking more personalised stories: Örenbring and Jönsson, 2008), demonstrate the value of the private memory as an important side of memory next to the public discourse in the historical construction. Private memory is presented through the discourse of the rememberer living in a specific environment and era and the media publish the public discourse produced by the journalist who is set within a particular establishment, whilst history is a problematic and more complex discourse, which is, however, again produced by individual historians (Jenkins, 1991). Thus various sources of the construction of the past create different versions, wherein I propose that the complex linguistic process of historical construction (Munslow, 2001) should be understood as interpretations of the historical sources and the creation of a new image of the 'happened', not presentations of the historical facts.

Relation between memory as a source of historical construction and history

Both sources in this thesis - the press as well as the recollections of the Czech RAF veterans - stand as sources that enrich and contribute to the dominant representation of the past we know. The selected mass-produced British newspapers potentially stand in a stronger position as a master narrative, whilst the narratives in *The Czechoslovak* and in the private memories take on the identity of the 'other' to the British and thus present the past from the perspective of the 'other'. In this final section of this chapter, I discuss how private and public memory contributes to the process of historical construction and thus interconnect the subject of memory and history. As Kuhn (2002) claims: 'The past is gone forever. We cannot return to it, nor can we reclaim it as it was. But that does not mean that it is lost to us. […] The past is like the scene of crime and the memory work, like detective

work and archaeology, involves working backwards, 'searching for clues, deciphering signs and traces, making deductions, patching together a reconstruction out of fragments of evidence' (Kuhn, 2002, pg 4).

The relationship between memory (private or public) and history is very complex, particularly due to their almost opposite characteristics. Memory appears to be given life by living societies which permanently evolves (Radstone, 2010) and which is vulnerable to the unconscious and conscious deformations; whilst history is the problematic, never complete reconstruction of the 'happened' (Nora, 1986). According to Lowenthal (1985) our awareness of our past is founded on our memory; however, history is supposed to elaborate and extend memory by interpreting what once had been remembered with relics. Yet some historians claim that 'historical time is conceived of as external and objective, then memory, understood as interior and subjective time [...] must be excluded from historical consciousness' (Hodgkin and Radstone, 2003, pg 133). I disagree with this point, as I have argued throughout this study that both private and public memory enrich each other: thus, historical representation should include both objective and subjective times and all various versions of the 'happened' in order to portray the changeable human dimension of past events. Cubitt (2007) claims that for these reasons, in the last few decades, memory has become much more central for historical scholarship. Furthermore, as I presented in Chapter 5, the claims of memory are fallible, and thus I agree with Poole (2008), who suggests that memory also needs history with its established procedures of criticism within the discipline as a tool that would correct its possible bias or errors. This dual relationship is reflected in this study, where the various representations and versions of memory enrich the hegemonic WW2 history discourse on one hand, and draw from its context on the other.

It is important to consider a historical reconstruction of the past as one version of the past, as Jenkins (1991) claims: 'history in the main is what historians make' (Jenkins,

1991, pg 26). In newspapers, journalists combine sources of reality and create a coherent public narrative. The newspapers' discourse is also shaped by other participants in the process of creation of newspapers, such as ideology or news values. A similar process happened during the interviews, however, when the participants possibly subconsciously pre-selected their memories according to their current knowledge and values, in order to create 'stories', and thus promoted some parts of their memory as more important than others. This suggests that 'both individual and collective life stories are constantly overwritten in light of new experiences and needs' (Welzer, 2010, pg 15), and that memory, media and history cannot offer more than a version of the past, which can differ in each era in accordance with ideologies or other influences. I agree with Carr's (1964) theory, which suggests that there should be a dialogue between the past and the present, and this study demonstrates such dialogue between the press as a public archive and individual narratives as a living archive.

However, I argued earlier that the employment of newspapers as an archive or a source of history is problematic. Individual memory, however, is a phenomenon that could appear even vaguer in terms of 'recreating history', as 'it is actively constructed and re-constructed over time. The ways in which I think about the world will affect how memories are stored, the likelihood of events being remembered at all, and how they are remembered. People can remember things that matter to them but have trouble remembering information that is of little personal concern' (Hunt and Robbins, 1998, pg 59). Bias does not only occur in relation to relevance but also in the tendency to prefer positive images. I suggested above that 'memories also serve to sustain a positive identity, and old age memories are especially important for sustaining a positive sense of self' (Thomson, 2003, pg 63) and that our memory is fallible. However, Wessel and Moulds (2008) deny that forgetting is solely a problem of private memory: 'in archives, ink may fade, paper may crumble and entire files may end up in a shredder' (Wessel and Mould,

2008, pg 292). Moreover, by including oral sources into a creating of a historical reconstruction, the past can be presented from a different angle - from below (see Foucault, 2003).

Concluding remarks

There are many various sources from which our past can be reconstructed. Some have a more factual essence, while others are based on a narrative. This study explores and combines two different types of historical narrative – public mediated memory and private personal memory - as the sense of past is produced through public media representations and through private narrative (Perks and Thompson, 2006). In this chapter, I evaluated evidence which demonstrated that private memory, similarly to public memory, creates many pluralistic representations or versions of reality, and that both are influenced by different factors. When analysing various versions, I created an equally proportioned space for each one, because as this study argues, they all contribute equally towards historical construction through a process of versioning. By history, I mean a 'formalised recording of the past' (Reading, 2002, pg 31). Thus I propose that historical research should not intend 'to fit oral narratives to pre-existing cultural representations or psychoanalytic templates' (Green, 2004, pg 42), but it should include all different versions of the past in order to create a fuller and more comprehensive image of the past. Although some representations of the Czech airmen's identity in private memory appear in places to be in binary opposition to the reflection of the public collective memory of Britishness reflected by the British newspapers and the public collective memory of Czechness represented in *The Czechoslovak* newspaper, they are not necessarily in conflict with it (Rothberg, 2009). The participants representing the Czech RAF community, a source of 'living memory of the past' (Reading, 2002, pg 150), portrayed themselves in a much less emotional and less

heroic light than did the newspapers. Their recollected images were also more distant than the press images, as the newspapers' representations reflected what then was immediate presence. The veterans' narratives were not set in the context of the heroism of the British military, although they often defined their Czech identity in contrast with the British RAF. As a consequence of all these findings, this study demonstrates that private memory as a living archive is a very unique source of the past, which enriches the versions produced by the public collective memory with details about a particular event that was not integrated in the press. They jointly, as various sources of multidirectional memory, perform here an ongoing interaction and negotiation (Rothberg, 2009), which is possibly never complete but which produces an image of the past that comes closest to the complexity of the existence of the Czech RAF airmen.

Furthermore, the consideration of the Czech RAF veterans as a potential target audience of the WW2 newspapers (or not) and the exploration of the relationship between the press and its receivers also revealed some interesting ideas about how private and public memory interact. The question is: do private and public memories influence each other in the process of producing various versions of the past? This study discovered that the newspaper representations of the Czech RAF airmen did not heavily influence their memories, as they were not directly exposed to the WW2 newspapers' production. In addition, the mediated narratives were not massively shaped by the Czech airmen as members of the Czech community because the British press and *The Czechoslovak* special issue focused mainly on a British target audience. However, I argued that the private and public memories cannot be separated in our culture where media became a part of our lives and thus they influence and interact with each other. This notion corresponds with Lowenthal's (1985) and Poole's (2008) theories: 'The remembered past is both individual and collective' (Lowenthal, 1985, pg 194) and 'individual memories often, and perhaps always, have a social component' (Poole, 2008, 152). Although the Czech RAF airmen

were not consciously aware of British political influence over newspapers or propaganda during WW2, their memories of the era were possibly influenced by the ever-present WW2 ideology. Their private memories probably merged with media and historical discourse they have consumed during their lives, and personal memories such their recollections became potential sources for historical or media discourse – public memory.

The idea of interconnecting memory, media and history and the factors involved in the construction of the past emerged from this discussion as a final point. I proposed that various individual recollected details, episodes, feelings and emotions can hardly become history, as they cannot be quantified or categorised (Jenkins, 1991; see also Carr, 1964). I suggested that the parts that are shared by private and collective memory are more likely to be accounted as a source of history. However, this thesis demonstrates that both private and public memory produce many different versions of the past for the contemporary researcher; therefore, I agree with Nora's (1986) claim that 'the task of remembering makes everyone his own historian' (Nora, 1986, pg 15), and that no version is the actual past but all are merely representations: 'what is preserved, like what is remembered, is neither a true nor a stable likeness of past reality' (Lowenthal, 1985, pg 410). Similarly, this study only presents one version or representation of the lives of the Czech RAF airmen, produced through my interpretation of the sources I found and selected.

My original cross-disciplinary analysis of the Czech RAF veterans' testimony and the comparison of these versions with the newspapers' representations form the key contributions of this study towards current academic research. I have added more evidence into a growing theory of cultural memory and theory of media, where my work draws upon and contributes towards the notions of non-competitive multidirectional memory (Rothberg, 2009) and reinforces the right to memory (Reading, 2010) of not only private individual versions collected by oral history but of also public collective memory represented in the media. My research demonstrates the complexity of the spiral of

memory discourse and allows all narratives an equal footing in a transnational environment (Radstone, 2010), which is where this study is placed. Similar to Reading (2002) this research focuses on a community voice – in this case the Czech individual and collective mediatized memory – and brings another example of a non-hegemonic topic (the Czech RAF airmen) which did not 'pass' the hegemonic news values criteria in order to 'make' the British news very often. However the Czech community living the Britain during the WW2 expressed the right to memory by creating a community medium with Czech news values. This medium was however only sparsely read and thus I considered the voice this newspaper produced as more private than public.

Conclusion

Here, as this study comes to an end, I take the opportunity to reflect upon my research journey, its outcomes, its implications and the future research prospects. This thesis has formed a complex cross-disciplinary space for the interplay of various versions of public and private memory of the Czech RAF airmen living in Britain during WW2. However it is important to state that this space was filled with only a limited number of memories which I assembled, analysed and interpreted more than sixty years after the Second World War and which thus created quite unique although partial image of the Czech RAF airmen. Since I commenced this project, my understanding of life during WW2 has changed, and the heroic representations of the men fighting against the Nazis, known only from historical textbooks, have gained a more realistic and multifaceted form. I have also discovered and experienced the complexity of the subject of memory and witnessed an exciting emergence of a new field, memory studies, which is concerned with similar questions to those I have been exploring (notably examination of the representation of the Czech RAF airmen in the British and Czech WW2 newspapers, the reason behind the production on the *Czechoslovak* newspaper and negotiation of the factors which are involved in the "reconstruction of the past" of the Czech airmen emerging from the public and private memory). This thesis has presented the discovery of a 'qualitative treasure' emerging from *The Czechoslovak* special issue which provided a very specific viewpoint upon the identities of the Czech airmen and the life of the Czech community living in Britain in general. It also revealed seven narrations from the few remaining former Czech RAF airmen, the witnesses of the WW2 period. Although the information I gained from these narrations was not as detailed as I initially presumed, the interviews with the former Czech RAF airmen gave a voice to the actual subjects of WW2 newspapers representations and their private memory became a unique source for a historical construction of their lives

during the Second World War. Furthermore, this thesis has also proposed a novel notion of 'versioning'.

Initially, I aimed to investigate the representations of the Czech RAF airmen in newspapers in contrast with their own recollections, discussing the reasons behind the emergence of the WW2 Czech community's newspaper. However, I was then drawn into a socio-cultural whirl of private and public memory theories and critical challenges of the factors that are involved in the historical 'reconstruction of the past'. During my research journey, I drew upon many theories and challenged some of them (Summerfield, 1998; Green, 2004; Wakewich and Smith, 2006; and to an extent, Halbwachs, 1992). Instead of revealing a section of the past, which I had originally aimed to do, I noted that I was producing further representations or versions of the WW2 history. I questioned whether it is even possible to reconstruct the 'happened' or whether we can only achieve a partial deconstruction (Munslow, 1997) of the past, and from the pieces, create a new representation or version of reality. This notion is supported by Lowenthal (1985), who states: 'We can only use the past fruitfully when we realize that to inherit is also to transform' (Lowenthal, 1985, pg 412).

Similarly, during my research journey, with each new detail I discovered, my initial presumptions have evolved and often changed. For example, I overestimated the importance of media in the process of reconstruction of the past, which I initially positioned way above the oral narratives. Although newspapers reflect a certain era and possibly co-create collective public memory, my textual and interview analysis indicated that they can only do that from one perspective, representing the 'happened' from their own viewpoint and thus creating only one version of the past. These versions then might not be significant for the veterans who remember the event as they produced their own versions of memory that are relevant and important to them. As a researcher, however, I soon learnt to listen to all voices, the public and the private, and to consider them all as equal.

To exemplify my arguments and to give substance to the support of the employment of memory and media as simultaneous sources of historical reconstruction, I would like to cite Kitch (2008), who suggests that memory is anticipated as the 'first draft of history' and journalism is the 'first draft of memory' (Kitch 2008, pg 313). By interlocking media and memory, I not only conjuncted the past with the present and future but also the private with the public, or in other words, the self with others (Kitch, 2008). Similarly, Rothberg (2009) states, 'not strictly separable from either history or representation, memory nonetheless captures simultaneously the individual, embodied and lived site and the collective, social and constructed site of our relations to the past' (Rothberg, 2009, pg 3). I employed this notion of merging different versions of memory further, and following Rothberg's (2009) example, instead of approaching history as an arena where contrasting memories fight for recognition, I allowed them all to create a complex spiral of memory. This use of the concept of multidirectional memory then opened up a space for the articulation of hegemonic as well as other histories.

These notions led me towards establishing a key term of this study: 'versioning', an occurrence of various versions representing one subject or event, produced by different producers and influenced by various influences. This approach helps to piece together a socio-cultural transnational jigsaw puzzle that informs a multi-dimensional viewpoint (Stevenson, 2002) upon the Czech RAF airmen. Sometimes, of course, there can be a slight tension between the various historical representations, but following Rothberg (2009) and drawing from my own research, I do not consider this as a problem. This diversity of the representations of the past only indicates the complexity of the image of our past, which each different version co-constructs. The past representation of the Czech RAF airmen was co-created by various archives that recorded and preserved it: in the case of this study, a living private archive of personal memory and an official public archive containing mediated memory. The archive, history, journalism and memory all create versions of the

past; however, each one does it differently. Here it is important to emphasise that the main interaction between the various public and private memories however mainly took place within my engagement as a researcher with these memories. Despite the notion emerging from the current theories claiming that constantly evolving living memory is created and re-created due to daily interactions with other, in contrast to a more static written public memory (Fivush, 2008); my thesis does not provide enough supportive evidence that this was the case in the Czech RAF airmen's WW2 memory construction. On the other hand the absence of evidence, the fact that the interview participants did not remember much about the WW2 newspaper articles, does not mean that public memory did not shape the participants' recollections at all. As all veterans recalled active or passive engagement with the war media, it is reasonable to claim that their private memory did interact to a certain degree with WW2 public memory and thus to an extent both types of memories did influence each other.

In recent years, the topic of memory, particularly memory of communities, has become increasingly significant. The evidence for this statement is not only the expanding theoretical literature concerned with memory, the launch of the Memory Studies journal or the establishment of the Popular Memory group at the University of Warwick, but also the preparation of a global Biennial Conference of the Oral History Association of Australia in Melbourne titled 'Communities of Memory' (which takes place in the autumn 2011). I applied contemporary theories of memory and media onto a piece of historical data research and discovered that they are very relevant even to the WW2 discourses (see evidence in Chapters 4 and 5). Consequently, my theoretical conclusions about versioning, or multiple versions of public and private memory and the global characteristic of the WW2 memory, correspond with the recently published theory of multidirectional memory (Rothberg, 2009) and the theory of nation-transcending war discourse (Radstone, 2010; Dedaic and Nelson, 2003). In this thesis, I created a space where public mediated memory

of the Czech airmen does not compete but interacts with private memory, and thus demonstrated that collective memory and individual memory not only influence each other but also enrich each other and co-construct a historical representation of the past. Methodologically, the methods I adopted to study the complexity of memory could be used commonly within the emerging methodology of the field of memory studies, particularly for studying community memory. For this case study, the examination of oral individual memory together with written public collective memory produced by the British and Czech press and co-produced by their target audiences was very appropriate and useful. It allowed me to uncover a real memory in the real world where all producers of memory, private or public, have the right to memory in any mode and any format (Reading, 2010). At the same time, I have contributed to a field that has not yet been widely explored. For example, Cottle (2000) claims that: 'Studies of ethnic minority audiences remarkably remain a rarity' (Cottle, 2000, pg 23). Also the great benefit of my cross-cultural interviewing was that it helped me to represent the real cultural and linguistic contradictions of the Czech veterans' migration experience and identity (Burton, 2006, in Perks and Thompson). Finally, an important element of my research methodology was a careful ethical consideration of the approach and treatment of the interview participants who as vulnerable old people were to share with me a potentially traumatic part of their lives. Retrospectively, I am satisfied with the process of interviews and pleased with the fact that the participants not only did not show any signs of trauma but clearly enjoyed the interviews and the opportunity to share their life memories.

Although I did not invent or discover anything brand new in my thesis on the large scale of the memory studies debate, this study is valuable because it adds more evidence into a growing theory. The novelty of this thesis is using the currently revealed concepts of memory in a new way, in a new context, applying them retrospectively onto WW2 memory. Also, this research is built on a case study, and therefore it provides, in

addition to a discussion about how reality is represented and retained in public and private memory, more versions of the past (in this case, about the identities of the Czech RAF airmen) that deepen the dominant official British history. In other words, I have brought to light some unpublished oral and written memories about the Czech RAF airmen and the Czech ethnic minority living in British exile during the Second World War. I have also highlighted the issue of under-representation of ethnic minorities (Cottle, 2000) and speculated that the production of *The Czechoslovak* special issue was a possible reaction to it. By this, I do not simply state that community memory is a tool that contests 'official' versions of the past. I do, however, emphasise that researchers need to consider that at times, some versions of a representation of an event are promoted for various reasons whilst others are silenced (Hodgkin and Radstone, 2006). *The Czechoslovak* newspaper in general contributed heavily towards the construction of the public collective memory of the Czech RAF airmen as members of the Czech ethnic minority in this thesis. Again, it articulated the right to commemorate (Reading, 2010) the airmen as heroes and as objects that have been under-represented in hegemonic newspapers. In contrast, the interview participants articulated a different type of memory, not necessarily antagonistic but perhaps more personalised, 'their' private versions of memory. Equally, they had the right to these memories.

After this broad disclaimer of the benefits this study has brought, I also need to identify the limitations of my work. Despite my attempts to be as objective as possible, I am aware that the whole research process (starting from the creation of the theoretical framework, data selection, data gathering, conducting the interviews and finishing with my analysis and evaluation) was influenced by my position as a researcher who is set in a certain ideological era and influenced by several factors such as age, gender, education, nationality, values and opinions. Also, my knowledge of the news items as a part of my life narrative and the relations between these items, which are strictly unique to me, influenced

the textual analysis I undertook. The range of potential meanings constructed by one discourse is a construction of the 'happened' within a vastly larger potential story. News and newspapers contain events and types of subjects that are repetitive and therefore predictable: thus, each time we read a news example, we decode it through our own experience of earlier examples (Bertrand and Hughes, 2004; see also Devereux, 2006).

Hence, each of my productions and receptions of a representation of the Czech RAF airmen was influenced by other texts or messages I have consumed. With regard to this notion, I considered the interpretations of the Czech RAF airmen's representations I produced, not discovered (Munslow, 1997), as 'my' analytical version of the subject. Correspondingly, this thesis argues that we all are influenced by the culture we live in and the media that surround us, and that within collective memory, we all produce our individual representations of reality: thus, our 'living memory' creates our own versions of the past on a day-to-day bases. Furthermore, I was also not able to confidently conclude how exactly the messages in newspapers were decoded by their readers and I did not quite achieve to clearly distinguish between propaganda and ideology when analysing influences of the public and private memory. It is also important to acknowledge the limitations of time and space, which restricted this thesis, and the relatively small volume of sources that I was able to discover and collect.

During my research, I had to question whether the amount of data gathered from the interviews was sufficient for this study. My problem was that there were no more willing Czech RAF veterans living in Britain whose narratives I could utilise. Due to the limited number of participants, I could not thoroughly cross-reference the narratives and thus check the reliability or generalise the tendencies of community oral memory. As Walder (2003) claims, 'there is no guarantee that what is remembered [...] actually happened. Similarly, events are remembered by groups or communities in quite different ways' (Walder, 2003, pg 69). This limitation, however, opens possible new beginnings. At

the very end of this study, I offer the opportunity for further research. An interesting and appropriate expansion of this project would be a study that would go beyond the dwindling group of Czech veterans and explore a similar group of other exile WW2 communities, notably the Polish or Canadians, whose men also served within the RAF and later possibly settled in Britain. Such a trans-national project would allow its researchers to see whether there were similar patterns in the representations of other nationalities and whether they also produced a war RAF memory discourse.

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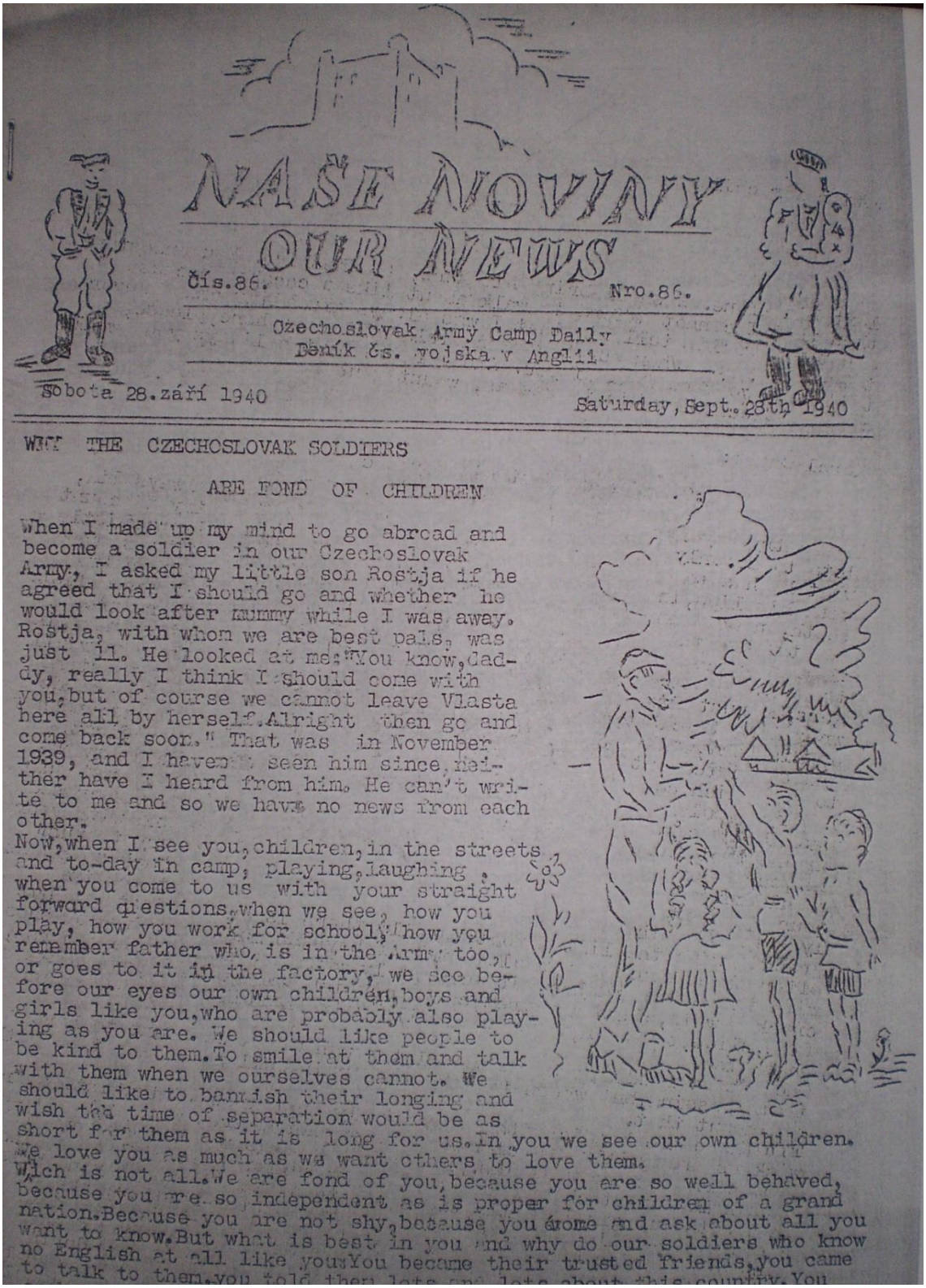
APPENDICES

Appendix 1 - **Our News, front page**



NAŠE NOVINY

OUR NEWS

Čís.86. Nro.86.

Czechoslovak Army Camp Daily
Deník čs. vojska v Anglii

Sobota 28.září 1940 Saturday, Sept. 28th 1940

WITH THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOLDIERS

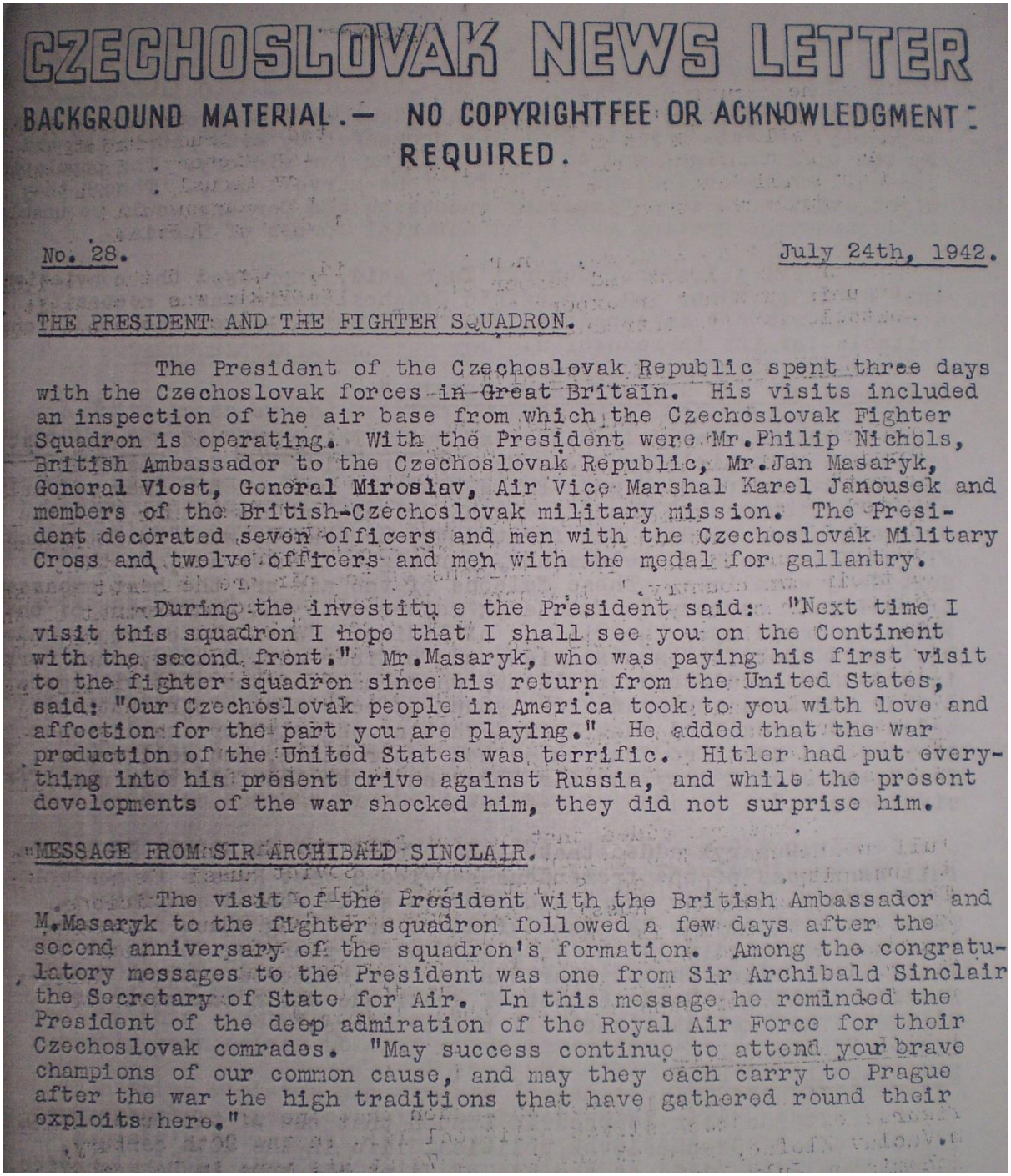
ARE FOND OF CHILDREN

When I made up my mind to go abroad and become a soldier in our Czechoslovak Army, I asked my little son Rostja if he agreed that I should go and whether he would look after mummy while I was away. Rostja, with whom we are best pals, was just ill. He looked at me: "You know, daddy, really I think I should come with you, but of course we cannot leave Vlasta here all by herself. Alright then go and come back soon." That was in November 1939, and I haven't seen him since, neither have I heard from him. He can't write to me and so we have no news from each other.

Now, when I see you, children, in the streets and to-day in camp, playing, laughing, when you come to us with your straight forward questions, when we see, how you play, how you work for school, how you remember father who, is in the Army too, or goes to it in the factory, we see before our eyes our own children, boys and girls like you, who are probably also playing as you are. We should like people to be kind to them. To smile at them and talk with them when we ourselves cannot. We should like to banish their longing and wish the time of separation would be as short for them as it is long for us. In you we see our own children. We love you as much as we want others to love them.

Which is not all. We are fond of you, because you are so well behaved, because you are so independent as is proper for children of a grand nation. Because you are not shy, because you come and ask about all you want to know. But what is best in you and why do our soldiers who know no English at all like you? You became their trusted friends, you came to talk to them, you told them lots and lots about this country. You

Appendix 2 – **Czechoslovak Newsletter, front page**



CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS LETTER

BACKGROUND MATERIAL.— NO COPYRIGHTFEE OR ACKNOWLEDGMENT REQUIRED.

No. 28. July 24th, 1942.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE FIGHTER SQUADRON.

The President of the Czechoslovak Republic spent three days with the Czechoslovak forces in Great Britain. His visits included an inspection of the air base from which the Czechoslovak Fighter Squadron is operating. With the President were Mr.Philip Nichols, British Ambassador to the Czechoslovak Republic, Mr.Jan Masaryk, General Viost, General Miroslav, Air Vice Marshal Karel Janousek and members of the British-Czechoslovak military mission. The President decorated seven officers and men with the Czechoslovak Military Cross and twelve officers and men with the medal for gallantry.

During the investitu e the President said: "Next time I visit this squadron I hope that I shall see you on the Continent with the second front." Mr.Masaryk, who was paying his first visit to the fighter squadron since his return from the United States, said: "Our Czechoslovak people in America took to you with love and affection for the part you are playing." He added that the war production of the United States was terrific. Hitler had put everything into his present drive against Russia, and while the present developments of the war shocked him, they did not surprise him.

MESSAGE FROM SIR ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR.

The visit of the President with the British Ambassador and M.Masaryk to the fighter squadron followed a few days after the second anniversary of the squadron's formation. Among the congratulatory messages to the President was one from Sir Archibald Sinclair the Secretary of State for Air. In this message he reminded the President of the deep admiration of the Royal Air Force for their Czechoslovak comrades. "May success continue to attend your brave champions of our common cause, and may they each carry to Prague after the war the high traditions that have gathered round their exploits here."

Appendix 3 - **The Czechoslovak, front page**

Appendix 4 – **Czech newspapers/newsletters produced during the Second World War in Britain and available in the British archives – an overview**

Name	Status	Brief description
The Czechoslovak	Newspaper	A Czech weekly newspapers (and special English issues) monitoring the life of the Czech minority living in England, and reporting some news from the UK and Czechoslovakia.
The Central European Observer	Newspaper	A fortnightly Review of Czechoslovak and Central European Affairs. It was a purely army establishment written only in Czech. It also does not involve the day-to-day life of the Czech minority.
The Spirit Of Czechoslovakia	Magazine	This monthly magazine is written only in English and does not appear to have been widely read by the Czech community. The articles or rather essays are very serious and intellectual, full of meditations about the Czechoslovak values, international politics in the 1940s and philosophical questions about spiritualism. It was published by Dr. F. M. Hnik a Czech philosopher and later Bishop of Olomouc, who collected ideas and texts written by Czech and English catholic priests and personages such as former Czechoslovak president Professor T.G. Masaryk, the Archbishop of York, the acting Czechoslovak president in British exile, Dr. E. Benes, Professor Seaton-Watson, Dr. Livingstone and other university professors and doctors.
Czechoslovak Military Review	Magazine/Review	It is written only in Czech and reflects an academic and scientific work of Czechoslovak soldiers on a literary/army field.
Czechoslovak newsletter	Newsletter	An official Czech Embassy newsletter with a rather serious and official structure, graphics, language and overall voice with a clear distance from the 'happened' itself as much as from the audience.
Our News	Newsletter/Army Newspaper	Czechoslovak Army Camp Daily written in English. Reflecting the everyday life of some Czech soldiers living and fighting abroad (no price, no retail ambitions, and probably a very small audience beyond the army community).

Appendix 5 – **The Czechoslovak special issue, pg 2**

INTRODUCTION

by Karel Čapek

A DESCRIPTION of Czechoslovakia is impossible without indulging in a series of contradictions. For example Czechoslovakia is ranked among the minor States, and rightly so to a certain extent, for from north to south it is no bigger than Belgium or Holland, but on the other hand, from west to east it is as long as the whole of Germany from the frontiers of Bohemia to the Gulf of Danzig, or as England from the Orkneys to Plymouth, as France from Calais to the Pyrenees, or Italy from the Alps to the Gulf of Taranto. From this it will be seen that if States were to be arranged according to length, as Frederick the Great arranged his grenadiers, Czechoslovakia would rank among the Great Powers.

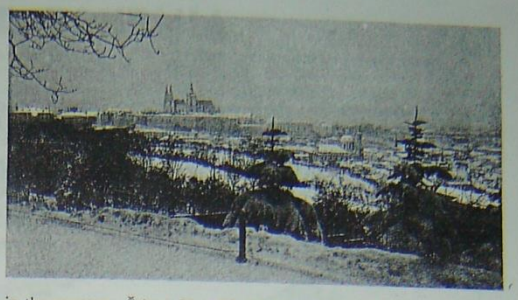
But the line drawn from west to east means much more. It is a distance in civilisation as would signify a line drawn from Manchester or Lille to the Caucasus. In the west of the Republic you will find the typical features of the whole north-west of Europe—an extensive and highly-specialised industry, intensive and rationalised agriculture, life completely urbanised and, we may even say, mechanised. But as you progress along this west to east line the regions and life in them become more and more rustic, picturesque and primitive, until in the extreme East you can walk for days through virgin primeval forest, armed with a gun against the bears, and meet not a single soul beyond an occasional herdsman, or see only an occasional hamlet of wooden cottages, differing in no respect from the remotest villages of Russia. These eight or nine hundred kilometres distance represent a greater disparity in civilisation than you would find in any other country of Europe.

If you will look at the map of Europe you will perceive that this oblong formation of Czechoslovakia occupies just about the centre of Europe, equidistant from north and south and from west to east. To be thus exactly in the centre of Europe means to be in the very heart of history's mêlée, for no collision of the races, of cultures, and ideas has been spared this area.

Just consider for a moment longer the situation of this tiny land surrounded by far more powerful and belligerent States and nations. What strength of resistance, what determined defence was needed to inspire the history of this little bit of Europe. The frontiers as we see them on the map to-day shook before the battering-rams of conquerors; sometimes these frontiers were thrust forward to the shores of the Baltic, and again down to the Mediterranean, in order that the nation might secure breathing space after the pressure to which it had been subjected.

Czechoslovakia is reckoned among the new States. This is right, for it was only in 1928 that we celebrated the first ten years of our State's existence. And yet in 1929 we have been able to celebrate the millenary of the old Czech State. It is a State older than that of William the Conqueror. It is nearly six hundred years ago that Prague University, the oldest university in Central Europe, was founded, but only a hundred years ago there was not a single Czech higher school

Photo by Milek Birn



in the country. Štítný, Hus, Chelčický, and Comenius bear witness to the high level of culture of this nation on the threshold of the modern era, but it is only one hundred years back that this same nation began again to create a literary language and a literature of his own. Think of a nation from whose cultural evolution the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are blotted out! At the time when Voltaire and Lessing were writing, this nation in the heart of Europe did not even possess spelling books for its children. The schools were German, the towns were Germanised; only the villages preserved the national tongue, but the villages themselves were villages of serfs. Not until a hundred or so years ago was it that it occurred to a handful of romantic spirits to issue books for this nation of artisans, servants, and peasants in their own, the Czech language, and it began to write again the tongue that had lost its elasticity through two hundred years of literary neglect. Miracles still happen in this human world of ours; the first real poet of this reborn tongue (Mácha), the first historian (Palacký), and the first grammarian (Dobrovský) were geniuses of such calibre that at one stroke, as it were, they restored the tradition of a lofty culture. Seventy years ago Prague did not possess a Czech theatre. Fifty years ago the ancient Czech University was recalled to life. I do not know that there is a more touching event in the history of all modern civilisation than the rise of this little, energetic nation.

Look once more at the map! At no point does Czechoslovakia touch the seas; its population is largely one of workers and peasants, that is, of people bound to the land and to the sources of production. In substance Czechoslovakia is a nation of "stay-at-homes," not gifted by nature for the production of adventurers and conquerors. And yet was it not these "stay-at-homes" who won political freedom for their country on the battlefields in Serbia, in the Dobrudja, in Lombardy, and in the Argonnes, in the Urals and in Siberia as far as to Vladivostok? Seventy thousand ill-armed men made their way across the Siberian tundra, returning home by circumnavigating the globe. Besides fighting, they founded printing presses, a bank, and a theatre, they started an illustrated paper, they printed books, and arranged sports and athletics; and after two years of this self-conducted adventurous journey round the world, they returned as disciplined regiments, capable of taking the field again the very next day. All of you who know something of war can judge of the moral and physical achievement of these seventy thousand young men led by thirty-years-old generals. Will you say, then, that it is a little country?

These general lines of our historical, geographical, and political situation must be kept in view by all who desire to become really acquainted with Czechoslovakia. It is a far more romantic land than is generally realised; it has wild mountains, primeval forests, and wondrous caverns, it is the home of a folklore peculiar to itself, it has ancient castles that seem like the magic ones of the moon, an infinite succession of precious specimens of architecture and art, and sweet and intimate landscapes. But more romantic and more wonderful than all those things are the fortunes of this sturdy and industrious nation which still has before it the lofty summit of its miracle-like risorgimento.

Books by
KAREL ČAPEK T. G. MASARYK
Dr. E. BENEŠ
Also other books on Czechoslovakia
published by
GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD.
40 MUSEUM STREET, LONDON, W.C.1
Available
at the Circulation Department of the "Čechoslovák"
54 Keswick Road, London, S.W.15
WRITE FOR FULL LIST

Appendix 6 – **The Czechoslovak special issue, pg 3**

Dr. R. R. Betts:

ENGLAND AND BOHEMIA

England and Bohemia lie far apart on the map of Europe, yet the web of history has often intertwined their destinies. The Prince of Wales wears the crest that fell from the head of King John of Bohemia at Crecy; mutual diplomatic advantage and common hostility to the Pope at Avignon occasioned the marriage of the Black Prince's son, Richard II, to John's granddaughter, Anne of Bohemia, a marriage whose felicity afforded the only touch of beauty in an ugly and unhappy reign; it was Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, who was most nearly successful in the vain attempt to destroy the political and religious independence of Bohemia in the Hussite Wars of the fifteenth century. And when again, two hundred years later, the Counter-Reformation and imperial Habsburg ambition mutually threatened the existence of Bohemia, it was with James I of England that the hope of succour lay. There is an interesting parallel between those events of 1618 and those of 1938: on both occasions the vain hope of appeasement brought the sacrifice of conquest and subjection on the Czechs, and on both occasions the fateful decision lay with the rulers of England.

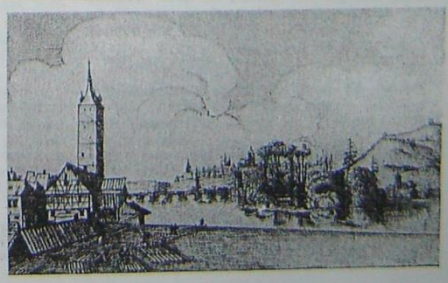
Historical Links

This frequent intermingling of Bohemian and English history is not as strange as it may seem, for the two nations have much in common in their historical development. They both early became unified nation states; they both have been driven to resist throughout their history the establishment of a European hegemony by France or Germany; both early in their history overcame the dangers of feudal oligarchy, and achieved parliamentary institutions which established the basis of a democratic tradition and habit that has been the modern title of both to respect. But it is in the religious development of the two peoples that the similarity is most clearly marked, for together they were the pioneers who first successfully undermined the citadel of the mediaeval Papacy. Many Englishmen are proud to have Wiclif as the "morning star of the Reformation," but few realise that the Czechs established a national Protestant Church a hundred years before Luther became the heir to their labours; fewer still realise that nature of the connection between Wiclif and Huss, the pro-martyr of Protestantism.

It is important first to clear away a misconception, a misconception due to the fact that we in this country have learned what little we do know about Czech history through German channels. Bohemia is so distant, and its language is considered so ludicrously unintelligible that even statesmen and historians have been content to know what little they have thought necessary to know of the Czechs at second hand. It is not only since 1933 that German theories of the relativity of truth have induced them to give the interpretation of history a Teutonic twist, and consequently what the Germans have taught Englishmen about the Czechs has always been distorted by the assumption that all Slavs, and the Czechs in particular, are incapable of any original or valuable contribution to society and civilisation. It is in this spirit that German ecclesiastical historians have interpreted the Czech religious movement of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that is associated with the name of John Huss. They could not ignore the fact of that movement, and therefore they have sought to belittle it by denying all originality to Huss, and by depicting him as a feeble echo of Wiclif (for Wiclif was an Englishman, and therefore a Teuton of sorts, and so not utterly incapable of some measure of genius). For too long this view, that Huss and Hussitism are but an offshoot of Wiclif and Lollardy, has prevailed in England. But of recent years, especially since the liberation of Czech scholarship in 1918, it has become more and more clear that the relations between the reform movement in England and Bohemia is not one of cause and consequence, but rather one of collaboration in a common task.

The Originality of John Huss

Huss and his fellow-reformers hailed Wiclif as a fellow-worker in the vineyard; they admired his scholastic subtlety and his intellectual courage; they were proud to work with his followers in the task of purgation and reconstruction of their Church; he being dead, aided their work, but that work had been begun long before, and was to establish itself in the concrete form of the Utraquists, the Taborites, and the Bohemian Brethren. Lollards and Hussites were collaborators in the creation of that common Protestant tradition which bore fruit in the sturdy democracy of Englishman and Czech alike. That collaboration did not end with the mission of the Lollard Peter Payne to assist the Czechs in the Hussite Wars. It lived on and still continues, for Luther acknowledged his debt to Huss, and Cranmer his to Luther. John Wesley avowedly owed much to the Czech religious exiles he met in Georgia and at Stevenhausen. To-day the University of Prague, where Huss was rector, and whose most treasured possession were the manuscripts of Wiclif's *Dialogues*, awaits the newest fruits of the collaboration of Englishman and Czechs to save it from the annihilating shadow of the Swastika.



Prague

by Wenceslas Hollar
Czech engraver and refugee
in Great Britain,
1607-1677

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Appendix 7 – **The Czechoslovak special issue, pg 4**

MUNICH . . .

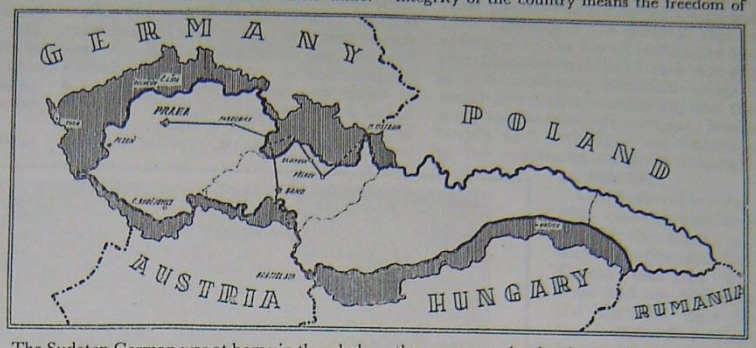
Europe's Fateful Mistake

When the Czechoslovak Army in autumn 1938 abandoned the border territory of the Czech lands, because the Prague Government had had to bow to the decision of Munich, the civilised world did not conceal its admiration for the discipline with which the Czechoslovak nation accepted this blow of fate. But the admiration of the world would have become astonishment had the world been able to realise what despair the nation had to control within itself, for it knew even then that in giving up to the enemy the thousand-year-old frontiers of its country it was in reality giving up the whole country. Elsewhere people thought that it was merely a matter of shifting boundary-posts, transferring square kilometres of land and revising a map. But the Czechs, when they bade farewell to their mountains, were not bidding farewell to their lands alone, but to their freedom, and they knew it. The rest of the world did not realise that until six months later, when the German conqueror dictated his law of slavery and shame from the castle of Prague to the mutilated land. And it was not until after another six months that the world saw that the catastrophe of Czechoslovakia had shaken the whole of Europe, that when her frontiers collapsed other frontiers collapsed too, and that by her sacrifice peace was not preserved but deprived of the protection of an Army of two million men, with splendid equipment and fortifications.

If the liberation of the small nations from German rule and therefore also the restoration of the freedom of the Czechs and the Slovaks is a war aim of the Allied democracies, no one in Czechoslovakia to-day doubts that their freedom will be returned to the Czechs and Slovaks within those frontiers within which they can maintain and defend that freedom. Like all other modifications in the map of Europe, so also the question of the frontiers of Czechoslovakia will certainly be subjected to a new international revision, which will again weigh all the national interests and aspirations on the scales of international expediency. The certainty of the Czechs about their frontiers springs from their conviction that the honest reasons which convinced an international authority after the Great War will also convince the future peace conference—all the more as Hitler by the 15th March, 1939, has enriched these reasons by proof.

For it is indeed no chance that the Czech frontiers are perhaps the oldest frontiers in Europe. It is they that made of the land of Bohemia that indivisible whole which defended its political unity for almost 1,500 years. But it is not only a natural strategic fortress, it is also an indissoluble economic and cultural unit. The close-knit product of the work of so many centuries could not disappear from the world even though it was erased on paper. The Munich map in the name of minority self-determination tore up the main Czech lines of communication and without regard for minority self-determination incorporated almost a million Czechs into the Reich—and yet just before his military invasion of the Czech lands Hitler forced the Czech Government to give a pledge that it would permit no industrial concern in its territory which competed with the imports from the Sudetenland, for the Sudeten German industry cannot live without the Czech consumer and middleman. The so-called amputation of the Sudetenland was not a surgical operation, as was erroneously thought—it was a flaying of the skin from the body after which both body and skin must perish.

Nothing of these facts can be changed by the forcible separation of the German minority in the frontier regions of the Czech lands. A few months of the shouting of Hitler's henchmen could for a time drown, but not silence for ever, the voice of the homeland, which sounds in Czech and German hearts alike.



The Sudeten German was at home in the whole of Bohemia, just as all Czechs will also always be at home on the peaks and slopes of the Bohemian mountains. Even the introductory proclamation of policy in which Henlein offered his leadership of the Czechoslovak Germans speaks of the thousand-year-old community of fate between Czechs and Germans, and if Henlein gained a majority in the Parliamentary elections, he gained it on this loyal programme, and not for the betrayal of this programme of which he was later guilty. We do not wish the Germans to be our serfs, we desire that they should both rule and serve within the framework of our land, as was the case in the Czechoslovak Republic. But that which for the Germans may only have been a rational orientation, which could for a time be confused by the passion of a political campaign from abroad, is for each Czech soul a morally binding destiny, supported by love and conscience. Just because in this case the integrity of the country means the freedom of the country, the lovely quadrilateral of the Bohemian mountains is impressed on the Czech soul as a precious, immutable sign. Englishmen, Frenchmen, peoples throughout the world, it is not possible that you should fail to understand this! That is why no eye in the Czech lands can rest on the mutilated map of Bohemia except hurriedly and with a heart torn with anguish. That is why the Czechs desire to finish the struggle against the infernal monster of Nazism and build up, together with the victorious nations, a new European peace, or rather die in the ranks of the Allies. But we shall not live in servitude, or under the threat of servitude!

j. s.

British Statesmen on Czechoslovakia

"To English ears, the name of Czechoslovakia sounds outlandish. No doubt they are only a small democratic State, no doubt they have an army only two or three times as large as ours, no doubt they have a munitions supply only three times as great as that of Italy, but still they are a virile people: they have their treaty rights, they have a line of fortresses, and they have a strongly manifested will to live freely.

"If a number of states were assembled around Great Britain and France in a solemn treaty for mutual defence against aggression; if they had their forces marshalled in what you may call a Grand Alliance; if they had their Staff arrangements concerted; if all this rested, as it can honourably rest, upon the Covenant of the League of Nations, in pursuance of all the purposes and ideals of the League of Nations; if that were sustained, as it would be, by the moral sense of the world, and if it were done in the year 1938—and, I believe, it may be the last chance there will be for doing it—then I say that you might even now arrest the approaching war."

Winston Churchill

March 14, 1938.

The Munich Agreement

". . . This has not been a victory for reason and humanity. It has been a victory for brute force."

". . . We have seen to-day a gallant, civilised, and democratic people betrayed and handed over to a ruthless despotism. We have seen something more. We have seen the cause of democracy, which is, in our view, the cause of civilisation and humanity, receive a terrible defeat."

". . . I think that in the mind of every thoughtful person in this country when we heard that this settlement had been arrived at at Munich, there was a conflict. On the one hand there was enormous relief that war had been averted, at all events for the time being; on the other hand, there was a sense of humiliation and foreboding for the future."

". . . Many people have been paying tributes to the Prime Minister with great enthusiasm as the man who saved the peace. Yes, but he is the man who brought us into danger of war. I would like to pay tribute on behalf of my friends, and express our sympathy with President Beneš and the people of Czechoslovakia. They have shown marvellous courage and self-control. It is the Czechs who kept the peace of Europe; it is their sacrifice which has averted war.

C. R. Attlee.

October 3, 1938.

"The greatest praise was due to the conduct of the Czechoslovak Government. Nothing could surpass the dignity of President Beneš and his people.

"No one could have felt enthusiasm for the Anglo-French plan. No one contended that the latest agreement was just. We were grateful that it had averted war, but the cost was the gravest injury to a small and friendly nation."

Anthony Eden.

September 24, 1938.

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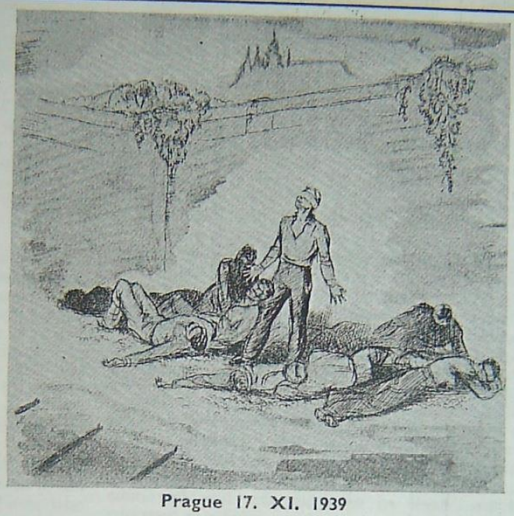
Appendix 8 – **The Czechoslovak special issue, pg 5**

. . . AND AFTER

When Hitler forcibly took the Czech lands under his "protection," he solemnly declared that he would guarantee their independent development and cultural autonomy. By this declaration he still wished to create illusions and deceive the world. The acts which followed this solemn proclamation gave such detailed proof of Nazi oppression and hypocrisy that the world was horrified.

Scarcely had the first German soldiers of the black squadrons of the S.S. entered Prague and the other Czech towns than a terrible series of arrests began, affecting many thousands of Czechs. Many of them have remained in prison, others have been transported to concentration camps in Germany. From the very beginning the Czech nation paid the supreme sacrifice—it gave martyrs for its independence. Now there are some 50,000 Czechs in prisons and concentration camps and about 200,000 Czech workers and intellectuals are working as slaves for the third Reich on forced labour.



Prague 17. XI. 1939

Barbarous arrests and executions.

The brown terror began immediately in March 1939 and reached its climax in the middle of November 1939 when the Nazi conquerors began to murder the Czech students. The Nazis, under the personal leadership of State Secretary K. H. Frank, answered the students' demonstrations, which expressed the Czech people's desire for freedom, not only by a series of barbarous arrests, but also by shooting and execution. Like vandals they destroyed the equipment of the students' hostels in which they then garrisoned their troops, and they took some 1,500 Czech university students to Germany. Immediately afterwards they closed all the Czech Universities for a period of three years in order to deprive the Czech nation of its younger generation of intellectuals and scientists. No one doubted that the closure of the Czech Universities was considered by the Nazis to be final, as was confessed by K. H. Frank when he declared to representatives of the Czech Universities: "If you win the war as allies of Great Britain then you will have as many Universities as you wish to build, if the third Reich wins the war you will no longer need Universities."

The German State Secretary, the real ruler in the Czech lands, thus said openly that the Nazis considered the enslaved nations merely as slave labour without human rights and without any claim to culture. There is no nation which in the Nazi conception is not a mere object of German policy, an object which is to serve solely German interests within the German living space.

Cultural oppression.

Not only the Universities are closed of course, but also many secondary, technical, and elementary schools; in many of them the Germans have garrisoned their troops. Since March 1939 several hundred periodicals have ceased to appear, and the others are subordinated to the Nazi censorship, which sees to it that the Czech people should not learn the truth and should not express any independent thought. The same can be said of all sections of literature and art which are held strictly in the Nazi strait-jacket.

The Nazis did not hesitate to confiscate and destroy hundreds of thousands of books, including even beautiful anthologies and translations of French and English authors. They also brutally attacked the plastic arts, they ruthlessly removed busts and pictures which did not suit the doctrine of Nazism. They are attempting to gain control of music and theatrical life in order to enforce the Nazi pseudo-culture on the Czech nation. How amazing is the political and moral resistance of the Czech nation can best be seen from the fact that Czech cultural life is still producing beautiful works even under the present conditions, and though the Nazis unceasingly complain how stubbornly and invincibly the Czechs cling to the expression of their national and cultural life.

Czechoslovakia was the first non-German country to feel the force of the brown barbarism, but the Czechs and the Slovaks were and are also amongst the first to fight for a new and free Europe. It could not be otherwise in a nation whose whole history is an uninterrupted endeavour to regain its freedom. Just as they are destroying the cultural superstructure the Nazis are endeavouring to gain control of the economic and social foundation.

Economic plundering.

The working class has been deprived of all its social benefits, even of its Trade Union organisations which were amongst the most advanced in Central Europe. The freedom of speech, of assembly, and of association —these were all conceptions which are implacably opposed to Nazism. The whole economic life must work for the German war machine and at the same time the Czech lands must, in addition, pay 46,000,000 crowns per year (about £27,000,000) in war taxes to the Third Reich, on the pretext of so-called Aryanisation. The Nazis have seized possession of all profitable enterprises, they have ruthlessly confiscated and sent to Germany the vast supplies of Czech industry and agriculture so that in a country in which even the Nazi economists formerly admitted that the industry and agriculture were among the best developed in all Europe, want and poverty are now rife. The whole system of economic plundering and social oppression is in precise accordance with the Nazi conception which declares that the economic and political life of the European countries must subordinate itself to German demands and requirements.

Nazi propaganda has long spoken not merely of a new European Order, but also of a new division of the world which would, of course, be dictated by Hitler's Germany. This was the true purpose of the Conference summoned by Hitler to Munich in September 1938.

WHEN THE END OF THE WORLD BEGAN

The Munich crisis of 1938, when, as someone remarked, "the end of our world began," was the turning-point in American foreign policy. From the day late in August, 1938, when the American embassy in Berlin cabled that Adolf Hitler appeared unshakably determined to invade Czechoslovakia, positive and realistic policy-making became unavoidable. For the moment the hope of peace all but ebbed away; and the story of the Munich crisis became the story of the fading of the do-nothing mood among the American policy-makers. (American White Paper.)

Appendix 9 – **The Czechoslovak special issue, pg 6**

THE CZECHOSLOVAKS FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Ten million Czechoslovaks at home and two million Czechoslovaks throughout the world inaugurated the struggle against Nazism at the moment when, on March 15, 1939, the German Army crossed the Czechoslovak frontiers.

At that moment Czechoslovakia could no longer defend herself militarily. The frontiers decided on at Munich were strategically undefendable, the splendid Czechoslovak fortifications and part of the equipment of the Czechoslovak Army were already in the hands of the Germans. Once again in the course of its rich and dramatic history the Czechoslovak nation was struck down to the depths of slavery.

THE FIGHT BEGINS

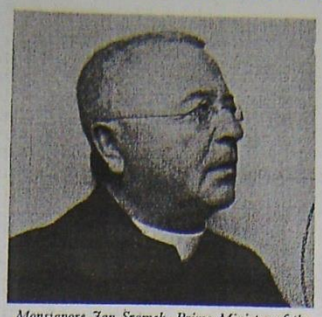
For the third time in the history of Czechoslovakia the best men of the nation went into banishment. In the Thirty Years' War—in 1621—Comenius went into exile, after the outbreak of the First World War—in 1914—Masaryk and Beneš, and after Munich—in 1938—Beneš, one of the founders of the State, again went abroad as an exile.

He did not go alone. A mighty wave of people left their tortured homeland to go abroad, people who were aware that sooner or later it would be necessary to fight against Germany. There were simple people, workers and artisans, who might even have lived under the new conditions in the Protectorate, there were intellectuals, there were professional soldiers—all left, for they all believed that war would come and that they could not stand aside. It was an organised exodus: those remained at home whose task it was to fight on the home front. Those who went abroad knew what was in store for them. They were aware that they would have to volunteer for the French Foreign Legion and wait there until war broke out. But they went away from their country regardless of these gloomy prospects.

FIRST RESULTS

Dr. Edvard Beneš, the Second President of the Republic, was in Chicago when the German army occupied what remained of Czechoslovakia. On the day this happened this man for the second time in his life placed himself at the head of the struggle for the liberation of his country and called on all his countrymen to fight against the Germans. He is considered not only by all the Czechoslovaks abroad but also by the entire Czechoslovak people

Mr. Anthony Eden and M. Jan Masaryk opening the Czechoslovak Institute in London



Monsignore Jan Sramek, Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak provisional government

at home as the leader of the national struggle. The President's appeal had a profound echo among Czechoslovaks throughout the world. In the United States, where there are more than 1½ million Czechoslovaks, both Czechs and Slovaks assembled around the Czechoslovak National Council and organised a new liberation campaign against the Germans, a new struggle for the preservation of democracy in Europe.

A large number of States did not recognise the forcible annexation. Great Britain and her Dominions, the United States, France, Poland, and other States refused to recognise the German barbarism; the Czechoslovak Ministers in various capitals refused to give up the buildings and archives of their Legations. Czechoslovakia, though temporarily occupied, continued and still continues its legal existence as a State.

A NEW CZECHOSLOVAK ARMY

Events soon rushed to their critical climax. The treacherous assault on Czechoslovakia opened the eyes not only of Europe but also of America. The responsible statesmen saw that it was not possible to appease Hitler, that the brown Moloch demanded ever new victims. War broke out, and with it a Czechoslovak Army again appeared on the European stage. In France the Czechoslovak National Committee is set up, a treaty is signed confirming the re-establishment of the Czechoslovak Army. Even before this treaty was signed thousands of Czechoslovaks who wished to fight for their country had volunteered at Czechoslovak consulates. A few months later the Czechoslovak Army intervened in the fighting in France, stood its ground heroically, and is now on British soil as one of the Czechoslovak contributions in the struggle for a free Europe.

A FREE STATE IN MINIATURE

In summer 1940 Great Britain and her Dominions recognised the Czechoslovak Provisional Government. To-day there exists on the free soil of Great Britain a free Czechoslovak State in miniature with all the State institutions of a modern democracy, which will be the embryo of the future free Czechoslovak Republic. This State has its President, its Government and Ministries, it has its Army, its foreign diplomatic representation. It carries on its activities from its own means, and is not financially dependent on anyone. And at the same time all the agents of this Government, from the President down to the soldier of the line, are perfectly aware that they are not here for themselves alone, but that they are the representatives of the people fighting at home.

THE HOME FRONT

The Czechoslovaks at home have not resigned themselves to inaction, and are not waiting for someone to come and rescue them. The activity that goes on in Czechoslovakia to-day is secret and gradual, but it is none the less successful. The Czechoslovak people is waging a genuine war of nerves against the Germans who are maintaining the Czech lands in slavery. In Poland and in Norway the inhabitants were able to convince themselves of the fact that some of the German bombs did not explode. They were universally referred to as "Czech bombs." Similarly many bombs or time bombs which did not explode on English soil, because they were defective, came from Czechoslovak munition factories. The Czechoslovaks sabotage the German war effort wherever it is possible. In factories, on the railways, in offices and workshops they are doing dangerous work; many of them have already sacrificed their lives in it, but they do it, because they know that even the tiniest faulty cog in the German war machine is a weapon in the struggle.

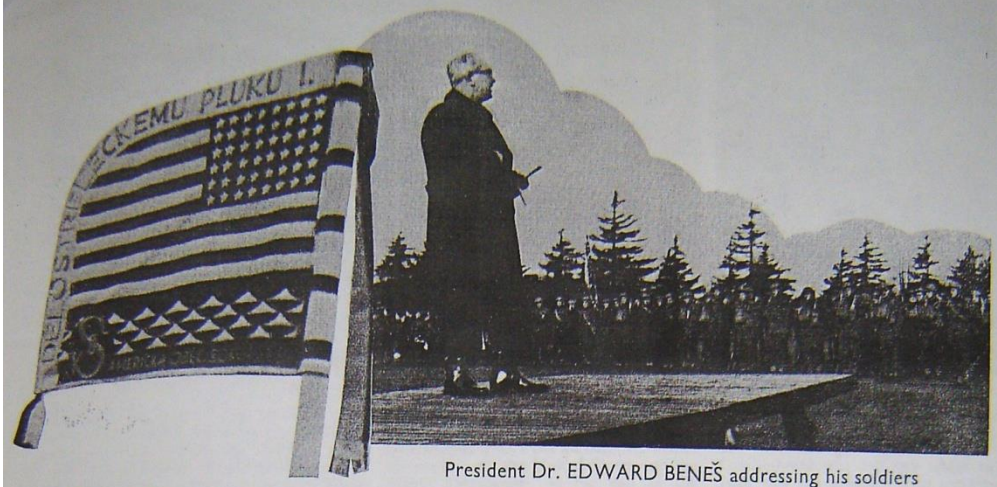
The whole press of the world gave the story of the Czech student who shot and severely wounded some Gestapo agents and who succeeded in escaping; the whole nation helped him in this. We know dozens of other events about which it is not possible to write to-day: each one of them expresses the spirit of implacable resistance.

WHEN THE OLD LEGEND COMES TRUE

In Czechoslovakia the story has been told for centuries of the enchanted knights who sleep within the mountain called Blanik. When the nation is in its sorest straits, it is said, the knights will awake, will sally forth from the mountain and drive the enemy from the land.

We believe that this legend will come true one day. But not because we believe in legends. The Czechoslovak people is disarmed to-day; the Germans have confiscated even old revolvers from the last war, they have even confiscated historic pistols two hundred years old. But one day they will be very surprised when a nation arises against them armed with modern weapons. That will be the new meaning of the old legend. The knights walk in the streets each day beside the German soldiers and agents with clenched fists—they are counting the days and hours. j.l.h.

Appendix 10 – **The Czechoslovak special issue, pg 7**



President Dr. EDWARD BENEŠ addressing his soldiers

THE CZECHOSLOVAK ARMY AND AIR FORCE IN GREAT BRITAIN

Soldiers with tradition and experience

Shortly after the British sailors, airmen and Expeditionary Force had surprised the world by carrying out the heroic evacuation of Dunkirk and rescuing the overwhelming majority of the British Army, let down by its exhausted allies, the Czechoslovak soldiers in France endeavoured to achieve their own Dunkirk. There were relatively few of them, but they were scattered, they did not form an independent unit and only part of them had been sent to the front on the Marne and the Loire. Nevertheless the evacuation of the Czechoslovak units from France to Great Britain, at that time the only country prepared to continue the fight against Hitler, was very difficult and without British help would clearly not have been practicable. After indescribable misfortunes, bloody fighting, tireless diplomatic negotiations between the commanders of the Czechoslovak units with the French, and after a dramatic embarkation in Southern France, the Czechoslovak Army at the end of June and the beginning of July landed on the soil of Great Britain. Not long before this Czechoslovak airmen had landed in the neighbourhood of London; until this time they had fought in France and more than 800 of their companions arrived in Great Britain by ship. Thanks to British-Czechoslovak collaboration free Czechoslovakia was able to continue an effective struggle against Nazi Germany.

To-day, somewhere in England, there is a fine winter camp, in which the Czechoslovak Army, newly equipped, and trained in the use of British weapons, is preparing to play its part in the fighting in whatever way it is called upon to do so. It is a completely self-sufficient Army, motorised to a large extent, and disposing of its own artillery. They are experienced soldiers, many of whom went through the last war and travelled round the world as Czechoslovak legionaries. All of them entered the Czechoslovak Army with the fervour of sons of a nation shamefully oppressed by Hitler, all are determined to avenge the murdered Prague students and their fathers, brothers or sons who are being tortured by the Gestapo in concentration camps. Their companions in the various British air force stations

H.M. King George VI decorating Czechoslovak airman

President Dr. E. Beneš; General W. Sikorski, Polish Prime Minister; and General S. Ingr, Czechoslovak Minister of National Defence

Mrs. Hana Beneš, President of Czechoslovak Red Cross

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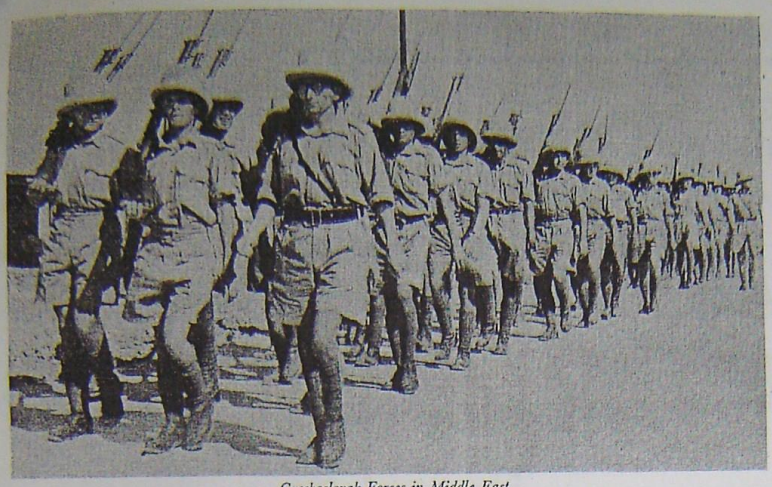
Appendix 11 – **The Czechoslovak special issue, pg 8**

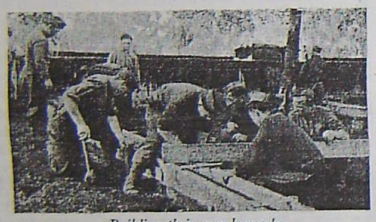


Czechoslovak Forces in Middle East

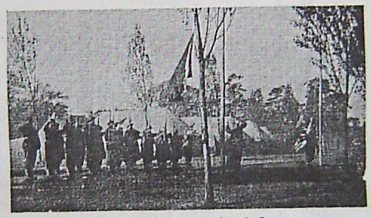
Mr. Anthony Eden with General Miroslav

have already for several months been taking part in battles above Great Britain and in raids on Berlin, German aerodromes and ports in the occupied countries.

The Czechoslovak Army and Air Force in Great Britain have an old and rich tradition. The Czechoslovak people has often in the past centuries been forced to defend itself against Pan-German expansion by force of arms. Five hundred years ago an army arose in the Czech lands, spiritually led by the reformer John Huss, Wycliffe's pupil and militarily organised by the shrewd and hard general, Jan Zizka. This army inflicted incredible defeats on the German forces which were spreading the counter-reformation throughout Central Europe, although they were much smaller in numbers than the Germans. Twenty-six years ago, when the Germans had once more come to the opinion that they would be the rulers of Europe, Czechs and Slovaks escaped abroad, individually and in whole regiments, and founded their own army abroad in the shape of the legions which fought beside the Allies in France, Italy and Russia. These legions were also joined by Czechoslovaks from all over the world, especially from the United States and the British Dominions. At the end of the World War almost 150,000 Czechoslovak soldiers were fighting beside the Allies; they were led by T. G. Masaryk, later the first President of the Czechoslovak Republic. To-day the second Czechoslovak Army abroad, which has found its way to Great Britain, is led by the Czechoslovak President, Dr. Edvard Beneš.



Building their own barracks



Hoisting the Czechoslovak flag

The new Czechoslovak Army proudly remembers that the Czechoslovak Army in the free Republic, 1,500,000 strong, was the only one in Europe which during the Central European crisis in 1938 wished to stand up to Nazi blackmail. It prepared for this conflict for years, for it believed that war with Nazism was inevitable. And it was equipped for this struggle with all the technical possibilities of the vast Czechoslovak war industry which before 1938 was the greatest arms exporter in the world, surpassing even Great Britain and the United States. But when Hitler had seized Czechoslovakia after it had been rendered incapable of resistance by the Munich Agreement he made use of the best Czechoslovak armaments against France. Tanks from the Skoda works and anti-aircraft guns stolen by Hitler in Czechoslovakia unfortunately helped Nazism to victory in the summer of 1940.

To-day the Czechoslovak Army is no longer as numerous as it would like to be in this struggle against the barbarians of Berlin. This is due to no fault of Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless the Czechoslovak soldiers, dressed in British battledress, are among the most loyal and readiest Allies of Great Britain. When the war reaches the psychological moment at which it will be possible and necessary to deal Nazi Germany the final and decisive blow, the whole Czechoslovak Army will once again arise in its former strength, in order to hasten the victory of the Allies on the soil of the temporarily destroyed Republic.

tx.

Czechoslovak Airmen in Great Britain

Czechoslovak Airmen served first in the French Air Force; when France capitulated they came to Great Britain and joined the R.A.F. Here they are with President dr. Edvard Beneš—and keeping their spirits high.

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Appendix 12 – **The Czechoslovak special issue, pg 9**

A Comrade

Today, unfortunately, we can only remember you. You were young for the duty of a flying instructor—only twenty-one years of age; but your exceptional abilities, which we had the opportunity of seeing after we came from France, and when you instructed us in flying English aircraft, and your thousand flying hours were the best proof of your efficiency.

We thoroughly understood your disappointment in not being able to take part in the operational duties against enemy aircraft which were carried out by your comrades, whom you trained for that purpose. We also thoroughly understood how pleased you were to be posted to the First Czechoslovak Fighter Squadron.

We remember your daily: "Nazdar Evžen" How your smiling face was worried when you said to us in Czech: "Jarda is missing." You did not need to tell us that you would avenge him, we knew that. We knew your magnificent fighting spirit.

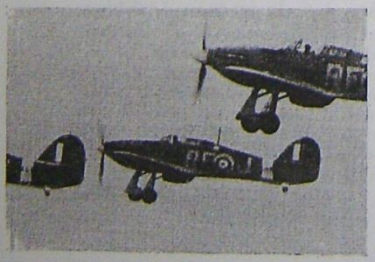
We did not know how we lost you. We returned one after another from the whirl of aircraft, fire, smoke and shells. We waited for you the whole evening on September 9th, the next day—and the day after.

You did not come. You have gone before us.

We shall avenge you, Boulton. We know how you avenged the death of our comrade —the first Czechoslovak pilot to lose his life in this Squadron. We saw how in your first aerial combat you shot the "111" to pieces —for Jarda.

The six Germans that we brought down in the battle you lost your life in was the first part of our revenge for your young life. You sacrificed your life for the same ideals that are written in the souls and burn in the hearts of the

Pilots of 1st Czechoslovak Fighter Squadron in England



Remarkable Anabasis of the Czechoslovak Army and Air Force before they joined the Allies in France and Great Britain.

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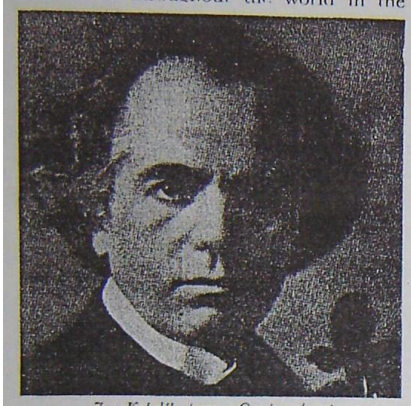
Appendix 13 – **The Czechoslovak special issue, pg 10**

Czechoslovak Music

The Czechoslovaks have given the world a whole line of composers who are among the greatest in the whole history of the music of the world. Bedřich Smetana (1824–1884) wrote eight operas, the most famous of which is *The Bartered Bride*, as well as the cycle of symphonic poems *Má vlast* (My Country) and many songs and works of chamber music. Smetana overcame the tragic fate of his life—at the height of his powers Smetana became deaf and finally went mad—by the sublime message of his music, which expresses the soundness and vital optimism of the Czech spirit. Antonín Dvořák also (1841–1904), the centenary of whose birth will be celebrated throughout the world in the



Jan Kubelík, famous Czech violinist

autumn of this year, is above all the composer of the young, elemental, dance-loving optimism of the Czech race and of the simple and profound piety of the country from which Dvořák came. In his nine visits to England Dvořák gained greater fame in this country than any other foreign composer who visited England. The University of Cambridge awarded Dvořák an honorary Doctorate of Music. Of the other Czech composers Zdeněk Fibich (1850–1900) enriched music by his delicate compositions of a subjective tone, J. B. Forster (born 1859) by compositions of intimate musical lyricism, Leoš Janáček (1854–1928) in particular by a number of operas in which, by making use of elements from popular music, he gave expression to Slavonic temperament and directness. The romantic Vítězslav Novák, whose melodious music is calm and balanced, Dvořák's son-in-law Josef Suk, Otakar Ostrčil with his rich store of melody, and others form a further generation of famous musicians, which is then followed by the youngest musical generation of Czechoslovakia. This also can show many names that are known to-day in the musical world far beyond the frontiers of Czechoslovakia. To them belong, for instance, Otokar Jeremiáš, B. Martinů; the composer of music in quarter tones, Alois Hába; the simple and warm-hearted Jaroslav Křička; the composer of the opera *Svanda the Bagpiper*, Jaromír Weinberger, whose works are also known in England; the eminent pioneer of theatrical music E. F. Burian, and many others. vf.

Antonin Sova:

ALDER TREES

Ye alder trees, to me how dear,
At eve, with fragrant coolness near,
When o'er the water bent alone,
Your shadow here and there was thrown.

Somewhere the fishers' voices trailing,
Within the depths of night are quailing;
The mill-sails, as they rustle low,
Have stirred within me old-time woe.

Among the reeds a snipe, black, speck,
The pond with ripples did bedeck;
And likewise in my soul, meseems,
Has strayed the bird of golden dreams.

From "My Country" (1893)

KAREL ČAPEK

There are few authors, living or dead, from whose works I have derived more enjoyment than I have from those of Karel Čapek. On that ground alone it was a great satisfaction to be his English publisher. But when I go on to say that there was never a moment when our relationship was not a happy one, it will be seen that Čapek made it a pleasure as well as a privilege to publish for him. We neither of us made a fortune out of the English editions of his books because, with one or two exceptions, e.g. "The Gardener's Year," they have not thus far enjoyed anything like the sale they deserved. Surprisingly enough, they were for the most part even less successful in the United States. His novels were too subtle to force their way into popularity with the conventional public. Had he lived he would undoubtedly have written a "best-seller," though by accident rather than design, because he so obviously wrote what pleased him as an artist. If but one of his novels had sold largely in England and America, all his books, and not merely a couple of plays, would have received from the masses the attention and applause accorded them by the intelligent minority.

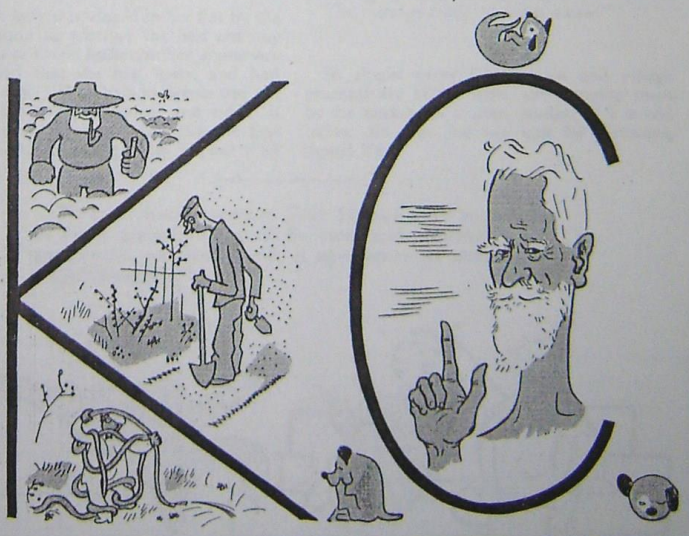
It will be observed that I used the phrase "thus far," because I still believe that, like the race to which he was so proud to belong, his work has a future before it. That he was a literary genius of the first rank I have never doubted. Were I asked what were the features about him which impressed me most forcibly, I should answer—his simplicity, his vitality, his uncanny intuition and psychological insight.

On my office desk I have always in front of me some words I hastily copied down when reading the typescript of one of his novels—probably "An Ordinary Life." They are as follows:

"God, how simple is the prescription for a happy life; to do what we have to, out of love for the thing."

I loved publishing for Čapek, and it certainly brought me happiness to do so.

Stanley Unwin



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Appendix 14 – **The Czechoslovak special issue, pg 11**

LITERATURE ON CZECHOSLOVAK AFFAIRS

Dr. E. Beneš:
Democracy Today and Tomorrow 7/6
Nazi Barbarism in Czechoslovakia 6d.
Czechoslovakia's Second Struggle for Freedom 9d.
Dr. G. W.:
German Cultural Oppression in Czechoslovakia 6d.
R. Birley:
Czechoslovakia 3d.
Dr. J. Stránsky:
Munich, Europe's Fateful Mistake 1d.
B. Beneš:
Czechoslovakia, its Sacrifice and Future 1/-
J. Hronek:
It Happened in Czechoslovakia 6d.
The Central European Observer (a Fortnightly)
Subscription, 6 months 3/6
The Spirit of Czechoslovakia (a Monthly)
Subscription, 12 months 3/-
A series of post-cards by Szobel, the Soldier-Artist each 2d.

We shall be glad to give information about Czechoslovak political and literary works published by British publishers and to carry out orders.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK
54, Keswick Road, London, S.W.15

We can speak English.

Do You Know That . . .

. . . The first Czech book on history was written in 1045 by the historian Cosmas?

. . . the oldest church in Prague dates from 894?

. . . the City of Prague was at the beginning of the XIIIth century already built of "stone and mortar," as reported by Ibrahim ben Jakub, the Spanish merchant.

. . . the first university on the continent after Paris and Leipzig was founded in Prague in 1348 by Charles IV?

. . . the famous leader of the Czech "Hussites," Jan Žizka, was in reality the first inventor of tanks? He filled big carts with stones and let them down the hill against the enemy.

. . . the Czech King, George of Poděbrady, invited the European rulers to form a league of peace, a forerunner of the League of Nations, already in 1452?

. . . Hieronymus of Prague, a follower of Wycliff and John Huss, studied at the University of Oxford before 1415?

. . . all the works of William Shakespeare have been translated into Czech, and some of them twice?

. . . good King Wenceslas was a real Czech King, who died in 929?

. . . the English poetess Elizabeth Weston lived and died in Prague in 1612?

. . . in 1619 Elizabeth of England married Frederick of the Palatinate and became Queen of Bohemia?

. . . since January 1, 1938, more than 120 books dealing with Czechoslovakia have been published in Great Britain?

And they can still laugh

An English lady told us, just a few days ago, that the sense of humour is what brings Czechoslovaks and British nearer together.

It seems that our English friend was right. Because even under the heels of the Nazis —Czechoslovaks still preserve their humour. Judge for yourself:

"The wood shortage in England is so great that the English are forced to make their clothes out of other materials, even from wool!"

*

"The Führer has been deprived of his driving licence because he turned so sharply to the left that he broke his axis."

*

"Which planes use most petrol, the English or the German? The English, of course, because they make return flights, while the German ones usually make only the single journey."

*

"Hitler has bought a diving suit . . . he wishes to inspect his fleet."

*

"A Czech lady was visited in her flat by the Gestapo, inquiring whether she had not any secret letters or illegal leaflets in her possession. She answered that she had none, and had never read any. The Gestapo agents did not want to believe this statement and said: 'If you really have not, you would be the first woman in the Protectorate who has not read any illegal leaflets, newspapers, or proclamations.'"

*

"A Czech guest leaving a Prague restaurant one evening calls out 'Goodnight: now I am going to listen to London wireless.' Two Gestapo agents, of course, follow him, but when they come to inspect his flat, they cannot find any wireless receiver. 'Do you never listen to the foreign wireless?' they ask, surprised. The Czech bends down to the ground and says: 'That's London there.' Whereupon the Gestapo agents hurry round to the neighbouring flats, only to find in one of them, a high official of the S.S. German administration, and in the other, next door, a German officer in uniform, listening to London broadcasts."

*

And these are not jokes;

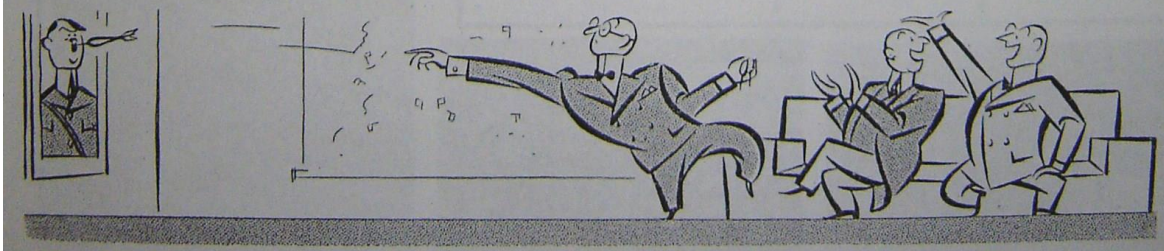
The town of Říčany, near Prague, has recently been ordered to pay a fine of 20,000 crowns because for some days it took no steps to remove an offensive message written on a hoarding by some local urchin.

The message read, "Adolf is a cow."

*

In almost every Czech town and village peasants are killing hens, and hanging them by the neck with a note, reading: "I would rather die than lay my eggs for Germans, signed Hen."

We read that pictures of Herr Hitler have been hung in every state building of Bohemia and Moravia. The moustache, we understand, is now generally accepted as "double twenty." Punch



Appendix 15 – **The Czechoslovak special issue, pg 12**

"Čechoslovák", Independent Weekly. B. Beneš, Editor. Offices: 54 Keswick Road, London, S.W.15
Printed in Great Britain by Unwin Brothers Limited, London and Woking

Appendix 16 – **The Times (5th September 1939, pg 9)**

The Times, Sep 05, 1939; pg. 9; Issue 48402; col F

Refugees' Services *V. A. CAZALET.*

Category: Letters to the Editor

Full Text: Copyright 1939, The Times

REFUGEES' SERVICES

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—The position and fate of refugees in wartime must be a difficult one—difficult for the Government which has given them hospitality: tragic for the refugees themselves.

All refugees, not being British subjects, must presumably be potential internees. To intern 50,000 refugees would in itself be a large and expensive undertaking, and in the case of the great majority entirely unnecessary.

Rather than intern them we should endeavour to utilize their services. Practically every refugee is, I believe, not only willing but anxious to serve the country which has given them asylum. Many could join the fighting Services, some are expert pilots, others can make their contributions in work " behind the lines." There will be opportunities for all except a very small minority, whom no doubt the authorities have already under supervision.

How can this utilization of refugee man-power be best carried into effect ?

I suggest that the Government should create three advisory committees—one for the Czechs, one for the Austrians, and one for the German Jewish refugees. I hope that Mr. J. Masaryk could be persuaded to preside over the Czech Committee, Sir George Franckenstein over the Austrian Committee, and a representative body of Jews deal with the German Committee. Naturally the Government must retain full and final responsibility, but these committees could do much to sift advice and guarantee their respective country.

Such a scheme would, I am convinced, be welcomed by the refugees themselves and by public opinion here. It relieves the Government to a very considerable degree in dealing with the problem of refugees in wartime: it makes the refugees largely responsible themselves for their own people, and it will prevent the internment of large numbers of indi-

will prevent the internment of large numbers of individuals whose only wish is to serve England. In other words, it gives to the refugees the opportunity of joining us in hastening the arrival of that day when they will be able freely and peacefully to return to the land of their birth, from which they have been so cruelly driven. Yours truly,

V. A. CAZALET, Chairman of Parliamentary Refugee Committee.

House of Commons, Sept. 3.

Appendix 17 – **The Times (10th July 1940, pg 5)**

rticle 1

The Times, Jul 10, 1940; pg. 5; Issue 48664; col F
Czech Soldiers From France Ready For Action Again Ir

Category: News
Full Text: Copyright 1940, The Times

Article 1

READY FOR ACTION AGAIN IN GREAT BRITAIN

A TALE OF HIGH ADVENTURE

The dramatic story of the withdrawal of the Czecho-Slovak air and land forces from France after Marshal Pétain's surrender was revealed by the Czecho-Slovak authorities in London yesterday. The understanding shown by the British authorities and the help given by the British Navy produced another Dunkirk epic, this time over a scattered area reaching from the shores of the Atlantic as far as the western Mediterranean shores of France. History repeats itself. Czecho-Slovak legions from Russia thrust their way to Vladivostok across revolutionary Russia in 1918-19. The adventurous escape from France of numbers of Czecho-Slovak airmen, many of them decorated aces of the French Air Force, makes a special chapter in a new tale.

When Pétain requested an armistice the gaze of all responsible Czecho-Slovaks was anxiously directed towards their [illegible] army, which was loyally fighting to the last moment with its French Ally. At times the situation of the units mingled with French divisions seemed to be almost hopeless. Had there been no British Navy thousands of Czecho-Slovak soldiers, with hundreds of political leaders and other civil refugees, would have been delivered up to Nazi torture.

THE AIRMEN'S ESCAPE

Most of the airmen were engaged in severe fighting until the French capitulation; some were in training centres in south-west France. Immediately on the capitulation the British Air Ministry informed the Czecho-Slovak authorities in London that it would bring to England all their airmen; and the B.B.C. broadcast the necessary instructions. On the second day after the armistice some of the airmen arrived in England in a British bomber piloted by a British airman. Others succeeded in escaping the severe control of the French and landed that same night on British soil. A number flew to North Africa. The rest assembled at two Atlantic ports. Several hundred who came to Britain had adventurous and even heroic experiences on the way. Many of them have shared in heavy fighting with the Germans and are eager to add their strength to that of the R.A.F., according to the message of Dr. Benesh on June 19, when he declared: "We are remaining here and shall remain here to fight for our future together with Great Britain, this great nation, however [illegible]

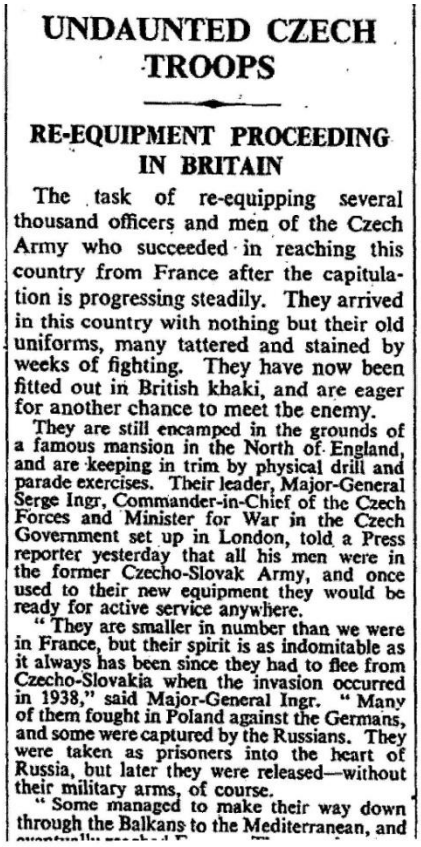
by their Russian allies and left on the battlefield with the disintegrating Tsarist army behind them. This time at the River Loire the Czechs mastered the situation again with the help of the British Admiralty and War Office. Direct contact with the Czecho-Slovak units and General Ingr was established at once. Instructions where they were to assemble and where British ships would be waiting for them were flashed to France. After numerous complications it was decided that the assembled soldiers should be evacuated from a certain French port. The first two transports embarked the first contingent. Two other ships, however, could not wait for the arrival of other units which were coming from the front, for they expected the signature of the armistice with Italy, and there was a danger that they would be detained. The critical moment arrived with those units [illegible] still far from the coast. The French forbade all embarcation. General Ingr stayed on shore with his staff of 60 officers and waited for his remaining soldiers, fearing that after all their sufferings there would be no ships to take them to safety. He therefore negotiated with the French High Command for the hastening of the units and for permission to leave. Permission being at last given, the two regiments, now arrived from the front, were embarked. They were exhausted by their hard fighting and tiring marches, and deprived of comrades fallen on French soil.

TO FIGHT ANEW

The evacuation was completed. Two Czecho-Slovak military camps were prepared in this country: one for the air force and one for the army. The understanding shown by the British authorities and the admirable help given by the British Navy in what sometimes seemed a hopeless situation will remain a lasting proof of the solidarity between a big and a small nation in the common struggle against Nazism.

The army which now lives to fight anew has a remarkable history. Deprived of their State in March, 1939, some hundreds of officers, n.c.o.s, and men escaped through Poland; they were directed by secret organizations in Czecho-Slovakia, and made their way to the West and to other countries. Many entered the French Foreign Legion under the condition that they should be transferred to their own

Appendix 18 – **The Times (2nd August 1940, pg 9)**



UNDAUNTED CZECH TROOPS

RE-EQUIPMENT PROCEEDING IN BRITAIN

The task of re-equipping several thousand officers and men of the Czech Army who succeeded in reaching this country from France after the capitulation is progressing steadily. They arrived in this country with nothing but their old uniforms, many tattered and stained by weeks of fighting. They have now been fitted out in British khaki, and are eager for another chance to meet the enemy.

They are still encamped in the grounds of a famous mansion in the North of England, and are keeping in trim by physical drill and parade exercises. Their leader, Major-General Serge Ingr, Commander-in-Chief of the Czech Forces and Minister for War in the Czech Government set up in London, told a Press reporter yesterday that all his men were in the former Czecho-Slovak Army, and once used to their new equipment they would be ready for active service anywhere.

"They are smaller in number than we were in France, but their spirit is as indomitable as it always has been since they had to flee from Czecho-Slovakia when the invasion occurred in 1938," said Major-General Ingr. "Many of them fought in Poland against the Germans, and some were captured by the Russians. They were taken as prisoners into the heart of Russia, but later they were released—without their military arms, of course.

"Some managed to make their way down through the Balkans to the Mediterranean, and

Appendix 19 – **The Times (19th July 1945, pg 3)**

R.A.F. CZECHS GOING HOME

AIRCRAFT TO BE TAKEN

FROM OUR AERONAUTICAL CORRESPONDENT

A message from our Special Correspondent in Prague yesterday indicated that the inability of the Czechoslovak squadrons in the R.A.F. to return home in time to celebrate on their own soil the fifth anniversary of their formation, causing the cancellation of plans for a parade, has caused general disappointment in the capital.

Inquiries at the Air Ministry in London yesterday elicited the information that there are no difficulties in the way of the Czech squadrons' return. They are at present in England, and preparations for their departure are almost complete. The squadrons will be taking with them all their equipment, including aircraft, and the movement of such a bulk of material inevitably entails some delay.

The Czech airmen will carry with them the good wishes and admiration of their R.A.F. colleagues. During the war against Germany Czechoslovak fighter pilots and bomber crews won a high reputation for their skill and courage, and made a useful contribution to the allies' success in the air war. They will leave behind them in Britain many friends in all the R.A.F. Commands.

Appendix 20 – **The Times (7th August 1940, pg 9)**

CZECH AIRMEN ON SERVICE AGAIN

TWO SQUADRONS VISITED BY DR. BENESH

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

AUG. 6

Dr. Benesh reviewed to-day at two separate stations of the R.A.F. a bomber squadron and a fighter squadron composed of Czech airmen who have arrived in this country since the capitulation of France. Many of these men won proud records during their service in France, and when that country was overrun they flew their machines to Morocco in the firm conviction that France would continue to fight from her African possessions. Then they were brought by the British Navy to this land, where the cause of freedom is still upheld.

To-day Dr. Benesh, President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, has brought a message of hope and encouragement to these fellow-countrymen of his. He has been among them not only as the leader of their nation, addressing them as they stood on parade, but also as a friend talking freely with them individually in their own quarters at the aerodrome. It has been a proud day for them and for their national leader.

SUCCESSES IN FRANCE

At the close of Dr. Benesh's visit to the fighter squadron there was a display of formation flying, and here at least was a brilliant demonstration of the practical skill of our Allies in the air. In both these squadrons the men are all skilled airmen of the Czecho-Slovak Air Force. They had a considerable share of the 102 aeroplanes shot down in France by Czecho-Slovak pilots. One man among them accounted for 14 and was specially praised by the French authorities. Another, a young pilot of 27, brought down eight German aeroplanes in France and was himself shot down once. He wears the Military Medal and the Croix de Guerre. In the fighter squadron these enthusiastic men are particularly pleased with the fighters which they are now learning to fly.

Instruction at the flying schools for these Czech airmen has its own difficulties. They might at first sight seem insuperable, but it is really remarkable how the determination of these men surmounts them. Few of them spoke in English when first they arrived here. The commanding officer of the bomber station still transacts most of his business with the Czech squadron leader in the Russian tongue. The men are learning English as quickly as they are learning all the technical details of their new aeroplanes. Some of them are still in the French uniforms with which they were equipped in France and a few only have their original Czech uniforms. The majority, however, are now in R.A.F. blue and will eventually wear a special distinguishing badge. The R.A.F. officers who are training these two squadrons speak very highly of their general spirit and of their eagerness to learn.

DR. BENESH in his address to the airmen said they were taking a lead in the war against Germany, and he spoke with absolute confidence of the victory that would come to their arms. It was, he reminded them, the first time since their mobilization after the crisis of 1938 that he had met them. He was supreme commander of the Czech Forces, and he had received from their flying officers excellent reports of them. He thanked them in the name of their nation, whose interests they could only defend and whose liberty they could only restore under the leadership of Great Britain.

Appendix 21 – **The Times (27th August 1940, pg 4)**

FIGHT AT 30,000 FEET

ENEMY AIRCRAFT IN THREE WAVES

CZECHS IN ACTION

The Air Ministry News Service stated last night that three waves of German bombers and fighters were thrown against South and South-East England yesterday. The first, at noon, attacked a Kentish town and aerodrome; the second, about 2.30, came in across the Thames Estuary to Essex and Sussex; the third, shortly after 4, raided the Portsmouth area.

Spitfires, Hurricanes, and Defiants fought three battles against them, destroying 37 of the enemy—according to reports up to 8 p.m. Nine of our pilots are missing.

The new Czech squadron was in action. During the second battle over East Anglia its machines shot down a Dornier 215 and an Me110. It was their first engagement since they fought against the Germans over France before finding their way to England by way of North Africa.

OVER CANTERBURY

This morning's first wave of raiders spread themselves along the Kent coast, flying inland over Canterbury. Once again single-seater Me. 109 fighters were used as bombers. A Spitfire squadron came across some of them bombing Folkestone. While one Spitfire flight climbed to deal with the Me.s higher up the other dived down on the fighter-bombers. A sergeant-pilot of this squadron, who on Saturday shot down five raiders, yesterday destroyed two more. He said:—" I caught one Me. 109 as it was trying to bomb the town. Then I went after another one further down and gave him a quick burst. He immediately caught fire, and I saw him crash a mile off Folkestone."

Most of the raiders came inland at a great height. Spitfires had to climb from 18,000ft. up to 30,000ft. to attack Me. 109s and He. 113s, which were protecting a formation of 30 Junkers 88 bombers. Defiants met nine Dornier 17 bombers at 13,000ft. as they approached Dover. They shot down three, probably four, of them.

The second battle in the early afternoon was fought partly over the Thames Estuary and partly inland over Essex and Sussex. Aerodromes were the enemy's objective. A German bomber and fighter formation, which was attacked by the Czechs, among others, was between 60 and 80 strong. Hurricane pilots dived on an Me. fighter formation before it could reach the Essex coast and sent three of the raiders crashing into the sea.

A CANADIAN SUCCESS

The new squadron of Canadian pilots, with their Canadian-built Hurricanes, also took part in this second fight. Like the Czechs, they met a formation of Dornier bombers above the clouds. After their attack they saw the crew bale out of one Dornier. Another dived out of control through the clouds below. A Hurricane pilot of another squadron watched his second victim, an Me.109 bomber, drop into the cloud with cowling shot away and cooling mixture pouring out. His last glimpse was of the German pilot climbing out of the cockpit.

Appendix 22 - **The Times (24th October 1940, pg 2)**

Home News

BRITAIN'S AIR STRENGTH

AN OVERSEA FORCE

MINISTER ON REASONS FOR CONFIDENCE

Captain Harold Balfour, M.P., Under-Secretary of State for Air, in a speech at a luncheon at the Overseas Club yesterday, said that looking at the air battle of Britain we could weld our hard—nay, fierce—determination with resolute confidence at the position we hold to-day. He said, "You may ask: What are the reasons which let me say we are entitled to this confidence?"

First, there was never a force proved more challenging to the powers of Nazi evil than our Royal Air Force. There had never been a force which could claim so strongly to be an oversea force, in the true sense of the word, as could our R.A.F. Before the war 20 per cent. of the pilots who joined were from the Dominions. To-day that proportion was higher, and a growing one. A few days ago the first—the Eagle—squadron of volunteers from the United States was formed in this country. Our squadrons daily fought alongside units of the Polish, Czech, and Free-French Forces. Now to these must be added the stream that is starting from the Empire Training Scheme, which would grow into a torrent of young men from our Dominions volunteering to cross the seas to help us.

Appendix 23 – **The Times (31st July, 1942, pg 2)**

BRITISH PILOTS' HELP TO CZECH COMRADES

WAR CROSSES CONFERRED

Dr. Benesh, President of the Czechoslovak Republic, held an investiture in London yesterday and conferred the Czechoslovak War Cross on Wing-Commander Max Aitken, D.F.C., Squadron Leader J. A. F. Maclachlan, D.S.O., D.F.C., and Flight Lieutenant Karel Kuttelwascher, D.F.C.

Wing Commander Aitken, the decree stated, "trained the Czechoslovak airmen placed under him in such a way that under his command they made remarkable progress in night fighting and achieved successes in night aerial battle." Squadron Leader Maclachlan greatly helped several Czechoslovak pilots in his night fighter squadron with "his wealth of experience." "In the fighting action together with the Czechoslovak night fighters he showed his high fighting qualities and comradeship, thanks to which Flight Lieutenant Kuttelwascher in particular gained his outstanding successes."

Flight Lieutenant Kuttelwascher, it was stated, "always showed great fighting qualities, determination, tireless devotion, coolness, and personal bravery." Among those present at the investiture were M. Masaryk, Dr. Ripka, General Nizborsky, and Air Vice Marshal Sir Karel Janousek.

Appendix 24 - **The Times (29th October 1940, pg 7)**

DETERMINATION OF THE CZECHS

INDEPENDENCE DAY IN LONDON

Yesterday was the twenty-second anniversary of the Czechoslovak Independence Day. In the morning the President, Dr. Benesh, attended by the Prime Minister and members of his Government and the Commander-in-Chief of the Czechoslovak Army, laid a wreath at the Cenotaph, and later received members of his Government and officials. In the afternoon the Archbishop of York preached at a special service in St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and prayers were recited in Czech by Dr. F. M. Hnik.

Among the crowded congregation at St. Martin-in-the-Fields were the Czechoslovak Minister, members of the Czechoslovak Government, and Czech soldiers and airmen serving with the Allied Forces.

The ARCHBISHOP of YORK (Dr. Temple) said that in this country we might surely observe that commemoration with a special sense of unity between the two countries that arose not only from our alliance in the present war, but from a connexion stretching far back into history which had at all times been at once political and religious.

Lord Cranborne, Secretary of State for the Dominions, broadcast a tribute to the Czechoslovak people in the Home Service last night. "The British people has a special sympathy with the Czechoslovaks," he said, "not merely on account of their cruel sufferings, but still more because so many of us feel that, in the 20 years of its free existence, Czechoslovakia, in spite of great difficulties, made great progress towards the establishment of those principles in which we also believe and for which we have always been ready to fight. Much of this progress was the work of one very great man, Thomas Masaryk.

"I should like to pay tribute to the dauntless courage and persistent determination of the Czechoslovak people. In this country we have welcomed a Provisional Czechoslovak Government, headed by men who were among Masaryk's chief lieutenants, and including as its Foreign Minister his son. The Czechoslovak airmen and soldiers, who have joined us here, have had perilous escapes and made hazardous journeys to do so. Already their airmen are doing great things in the Allied cause. Their army stands at our side to help repel any invasion of this country, and later they will go forth to play their part in restoring the cause of liberty in Czechoslovakia and throughout Europe."

Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and of the World Zionist Organization, has sent the following message to Dr. Benesh:—"To you as the leader of the Czechoslovak nation I send my warmest wishes for the future. The enslavement of your country was the beginning of the European catastrophe; its liberation will be the sign that the cause of freedom has triumphed."

Appendix 25 - **The Times (14th March 1941, pg 5)**

ALLIES IN THE AIR WAR

BUILDING AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE

A PATTERN OF COLLABORATION

From Our Aeronautical Correspondent

When they first arrived in this country, often after adventurous and roundabout journeys, there was, of necessity, a period during which men for the Allied air forces were got together and moulded into national groups. By no means all had managed to reach England as complete units, with their own ground and maintenance staffs. Even where these existed there were, perhaps, too many mechanics and not enough riggers, or vice versa; no ground wireless operators; too many or too few senior n.c.o.s, and so on. All these preliminary difficulties had to be smoothed out, but with good will all round it has been achieved. One of the greatest difficulties was presented by a fairly general inability to speak English. No matter how experienced as fliers or engineers the Dutch, the Poles, Czechs, Norwegians, Belgians, and Free French might be, they could not as a general rule start training in Royal Air Force methods until they had gained some knowledge of the English language. Most of them have shown a surprising aptitude for the English tongue, but the problem still remains, though in a greatly modified form. It is being steadily overcome by regular lessons at R.A.F. stations, by the use of gramophone records, carefully prepared literature, and by social contacts with English people. In all these matters much help has been given by the British Council.

As soon as they had acquired a working knowledge of English the men were ready for training. Many had had considerable experience of their trade or profession in their own countries, and for these conversion courses were arranged. Others were semi-trained, and they took up the R.A.F. curriculum at the appropriate stage. All the Allied airmen were tested to discover the types of aircraft for which they were best suited, and gradually, after a great deal of hard work, what had at first seemed an almost insoluble problem solved itself. Many of the airmen have been taking part in operations long enough to have distinguished themselves as fighter pilots or members of bomber crews, and several have earned British decorations for outstanding achievements. Others are now settling down with operational squadrons. From time to time more of their fellow-countrymen reach Britain to give their services. Many of them were living in other parts of the world when the Germans overran their homeland, and

France while flying with the French. Quite a number of the Polish airmen have 10 or more victories to their credit. One squadron claims more than 150 victims, 127 of which were obtained between August and the beginning of October last year. Other Poles have become successful bomber pilots and crews, and one squadron is now being trained to cooperate with Polish troops who are now in this country. Some are assisting the Air Transport Auxiliary in ferrying duties. In addition to proving themselves first-class fliers the Poles have built up an enviable reputation for the high standard of their ground work.

CZECH CRAFTSMEN

The Czechs, too, have shown a natural aptitude for aero-engineering, which is not surprising, for many of them had been craftsmen in the Skoda works. Their greatest success has been won as fighter pilots. One squadron alone gained more than 50 victories in the heavy fighting over South-East England last summer. Czech bomber crews have helped in the offensive against Germany and are doing a share of the shorter range raids on the invasion ports. Their determination to fight the Nazi aggressor is shown by the fact that many of them travelled from as far afield as Russia, Palestine, Syria, and even India to reach this country.

Large numbers of the Dutch Air Force are serving with the R.A.F. Coastal Command, where they have been employed on the arduous but less spectacular task of coastal reconnaissance and the protection of our convoys at sea. Some of them were originally Army pilots, but they have amalgamated with their countrymen in the Royal Dutch Naval Air Service to form a separate unit complete with maintenance teams. A small number of selected Dutch soldiers is now being transferred to the R.A.F.V.R. for flying duties. The Governments of both the Netherlands and the Netherland East Indies have contributed very generously towards the purchase of aircraft for the defence of Britain.

The Norwegians are completing their training in Canada, partly under the Empire Air Training Scheme and partly independently. They arrived in this country during the height of the Battle of France, and as it was impossible at that time to arrange training facilities in England they went to Canada. There they took over the aircraft which had been ordered by their Government from the United States before the German invasion, and they are

Appendix 26 - **The Times (18th July 1945, pg 3)**

REPATRIATION OF CZECH AIRMEN

PRAGUE DISAPPOINTMENT AT DELAY

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

PRAGUE, JULY 17

There was general disappointment here when the Czechoslovak squadrons of the R.A.F. failed to arrive in time for the fifth anniversary of their formation, causing the cancellation of plans for a parade last week.

In authoritative Czech circles the delay of more than two months in the homecoming of the airmen is attributed to the apparent reluctance of the British Air Ministry to sanction the departure of the aeroplanes without a Russian guarantee of the necessary landing facilities. The Czechs point out, however, that it has been their experience that the Russians neither expect nor desire to be asked to approve of measures that concern the Czechs' own affairs. But in view of British insistence they agreed about a fortnight ago to ask the Russians for a document that would calm London's anxieties. They decided not to make this request, however, when they learned that the Red Army was withdrawing two-thirds of its forces from Czechoslovakia and that Russian commandants were handing over to Czech authorities. In these circumstances it was thought that the Air Ministry would reconsider the position, taking into account the request for the speedy return of the Czech air force which, it is understood, has been made recently by the highest personages here.

The misunderstanding is considered all the more unfortunate as there are many here who would like to see the intimate connexion between the R.A.F. and Czechoslovakia maintained. High military authorities here have expressed the hope that the future Czech air force will use a large proportion of British-built aircraft.

Appendix 27 - **The Times (24th July 1945, pg 4)**

MR. LYTTELTON IN FORCED LANDING

DAKOTA DOWN IN CHANDOS PARK

Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, President of the Board of Trade, and six members of his party who were on their way to Lancashire to meet representatives of the Cotton Board and the iron industry, were uninjured yesterday when the Dakota in which they were flying made a forced landing in Chandos Park, Edgware, a few minutes after it had taken off from Hendon.

Mr. Lyttelton and his colleagues drove back to Hendon and within a few minutes had boarded another machine. They were none the worse for their adventure.

Mr. Lyttelton informed a reporter last night: "The starboard engine cut out just after the take-off from Hendon aerodrome, when we were about 300ft. up. Shortly afterwards the other engine failed right over the houses in the middle of Hendon. There is usually only one end to that. I thought it was good-bye. We seemed suddenly to be in the streets, but our Czech pilot, Flight Lieutenant Balek, made a perfect belly landing in a small recreation park. How he found such a spot among all those houses I don't know."

Appendix 28 - **Daily Mirror (11th September 1939)**

THE DAILY MIRROR, Mon., Sept. 11, 1939.

FRENCH BEAT BACK ATTACK

Continued from Page 1

day, admitted that the German armies were engaged in "fierce battles."

The Nazi leaders announced, too, for the first time that the war had been carried into German territory.

The Nazi communique, after dealing with the eastern front, stated:—

"In the west, French reconnoitring troops have crossed for the first time the German frontier, and have entered into fighting contact with our outposts far in advance of the Western Wall (Siegfried Line).

"The French left behind numerous dead and prisoners, including one officer.

"In the night of September 9 (Saturday), British 'planes dropped leaflets over some towns in northern and western Germany.

"On the western frontier, three French 'planes were shot down over German territory. There was no bombing."

Later the German wireless announced: "Armoured cars entered German territory for the first time to-day."

New French Gains

New gains by the French were reported in an official communique published last night. It stated:—

"On the front, a series of methodical actions has enabled advances between the Saar and the Vosges.

"The enemy has delineated an offensive movement to the east of the Moselle in the region to the north-east of Sierck."

The Germans failed to push the French back across the frontier and the French are holding Friday's gains and are improving their positions at many points in the Saar.

German counter-attacks, launched in an attempt to regain positions in front of the Siegfried Line, were beaten back yesterday

"Corridor Now German"

A German news agency report, dated from the Fuehrer's headquarters, states that military operations in the "corridor" can be regarded as concluded.

The capture of Lodz was claimed by the Vienna wireless station last night.

German invaders are taking hostages as they advance, the German radio announced.

These hostages would be treated most severely as long as German nationals who, it was claimed, had been taken along with the Polish army as it retreated, were not sent back to Germnay and German-occupied territory.

A Polish broadcast from Vilno quoted a military observer's estimate that Germany has flung 75 per cent. of her land forces and 80 per cent. of her air forces on to the Eastern Front during the last nine days.

It was further estimated that German losses are 45,000 killed and 170,000 wounded, plus the destruction of nearly 300 German 'planes and thousands of tanks, armoured cars and other military motor vehicles.

Reuter, British United Press, Exchange, Associated Press.

They Felt Quite ★CARRIED AWAY!★

They're both serving with ambulances are Private James Potter and Miss Ethel Savage, and to mark their wedding yesterday, friends of the couple carried them off from St. Mary's Church, Harrow (Middlesex) on a stretcher bridal coach.

ROAST BEEF - WITH H·P SAUCE OF COURSE

CZECHS DEFY NAZI THREAT —JOIN ARMIES OF THE ALLIES

DEFYING a warning from German rulers in Prague that they would be liable to heavy penalties if they joined any military organisation abroad, Czechs living in France and Britain are rushing to offer their services with the fighting forces.

According to a dispatch to the German News Agency from Prague, the President and Government of Bohemia and Moravia have warned such subjects of the Protectorate that they will be regarded as having committed high treason.

Stress is laid on the seriousness of the consequences to all subjects of the Protectorate who, having joined foreign organisations, become German prisoners of war.

Formation of a Czechoslovak contingent in France has begun. Of 4,000 Czechs in England — including Sudeten Germans — eligible for military service, 1,000 have already volunteered for the Czech Legion.

Foreign volunteers of all nationalities living in France are applying to enlist in such numbers that special recruiting centres have had to be set up to deal with them, the French Ministry of War announced last night.

The communique stated:

"The constitution of the first units which are to make up the Polish, Czechoslovak and Austrian contingents has already begun."

KING ZOG IN BRITAIN

KING ZOG of Albania arrived in Britain last night from Paris, where he had been staying for some time.

Accompanied by members of his suite he landed at a Channel port and left for London by train.

King Zog and Queen Geraldine, with their baby son and Zog's four sisters, have been touring friendly countries in Europe since Italy annexed their country in April this year.

The King said at Stockholm recently: "If possible I will buy an estate in England"

Daily Mirror

NAZIS' SEA LOSSES

Continued from Page 1

tan (5,800 tons), which was sunk in the Atlantic on Thursday, have reached home. All were well, but they had lost all except the clothes in which they stood.

The British liner Warwick Castle, which reached home safely at the week-end, beat U-boat attacks by zig-zagging at full speed.

She was refitted last year with powerful Diesel engines, and she proved too fast for the raiders.

A member of the liner's crew stated yesterday: "We sighted two submarines on our way home from South Africa. The first we saw ahead of us and we immediately began to manœuvre, zig-zagging about, and slipped her.

"Shortly afterwards another submarine—it may have been the same one, but I don't think so—was sighted about three miles astern.

"We did not have many passengers on board—not quite 100—and none of them knew anything was happening.

Called to Warships

"A call was sent out to British warships by the liner and nothing more was seen of the submarine."

The liner has cold storage space for 4,000 tons and is used for carrying South African fruit. She also has accommodation for 700 passengers

Another gallant little British ship, the Chloris (1,189 tons) has reached port safely after escaping from a U-boat attack.

The Chloris, formerly the Corncrake, is owned by the Moss Hutchinson Line.

The Ministry of Information yesterday: "It appears that German mines are operating far afield, attacks and counter-measures against them are unremitting.

"A contraband control has been established at Gibraltar and examination services are in force at Alexandria, Colombo and Penang.

"Two German merchantmen, the (5,895 tons), built in 1929, and the (4,061 tons), are reported to have gone on the Norwegian coast.

"These ships are registered respectively at Hamburg and Bremen."

Remember—

An official survey of the war at sea, issued last night, explained:—

"Though the Admiralty have announced no definite results of our counter-measures against the U-boats, beyond the possible success against one submarine minelayer, our hunting flotillas of destroyers and light craft are still active.

"During this first week of war, his Majesty's ships of all types have been at sea all over the world in their task of maintaining the Empire's sea communications. They have been particularly busy in the waters round about the British Isles and in the Atlantic.

"While we have incurred the loss of various merchant ships through submarine operations, many more enemy merchantmen have been captured or sank, or driven to take refuge in neutral harbours in many parts of the world.

"The convoy system will soon be in operation, with the result that U-boat sinkings will tend to decrease. But it must be realised that with ships scattered all over the face of the globe, it takes some time for the system to become fully effective."

LATEST NEWS

GERMANS' NEW GUNS

Feature of the German offensive on the Western Front is stated in Paris to be the use of machine-guns operated electrically by remote control.—British United Press.

ROOSEVELT TO CALL CONGRESS

President Roosevelt will call a special session of Congress late this week to revise the Neutrality Act, it is learned from an authoritative source.—British United Press.

BLACK OUT TO-NIGHT AT 7.24

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Appendix 29 – **Daily Mirror (20th March 1939)**

LONGSIGHT'S 1-2-X-Rays on Form

JUDGING by one or two of Saturday's results it looks, at first glance, as though my suggestion last week that certain teams in danger of relegation should be followed, will not pay. One side I mentioned, Huddersfield, went down at home to Middlesbrough.

But don't discard the idea on this account. Boro were the luckiest side imaginable to get away with the points. After Camsell's snap goal it was a case of Huddersfield's front line versus Boro's defence, and Boro's defence won.

Huddersfield played well enough to have won hands down. True, easy chances were missed, but Cumming, a brilliant goalkeeper, saved many shots that nine times out of ten would have been in the net. I'll still stand by Huddersfield.

Forget the Portsmouth-Leicester game. Case of dog eat dog. Though City won, I have far more faith in Portsmouth. Their magnificent defence will, I feel certain, pull them through.

✦ ✦ ✦

Are Derby staging a belated revival? A goal behind at half time, they rallied in the second half to run Charlton almost off their feet. And that wants some doing.

After the game, supporters were asking each other why on earth young Stamps had not been brought into the team sooner. This young man from New Brighton, making his first appearance in the front line, provided those touches which have been missing ever since Astley went to Blackpool.

Though it is extremely unlikely that Derby can return to the leadership, I consider that once again they can be taken confidently to win their home games.

Of the other struggling sides, I prefer Chelsea to Blackpool. The Londoners were far from disgraced at Sunderland, but they do not appeal to me away from home.

Give Blackpool a miss. Recent signings mean that the forwards are practically strangers to each other. They will need time to settle down.

✦ ✦ ✦

Second Division result I'm not inclined to take on trust is Norwich City's victory at Bury. Mr. A. J. Jewell confidently stated a few days ago that Norwich would fight clear. It was certainly a great performance to win after being a goal down, but I am not satisfied that they can keep up the pace.

Man who might pull Norwich out of trouble is Tim Coleman, former Arsenal, Grimsby and Middlesbrough centre forward. He had a lot to do with the win at Bury.

Blackburn did not have things all their own way against Nottingham Forest, but I put this down to Forest's fighting with a desperation born of relegation fears.

Have a care with Coventry. When they came with a burst some five or six weeks ago it looked as if they would waltz into the First Division. Since then, all has not been well with "the works." Defence sound as ever, but there has been a lack of punch in attack, particularly in away games. Home bankers only, now.

✦ ✦ ✦

Though Newcastle are on Blackburn's heels, they did not strike me, at Fulham, as being a promotion side. A patchy side! Sometimes really brilliant, at others shaky in defence. In criticising the defenders, I except Ancell—a grand full back.

Fulham can hardly be followed with the old confidence. Though they would have beaten Newcastle if a glorious effort from Rooke had come down inside of the line instead of outside after hitting the bar, they lacked the sting in front of goal shown by the Newcastle front line.

Freeman.

Though the loss of a home point was a big blow to Fulham's promotion hopes, there was plenty of jubilation after the game on the part of officials. Jubilation because of the fine display given by young Freeman, nineteen-year-old full back making his first appearance. Another Mike Keeping, said many of the fans. Well, I shouldn't wonder.

Luton Town have not yet given up hope of promotion, and with a forward line like theirs, well . . . I can see their point. Here's a side to follow consistently at home, and not to be despised away.

✦ ✦ ✦

Southern Section of the Third Division provides the pool punter with his hardest task just now. Time was when at least three teams could be relied upon to provide us with figure ones week after week. Now, even Newport County seem to have deserted us, or rather form has deserted them.

A month ago I prepared you for Newport's slump. I told you at the same time that I did not consider it serious. Nor do I now. Newport are having a much-needed "rest on their oars" after a strenuous season. They can—and will, I feel sure—come again.

Coleman.

Not so Palace, who are lacking their customary sparkle. They may win a fair percentage of home games, but away they cannot be trusted.

Torquay, a fast improving side, though they still cannot find their form at home.

Give Watford a miss for a week or two. Dunderdale's transfer to Leeds is likely to affect Watford's goalscoring power.

✦ ✦ ✦

That a team playing well invariably has all the luck was clearly shown at Darlington, where Barnsley won by the only goal of the game.

Though Barnsley are high and dry at the head of affairs and as sure of going up as can be, they must still be followed. There will be no slackening, for the club are out for records.

Note York City's improvement. No mean feat to win the local Derby with Hull City. York are determined not to have to apply for re-election, and I fancy they will get clear. Recent forward experiments have turned out satisfactorily.

I'm not inclined to place much reliance on Doncaster's loss of a home point to Barrow, I put this down more to the new lease of life taken by Barrow these days than to a slump on the part of Doncaster.

'Wor Crewe, though. They are a long way from their early season form.

Man Who May Pull Norwich Out of Ditch

HARRINGAY'S OLDEST GREYHOUND STILL KEEN

By THE HURDLER

RACING Manager, born in April, 1932, is the oldest greyhound on the Harringay kennel strength. If he had been named Rating Marvel it would have fitted him admirably.

There must be something in names after all, for his mother was named On For Ever. He runs his 190th race this evening.

If there had been the slightest sign that Racing Manager was losing his zest for racing, his owner, Mrs. J. Baldwin, would have retired him long ago, but this marvellous veteran just revels in a race and is still winning in good company.

When he is not racing he does duty as the kennel watch-dog.

He may win to-night and should in any event get a place, but somehow I think Ruth's Daughter, a fast young thing just two years old, may beat him in a tight finish. Selections:—

Harringay.—8.0, Ed Lass; 8.17, Quiet Boon; 8.34, Golf Round; 8.51, Gambler's Revoke; 9.8, Wotta King; 9.25, Ruth's Daughter; 9.42, Guard's Recruit; 9.59, Crinkle's Successor.

Plaza Selections.—Kinsale Footprint, Full House, Bell Ringer, Royal Flush, Pookie Bird, Racing Manager, Gorton Road, Melksham Nomad.

Double.—Golf Round (nap) and Guard's Recruit.

Three Countries Share Title

By their Murrayfield victory over Scotland by 9 points to 6, England share this season's championship honours with Ireland and Wales.

Scotland, last year's champions, have been left with the "wooden spoon," and have had to surrender the Calcutta Cup.

Attendance at Saturday's match was 75,000—stated to be a record for a Rugby International anywhere.

WELSH TITLE FIGHT OFF

Jim Wilde, Swansea heavyweight, has injured an eye during training and will not be able to fight George James, the holder, for the Welsh heavyweight championship at Mountain Ash next Monday.

His doctor says Wilde will not be able to fight for two months, but to-day Wilde is to be examined by the Board of Control's specialist.

Mr. Bert James, the promoter, said last night that he is trying to secure Jack London (West Hartlepool) in Wilde's place.

✦ ✦ ✦

Maurice Dennis, former A.B.A. middleweight champion, knocked out Alf Hudey (Chiswick) in the second round at the Ring, Blackfriars, yesterday.

Hour of Bitterness

Wearing fore-and-aft caps in this picture are Czech airmen . . . beside them a giant bomber that was once their pride.

Now it is no longer theirs . . . Germany has seized it, with their country. And before they leave it, they point out features to its new masters—and theirs—in the military aerodrome at Brunn.

Orders to quit . . . Czech airmen leaving their quarters at the aerodrome as the German Air Force takes over.

THE DAILY GRIND

To each his destiny — John Pugh, sixty-eight, of Brentford (Middlesex), has been grinding knives for a living for fifty-two years now. Edward Carpenter, seventy-one, of Turnham Green, has been grinding out tunes for fifty years. Every Friday they meet in Brentford, as you see in the picture.

Now have a look at the donkey. That's Tiny, aged twelve years. "There's not a better donkey in town," said Ted, carrying a pint mug of beer into her stable. For, you see, Tiny has had a pint of beer every day since she was six weeks old.

She's won fifteen prizes in shows, and Ted says the beer does her good. She knows the pubs where she gets beer given to her, and she won't go on until she has had her pint.

THEATRES TO BE SUNDAY CINEMAS

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

A LONDON syndicate, backed by three men and a woman in the film and theatre business, plan to take over a chain of theatres for the showing of Sunday films.

Next Sunday their first theatre, the Kingsway, Great Queen-street, London, will open for the showing of films.

It will be the first legitimate theatre in England to open as a Sunday cinema.

If the experiment succeeds Sunday Cinemas, Ltd., of St. Martin's-court, W.C., intend to take over other theatres in London and a chain of South Coast theatres, and run them as cinemas on Sundays only.

Challenge to Cinemas

Mr. Max Faber, the film producer and director, one of the four members of the new syndicate, told me yesterday:—

"At the moment the Sunday film business is unchallenged, but with us in the field, with our theatres opening all the week for stage shows and on Sundays with films at popular prices, we hope to be able to challenge them.

"I Welcome Scheme"

"The owners of the theatres concerned will get so much per cent. of our takings or of our profits.

"Most of the theatres we take over will have licences for showing films and be equipped with talkie apparatus.

Another member of the syndicate is Mr. Claude Jay, whose father, Mr. Herbert Jay, is owner of the Kingsway Theatre.

Mr. Herbert Jay said:—

"As owner of a theatre, I welcome the scheme because I do not see why theatres should not have the benefit of seven days' a week takings as well as cinemas."

He Gives Up His Family

Serving out dinner to his three children—Stanley, aged ten; Irene, eight, and Joyce, six — in this picture, taken in their two-room home in Scotswood-road, Newcastle, is John Shutt, unemployed tram-driver. For six months he's been father and mother to them—but yesterday, as he gave them their Sunday dinner, he hid a breaking heart. Because in ten days' time the three children, helped by a society, are going to Australia . . . and John Shutt will not go with them. "It is impossible at the moment," he told the "Daily Mirror." "Maybe," he added wistfully, "in time it can be arranged."

Appendix 30 - **Daily Mirror (9th October 1939)**

SUNDAY CALLERS FOR THE R.A.F.

Air Minister Sir Kingsley Wood showing Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir John Simon (in plane) how the R.A.F. spends its share of his Budgets at a big aerodrome yesterday.

Together they climbed on aeroplane wings, scrambled under fuselages and talked with the pilots.

FAKE VILLAGES FOUND BY R.A.F.

FLYING AT 100 FEET, A YOUNG R.A.F. PILOT, LEADER OF A FORMATION OF THREE PLANES, FOUND WHAT HE THOUGHT WERE COMPLETE DUMMY VILLAGES BEHIND HITLER'S MUCH-VAUNTED "WEST WALL."

Those "dummy villages" were among the sights which mystified him on his twenty-mile survey of the Siegfried Line. He was fired at only once—by an ordinary machine-gun.

He saw—and photographed—huge "barns" on the outskirts of deserted villages, concrete turrets among the huddles of ancient steep-pitched roofs, and curious mounds and pits in fields and woods.

This is the story of the slim, fair-haired flight-lieutenant, as he told it in an R.A.F. mess "somewhere in France."—

"I was impressed by the obviously unfinished state of the Siegfried Line. It was absurdly easy to pick out, because the grass had not yet had time to grow again over the scarred earth.

"In many places we saw mounds of freshly-thrown up earth and white patches where the Germans had been burrowing in the chalky soil. We saw no one actually at work on it.

They Stood—and Gaped

"In one place we flew right over a huge gun which a group of men were camouflaging. I could see them gaping up at us with their palmpots in their hands.

"Only when we were right past them did they seem to recover from their astonishment. Then some of them waved their hands and others went racing back to the nearby huts.

"It was just after this that we were fired on by a machine-gun.

"Then we flew over a camp. Men came crowding out of the huts. It looked as though they were waving at us, though, of course, they might have been shaking their fists.

"We passed many villages, but I did not see a single civilian inhabitant. Nearly always the streets were deserted, though sometimes soldiers were strolling about looking up at us.

"We saw parked lorries, cows in fields, a train in a station, and many of the signs of ordinary life, but no one about except soldiers."

LAND ARMY GETS 28s. FARM GIRLS ONLY 25s.

INEXPERIENCED Land Army girls, some of whom were typists and nurses before the war, are receiving higher wages than Dorset women farmworkers who have been on the land for years.

Each land girl is costing the Government 28s. a week, but the women farm hands have been employed at 25s. a week.

"Apparently the only thing the women farm hands can do to level up pay is to throw up their jobs and join the Land Army," declared Mr. M. F. C. James, leader of the Dorset farm workers, at the week-end.

He pleaded with the Dorset Agricultural Wages Committee to increase both men and women landworkers' wages to meet the rising cost of living due to the war.

The Committee gave an all-round increase of 1s. a week, which still leaves the women's wages 2s. below that of the Land Army.

Mr. James explained afterwards. "The Government pay 28s. a week for each Land Army girl, from which the farmers deduct 13s. a week for lodgings. The rest is wages.

Our women, on 25s. a week, pay the same lodging charge, or provide their own homes.

Holland (Lincs) Agricultural Wages Committee on Saturday increased farm labourers' wages in the area from 37s. 6d. to 40s. a week. This makes them the highest paid farm workers in the country.

Stock men receive 46s. and horsemen 56s. It is expected that the new rates will operate in a month's time.

Women workers have also had their wages increased. Those over eighteen get an extra penny an hour.

NAVY GUARDS IROQUOIS

A flotilla of destroyers and a coastguard cutter are convoying the American liner Iroquois, which German Grand Admiral Raeder had predicted would be sunk as she neared the United States. The Iroquois is carrying home 960 Americans from Ireland, states British United Press.

DUCE'S PACTS FOR 2 NATIONS

ITALY was reported last night to have offered new mutual assistance pacts to Hungary and Yugoslavia.

The reports relieved tension among the nations of south-eastern Europe, who saw a renewed hope of staying out of the war.

Meanwhile, Rumania has joined Hungary and Yugoslavia in a simultaneous decrease of their armed forces.

"Friendly Note"

This communique was issued in Bukarest last night:—

"On September 24 the Yugoslav Government sent a friendly note to Rumania asking whether Rumania would not find it advantageous, together with Yugoslavia and Hungary, to decrease simultaneously its troop concentrations.

"Similar notes were dispatched by Yugoslavia to Hungary.

"On September 30 Hungary and Rumania informed Yugoslavia that measures had been taken to decrease their number of officers and soldiers."—Associated Press.

BID TO SPLIT ARMS BILL

A MOVE to split the American neutrality measure into two Bills was revealed in Washington last night, states Associated Press.

Discussion on the measure is resumed in the Senate today.

Senator Tobey is to propose that the Bill is sent back to committee and will ask that it be split into two Bills to permit quick enactment of the restrictive clauses regarding shipping while leaving the arms embargo issue to be settled later.

Senator Byrnes, one of the administration strategists, said he thought that the vote on Senator Tobey's proposal would indicate how the Senate stood on the question of final passage of the measure.

The debate, which has already lasted a week, is expected to continue for another fortnight. Isolationists, however, have threatened to talk at great length on the Bill—until Christmas if possible.

GERMANS MASS TO HOLD THE CZECHS

"Anti-Hitlerism in Czechoslovakia today is so strong that several German divisions have been detailed to aid the Gestapo in keeping the Czech people from revolting," Dr. Edouard Benesh, former President of Czechoslovakia, said in an interview in Paris.

He was convinced, he declared, that "Hitler Germany" would be defeated. His country "was today on the side of Great Britain, France and Poland, exactly as had been the case twenty years ago."

The French Government has agreed to the establishment of the Czechoslovak Government in France, according to an official statement issued by Dr. Benesh.

A Czechoslovak army, he declared, was being formed to fight on French soil by "a provisional Czechoslovak Government."—Associated Press and Exchange.

ADVERTISER'S ANNOUNCEMENT

CHILDREN'S COUGHS

Clinic Doctor says he always uses 'Pineate'

When you are dealing with children's coughs you do have to be extra careful, for some remedies are definitely dangerous for children. So if you can get something that clinics recommend, you know you're doing the best thing don't you?

Well, here's what Dr. A— P—, Physician to a large London Clinic, writes: "I feel I must write again regarding the continued good results I am obtaining with 'Pineate' Honey Cough-Syrup. Hardly a day goes by without my recommending it for some child."

In clinics, hospitals and schools all over the country 'Pineate' is now being widely used. It is supremely effective, delicious to take, and very economical—only *a half-teaspoonful* to a dose, and only 1/6 a bottle. Don't take any chances with your children's health: follow the clinic's advice and give them 'Pineate' (brand) Honey Cough-Syrup.—(Advt.)

Appendix 31 – **Daily Mirror (1st January 1940)**

BOY LIVED 3 DAYS IN A MASK

A BOY has lived three days in an infant gas helmet in a medical experiment which not only saved his life, but proved that a three-guinea war device can be made to serve the purpose of a £120 oxygen tent.

The discovery was made by the Medical Superintendent of the Scunthorpe Isolation Hospital, Doctor W. Harston.

The boy he saved was nine-year-old John Hignett, of Kirton Lindsey, North Lincs.

John was rushed to the hospital after a sudden collapse during an illness. The only chance of saving his life was to give him ice-cold concentrated oxygen. This needed an oxygen tent.

But the Scunthorpe institution does not possess such equipment. And Doctor Harston at once decided to try his experiment. John was equipped with an infants' gas helmet ingeniously converted into an oxygen tent.

"Like the Seaside"

Concentrated oxygen, previously passed through an ice chamber, was fed to him. And after three days' treatment he was out of danger.

After three days of life in a gas mask, John said, "It was just like being at the seaside."

Said another medical man to the *Daily Mirror* last night:

"The revelation that a simple gas mask, which costs three guineas, can be made to provide all the benefits of costly apparatus will be heralded with joy in many British hospitals, who are unable to spend £120 on an oxygen tent and who often have difficulty in treating diphtheria, pneumonia and cases of extreme collapse."

A DOCTOR THOUGHT OF THIS

Nine-year-old John Hignett wearing the infant's gas helmet which saved his life. A Scunthorpe doctor converted it into an oxygen tent in which John lived for three days.

REJECTED LOVER: WAS STUNNED

With bandaged head skilfully hidden with a scarf draped turban-like, twenty-one-year-old Kathleen Burns, typist, of Wilmslow (Cheshire).

She had let eighteen-year-old Leonard James Hunn, R.A.F. wireless operator, take her home. He proposed to her—she said "No."

Turning to say goodbye to him, she saw him raise something in his hand to strike her. Then she fell unconscious.

Next day Hunn was found dead on the railway line.

After Miss Burns had told this story at the inquest, the coroner said her conduct had been correct, and she was in no way to blame for what had happened.

SISTERS TWICE FLEE FROM REDS

TWO sisters, aged eighty and seventy-five, both partially crippled with rheumatism, leaned heavily on their sticks as they walked slowly down the gangway of a ship at Aberdeen this week-end.

For the second time in their colourful lives they had fled from Russian forces, leaving all behind them. The Russian Revolution in 1917 had caused them to flee from St. Petersburg. Now the Russian peril has driven them from Finland.

Mrs. Victoria Saunders, the elder, and her sister, Miss Dagmar Sparrow, Russian-born daughters of a Stratford-on-Avon railway engineer, are undaunted still.

Mrs. Saunders, whose husband was a Dundee man in the flax industry in Russia, has left her married daughter and her children in Finland.

EDNA BEST SILENT ABOUT A DIVORCE

MISS EDNA BEST, English stage and film star, refused, when interviewed at a holiday ranch near Las Vegas, Nevada, during the week-end, to discuss a London report that she intended to sue for a divorce from Mr. Herbert Marshall.

According to the London report Miss Best wrote to a friend in England saying she was going to Reno, the quick-divorce city of Nevada, to sue for a divorce.—British United Press

KING GOES TO CHURCH

The King and Queen, accompanied by Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret, attended morning service at St. Mary's Church, Sandringham, yesterday.

They were applauded by a crowd as they walked through the parks of Sandringham House.

The King inspected a small unit of troops.

"GERMAN AIR FORCE WILL STRIKE BRITAIN"

NEW Year messages of hate from the German leaders threatened Britain with bombing from the air—a threat repeated in a new German song entitled, "We are flying to England," broadcast yesterday.

"To our pilots there is only one slogan, and that is to fly to England," the German radio announcer said.

But faith in Britain's will to win was emphasised in French and Czech greetings. Here are the speeches:—

Goering.—"The German Air Force will strike at Britain with such an onslaught as has never before been known, as soon as Hitler orders counter-measures to the British blockade.

"No land in the world is so vulnerable from the air as the British Isles."

Goebbels.—"Germany is prepared, politically, economically and spiritually to defy her enemies' attacks.

"Today we pray: 'Good Lord, if You won't help us, at least don't help our damned enemies.'"

Friend of Fate

M. Giraudoux, France's Propaganda Chief: "Fate has given France, as our friend and comrade in war, the nation which we would ourselves have chosen for an ally—the British nation.

"Her strength, her moral strength which leaves no room for any issue but the destruction of the enemy."

Dr. Edward Benesh, former Czech President:

"The Czechoslovak nation enters the New Year with the firm belief that the victory of the Allies will mean also the victory of Czechoslovakia fighting on their side.

"The year 1940 will be decisive for the victory of the Allies."

WHERE YOUR MONEY GOES

BRITAIN'S balance-sheet for the first three-quarters of the financial year shows a total ordinary expenditure of £858,835,483, and a total ordinary revenue of £544,474,163.

The deficit of £314,361,320 is fully covered by borrowings under the Defence Loans Acts to meet the enormous expenditure on the war.

Revenue is coming in well, largely due to increased taxes authorised in the War Budget, and is already £54,038,537 up on the corresponding period last year.

Income tax is already £23,322,000 up compared with the similar 1938 period, but the Chancellor will reap his greatest harvest in the last quarter, in which all those millions due today are to be paid.

SIX NEW DUTCH WARSHIPS

The Dutch Government he ordered six new submarine chasers.

All will be built in Holland, says British United Press.

Swan & Edgar Great WINTER SALE COMMENCES TO-DAY

Throughout the store you will find the same magnificent bargains as in previous Sales

'All Occasions

A fine wool Dress for every minute of every day. With the new semi-fitted skirt with pleat in front. The softly draped neckline is finished with frill cuffs. In colours of black, plum, blue, royal, navy, rose, fir green, brown, and wine. Hip sizes 36, 37, 38, 40, 42 and 44 in. To-day's value 65/-

SALE PRICE 55/-

SALE LIST Post Free

"Diase."

A well tailored Suit in a smart fricze cloth. Cleverly designed, featuring the new high lapels and shapely waistline. In colours of black, navy, brown, plum, green, Hip sizes 36, 38, 40 and 42 in.

SALE PRICE 60/-

Extraordinary Sale Bargain

Finest quality soft jambskin Bag, lined throughout leather and fitted framed purse, passport pocket and mirror. In black, brown, navy, tan, wine or red. Size 8 by 7 in.

SALE PRICE 10/-

JANE . . .

All characters in this strip are fictitious and are not intended to represent any person living or dead. (Copyright in all countries.)

Appendix 32 – **Daily Mirror (16th March 1940)**

16/3/1940

NAZIS' CZECH PURGE

Here is Mayor R. A. Ward being helped into his robes of office.

May Port'

THE EYES OF THE NAVY

Spotted during the All-Services' matinee at the Queen's Theatre, London, yesterday. Proceeds were in aid of the Comforts League.

GESTAPO OFFICERS ARE CELEBRATING THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE GERMAN INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY MAKING MASS ARRESTS OF CZECHS IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA.

The Germans used these tactics just before the invasion of Poland on September 1.

Latest victims are the reserve officers in the now-miniature Czech Army, Catholic priests, and legionaries of the last war.

More than 100 officers have been arrested. Hundreds of radio amateurs who tried to set up clandestine stations have also been imprisoned.

On the Slovak-Moravian frontier guards opened fire on a group of young Czech students who had left their homes to try to join the Czech Legion in France.

The students retaliated. One German and one student were wounded.

From Prague, the Czech capital, it is reported that the German military parade celebrating the first anniversary of the establishment of the German protectorate over Bohemia and Moravia was marked by restraint on the part of the Czechs.

The parade of German soldiers and police through Wenceslas Square lasted only twenty minutes.

President Hacha and the Commander-in-Chief of the Czech Army, General Emminger, watched the march-past with Baron Von Neurath, the Reich "Protector."—British United Press and Reuter.

"I said I shouldn't be sentimental about photographs—but I'm thrilled to have it, especially now that Denis has been posted abroad. He's just been round to say good-bye and brought me a huge box of my favourite chocolates—Black Magic—just because it's you," he said. I'm the

Sweet, milky-white almonds crushed with finest white sugar create this choice continental marzipan. It's one of the 11 gorgeous centres.

"Just because it's you"...

Denis wanted to bring her something special that evening and that's why he chose Black Magic. He knew that those eleven gorgeous centres were her favourites. Black Magic are marvellous chocolates — amazing value, as well. Rowntrees pack them in smart black boxes, wasting no money on extravagant decoration or tinfoil. All the value goes into the chocolates. That's why Black Magic — equal in quality to chocolates sold for at least 5/- a pound — are only 2/10. Try them!

FOR THE BEST ASSORTMENTS IN THE BEST CONDITION BUY BOXED CHOCOLATES

IN TOWN TONIGHT

Amongst distinguished visitors back in London this week-end is Ming, the Giant Panda.

He left his town house, the London Zoo, Regent's Park, some time ago for his country seat at Whipsnade, and has now returned to his wide circle of friends in town.

The house-warming party (condensed milk) is in progress above.

Appendix 33 - **Daily Mirror (9th May 1940)**

Poor Peggy goes in . .

but Marguerite Elizabeth Maud

(EXHIBITION BALLROOM DANCER) comes out

Ten minutes' restful luxury, and what a change is here! A Reckitt's Bath Cube in a warm bath has worked its medicinal magic. The water was softer than softest rain — so that it could penetrate into every pore. The water was alkaline — so as to neutralize all fatiguing acid waste. The water was tonic, invigorating — to tune up tired muscles and tone up a tired skin. That bath was a treat and a treatment. Marguerite blooms again!

Reckitt's BATH CUBES

2d. each, and in cartons of 3 cubes for 6d. or 6 cubes for 1/-

Lavender • Lily of the Valley • Verbena • Essence of Flowers • Pine

RECKITT AND SONS, HULL AND LONDON

WILLS'S GOLD FLAKE

WIN ON QUALITY

FOR THE B.E.F.
Send GOLD FLAKE
ASK YOUR TOBACCONIST FOR DETAILS
120 for 3/9

Issued by The Imperial Tobacco Company (of Great Britain & Ireland), Ltd.

Took 531 Bombs to Sink Afridi

"It was just hell when the ship was bombed. It was our twenty-first aerial attack. The 531st bomb did the damage."

That was how a survivor described the sinking of the British destroyer Afridi off the Norwegian coast while conveying troops from Namsos.

With shipmates, men rescued from the sloop Bittern, and a party of marines from Namsos, he had been landed at his depot after an all-night journey.

"We had just evaded two bombs when a third from a Junkers machine, scored a direct hit," continued the sailor. "Most of the men aboard were rescued

EDEN QUOTES CROMWELL TOO

MR. EDEN, Dominions Secretary, speaking in London yesterday at a National Defence Public Interest Committee luncheon, had to rely upon a quotation from Cromwell to raise a cheer.

It came at the end of his speech. "I am told," he said, "that nowadays quotations from Oliver Cromwell are fashionable. May I, then, give you one?

"'According as you find your spirits and reasons grounded in what hath been said today, so let you and me join to the utmost, in the prosecution of this war.

"'Your danger is as you have seen, and truly I am sorry it is so great, but I wish it to cause no despondency, as truly I think it will not, for we are Englishmen.'"

Ignoring the recent events, Mr. Eden devoted his speech to a review of the Dominions contribution and surprised his audience by the apparent complacency with which he viewed the war effort.

Exit His Audience

"If victory is to be assured," added Mr. Eden, "three essential conditions must be realised.

"First we must not undervalue the enemy's strength; second, we have to marshal the whole of our resources and employ them; third, we have to conduct the war with all the vision, courage and resolution at our command."

All of which are obvious conclusions. The speech roused so little response that more than half the guests were shuffling towards the exits when the mover of the vote of thanks began to speak.

WANTS RECRUITS FOR WOMEN'S LAND ARMY

Six thousand members of the Women's Land Army are now at work helping to stock Britain's larder, and the demand for more is already outstripping the supply.

No trained land girl need now be out of a job, Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, Minister of Agriculture, said yesterday.

Sir Reginald estimates that farmers need another 300,000 workers to make good their labour shortage, the most pressing and difficult problem created by the placing of agriculture on a war basis.

In addition to the efforts of the Women's Land Army and arrangements for schoolboys to help with the great harvest expected this summer, the Ministry is negotiating with the War Office for the release from the Army of farm workers in low medical grades.

Sir Reginald paid tribute to farmers and farm workers for their "magnificent" achievement in adding 2,000,000 acres to Britain's arable land.

"The English Can Show Greater Recklessness"

There is no power so considerate as England in war, but when the fight develops and there are big risks to Empire interests, the English can show a greater recklessness than other nations.

That is the view of a Swedish newspaper, which adds, "Now we are prepared for a reckless England. The defeat in Norway has shaken them very badly."—Exchange.

CZECHS LEAVE FOR THE WAR

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

SADLY, but proudly too, Czechoslovak girls in London put on their national costumes yesterday.

Then they went to say farewell at Belgrave-square to husbands, brothers and sweethearts who left for France as members of the first Czechoslovak volunteer army formed in Britain to fight the Germans.

Most of the 140 men were refugee students in London, aged about twenty-five. None wanted to give his full name for fear of Gestapo activities against their families and friends.

Francis B., a carpenter in London, told me: "With my brother, who was a student in sculpture at South Kensington, I joined up immediately we heard that this volunteer army was to be formed.

"Then our father heard, and he enlisted too, but they could not take him because he is too old."

I spoke to Hana, a fair-haired young girl, who had come to see her cousin Pavel off to France. "I am so proud of him," she said.

Maria B., a young Czechoslovak nurse at St. Mary's Hospital, Paddington, and her brother Frank, a student aged twenty, parted on the steps of the Legation in Grosvenor-place, S.W.

In her broken English she said: "I could not bear to see my brother going away like this, so I thought I would stay behind at the Legation.

"Then I found myself among some other nurses, from the hospital, and we all went to stand on an island in the road and waved goodbye from tears."

MORE NEUTRALS IN PERIL—POPE

The Pope shares the widespread fears that more neutral countries are in danger of invasion.

Speaking to 4,000 pilgrims in Vatican City yesterday, he said:

"The fire of war is already blazing among various nations, and in this springtide tends to invade other nations with its flames.

"The world is poisoned with lies and disloyalty, and it has lost the spiritual health of peace.

"There is, however, the possibility of obtaining a just peace through prayer."

He asked his audience to offer such prayers.

The Pope appeared strong and purposeful in his appearance, but spoke of war with a note of sadness in his voice and seemingly with resignation. —British United Press and Associated Press.

NAZI PRIZE SUNK—REPORT

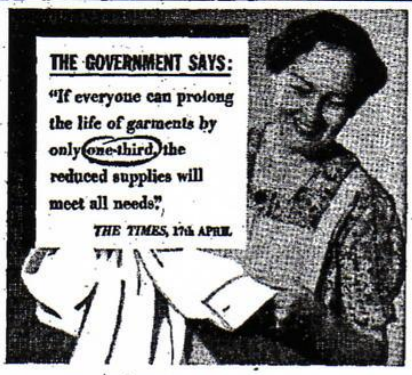
London could not confirm yesterday a Stockholm report that a Swedish ship had been torpedoed by a British submarine.

The vessel, the Monark, 1,786 tons, was said to have been in charge of a German prize crew, who were taking her to Stavanger, Nazi-occupied port in Southern Norway.

THE GOVERNMENT SAYS:

"If everyone can prolong the life of garments by only one-third, the reduced supplies will meet all needs."

THE TIMES, 17th APRIL



CLOTHES DO LAST ONE-THIRD LONGER WHEN WASHED THIS NO-BOIL WAY WITH RINSO

YOU can make your clothes last one-third longer by doing your wash, from now on, by the new no-boiling way with Rinso.

Tests prove that clothes washed in this way last a third longer. For instance, shirts washed in the old way lasted 12 to 13 months. Exactly the same type of shirt, when washed in this new way with Rinso, lasted 16 to 17 months!

Simply soak the ordinarily dirty whites for fifteen minutes in warm Rinso suds, and the extra-dirty whites for twenty minutes. No boiling! No hard rubbing! Yet everything will be clean and sweet—whites snowy!

This new way of washing also saves over half your fuel; gets the washing finished 1½ hours earlier; and cuts out all drudgery—there is no hard rubbing, no steam, no washday smell. The whole wash is safe in Rinso. Get a packet today. 3½d., 6d., or 1/- (Giant size)

NEW NO-BOILING METHOD: Put ordinarily dirty whites into the copper in cool Rinso suds and let them soak for fifteen minutes while the suds warm up. Now put the extra-dirty whites into the same suds. (Just damp garishly plants and smooch in a little dry Rinso first.) Give this second batch twenty minutes while the suds still warm up. At the end, the water will be hot—but not nearly boiling. Yet the clothes will be snowy!

RINSO *SOAKS CLOTHES CLEAN*

R 3976-515-5

R. S. Hudson Limited, London

Appendix 34 – **Daily Mirror (10th October 1940)**

24-HOURS-A-DAY WAR ON BLITZ

NEW methods to beat the night bomber—and these developments concern both air and ground defences — are being worked on night and day.

Captain Balfour, Under-Secretary for Air, gave this information in the *House of Commons yesterday.*

Our counter-measures, he said, were a process of evolution, of trial and error.

"There is no complacency," he added, "but a realisation of the problem and a determination that it shall be overcome as far as possible.

"But I would not hold out the hope that we shall ever get to the condition when no raider will be able to get through under cover of cloud or by night.

Synchronisation of sirens is receiving the urgent attention of technical experts, and orders are begin given for its immediate development.

"The sky is the limit both as regards function and quantity of A.A. guns, and our growing strength is best proved by the results of our nightly barrage, which is a most effective deterrent. It is being developed to become a more and more effective destroyer.

Always Improving

"No system can be raider-proof, either as to detection of the enemy or forecasting completely his intention.

"We are always improving our system and each raid is the subject of a very careful post-mortem.

"The large mass day attack is undoubtedly the major threat to this country, and the method by which the enemy had hoped by now to break down our fighter and other defences.

"We can claim that the world can see today that, so far, the enemy has failed in that major effort. That is owing to the interception success of our fighter defences.

"The answer to the critic who says: '*Where are our fighters today?*' is that for every one raider the critic sees our fighter defences have intercepted mass raids and thereby saved the defences of the country."

This is Miss Josephine Levell, A.R.P. worker and a Roman Catholic, who, in a shelter . . .

BAPTISED RAID BABY

JOSEPHINE LEVELL, volunteer A.R.P. worker helped at the birth of a baby in an air raid shelter during a heavy aerial bombardment. Then she baptised it.

The child, a girl died soon after she was born.

Josephine would not leave the young mother, a Roman Catholic. She made sure the baby had a holy blessing before it passed away.

Josephine's mother, who died a year ago, was a maternity nurse at Birmingham.

"My mother probably has brought more than half the babies in this district into the world," Josephine said.

"It is only natural that I should do what I can to save their lives."

Ran the Gauntlet

The night before Josephine attended the birth of the baby a large bomb dropped near the A.R.P. post.

The telephone was put out of action, so she ran the gauntlet of heavy bombs and shrapnel for miles to obtain help.

Eight people in serious danger of suffocation under wreckage were saved.

Said one of the injured women: "If any girl deserves praise for bravery it is Miss Levell."

Josephine said: "The baby died soon after it was born. Being a Roman Catholic I was able to baptise her. The mother survived."

None So Deaf as Those Who Cannot Hear

Night after night an East London district had thundered with the roar of bombs and guns.

Supplies of ear-plugs were rushed into the district. In two days every resident had been supplied.

The next night was quiet. Not a bomb fell; not a gun barked.

Next morning, an eighty-year-old woman—her plugs still in her ears —approached an A.R.P. warden.

"Those plugs are wonderful, warden," she announced. "Why, I didn't hear a gun all last night!"

THREE STOLE FROM BOMBED HOUSES

Henry George King, twenty-one, Almorah-road, Islington; John Sullivan, twenty, labourer, Westland-place, Shoreditch, and James Paul Jacobs, nineteen, motor driver, Westland-place, were sentenced at a London court yesterday to three months' hard labour for stealing from a house damaged in air raids.

The magistrate, Mr. Herbert Metcalfe commented: "This sort of thing is becoming far too prevalent. People whose homes are bombed or damaged are entitled to be protected."

CZECHS OPEN THEIR SCORE

A new Czechoslovak squadron of Hurricanes had their first victory in their first fight. Three were ordered up to intercept a Junkers 88 bomber making for Liverpool. Within eleven minutes of taking off they were back again—and the enemy had been shot down.

The squadron was trained alongside another Czech squadron which has shot down about forty enemy aircraft.

MAILS FROM U.S. LOST

Some of the mails containing letters and parcels for the United Kingdom, posted in the United States during the fourth week of August, have been lost through enemy action.

Banjo Those Shelter Blues!

Belgian flyer Charles Molleman strumming his banjo for the dancing shelterers at Marble Arch, London.

THEY DANCE TO THE BANJO DURING RAID

WHEN thirty - four - year - old Charles Molleman, formerly an engineer in the Belgian Air Force and now a refugee, twangs his banjo, people in a deep shelter off Edgware-road, W., forget the gunfire and dance.

"Boomps a Daisy' waltzes and foxtrots were danced during a raid last night.

Soldiers on their way home with their sweethearts joined the carefree crowd as the spectators sang.

Every night Molleman, whose wife and two children are still in Belgium, leaves his flat in Westminster to cheer up the people. He accepts no money and turns down any suggestion of a collection as a reward.

"I do it to make the people happy," he told the *Daily Mirror*. "I have offered my services to the R.A.F., but have not been accepted.

"I am rather lonely. It does me good to see people forget the bombs and dance when I play. I used to play a banjo in the cafes of Belgium."

Molleman still wears the uniform of the Belgian Air Force.

"Play 'South of the Border,' Charlie," called one of the crowd.

Gunfire sounded outside, but again the music filled the shelter, which is under a block of luxury flats.

And women and children, sleeping in corners, smiled in their sleep.

HER SAVINGS FOR HOSPITAL

A tiny, grey-haired woman, her hands clearly indicating that she worked for her living, walked into Guy's Hospital, London, yesterday, and handed to an official a bundle of 150 £1 notes.

The sum represented her savings for more than twenty years.

"She would not give her name," the official said. "She simply said there was so much misery and so many people less fortunate than herself that she thought she should give the money to us, as we could apply it more usefully than she could. She is a widow. Three of her sons served in the last war, and one was killed. Another son is waiting to be called up."

ADVERTISER'S ANNOUNCEMENT

8 SMART SHADES

Amami NAIL VARNISH 6d

Appendix 35 – **Daily Mirror (26th October 1940)**

FURNITURE HIT AS THEY QUIT

A MOTOR-LORRY filled with the furniture of a family who were about to evacuate was wrecked outside their London flat during one of yesterday's daylight raids.

A few people were injured and taken to hospital. The bomb which did the damage was dropped when a German plane was chased by Spitfires. A deep crater was made in the road between two rows of maisonette flats. The roofs and interiors were wrecked, but none of the buildings collapsed.

Mr. A. Slater, whose furniture was in the wrecked lorry, told the "Daily Mirror": "In half an hour myself and the furniture would have been on the way to a country district in Buckinghamshire.

"I was helping the lorry driver to load—we had almost finished the job—when he heard crumps in the distance and the sound of planes coming nearer.

Left by Window

"I said to the driver: 'Come on; let's run in.' We ran into the house. Scarcely were we inside when we heard the swish of a bomb.

"The house rocked, plaster fell on the floor, and the lorry driver jumped out of a window and ran to some waste land nearby.

"He came back in a dazed fashion to see if I was all right. I was only shaken. My wife and child were not in the flat at the time.

"The lorry driver and I went out to find the lorry and the furniture wrecked. The bomb crater was only a matter of yards away."

All that remained of a car standing nearer the crater was some twisted bits of metal.

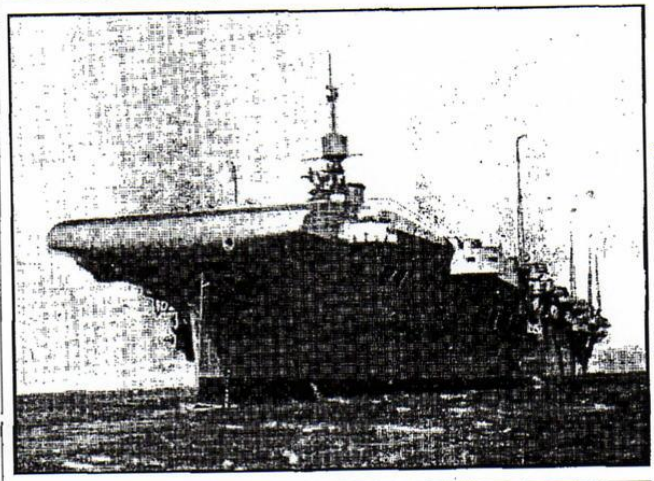
Mrs. A. Forster in a flat two or three doors away saved her two-year-old daughter by lying on top of her. As the bomb fell she ran into the hall with her child. A door and some plaster fell on them.

The mother was slightly hurt. The child escaped.

THE NAVY'S "SURPRISE" NEW SHIP

Picture below is the first of Britain's latest addition to the Navy. A new aircraft-carrier. Didn't know she'd been launched did you? Hardly anybody knew. She's got a name, too; but you're not being told what the name is. She's 1,300 tons heavier than the much sunk (by Germany) Ark Royal. Actually she's one of six 23,000-ton aircraft - carriers designed to strengthen the Fleet Air Arm.

You get some idea of the new ship's size from the picture above of Divine Service held on the landing deck. Deck looks to run back for miles, doesn't it? Pictures were taken by British Newsreel Association.



BOY OF 8 A DETECTIVE

AN eight-year-old boy, Terence Harvey, of Old Nazeing-road, Nazeing, wants to be a detective when he grows up.

When he saw a lorry being loaded with timber from a factory which was being demolished, he wondered why the usual watchman was not there to check what was taken away.

So he took the number of the lorry and the name of the firm on it and gave it to his father.

Started Early

As a result, Thomas Housiip, of Gordon-road, Enfield, was at Epping yesterday fined £10 for the theft of corrugated iron and timber, and another man, Stanley Angell, of Apple-grove, Enfield, was summoned, but the case against him was dismissed on payment of 10s. costs.

A police officer told the magistrates that but for Terence's smartness the theft would probably never have been discovered.

The magistrates commended the boy for his smartness and the way in which he gave his evidence.

Said Terence afterwards: "I want to be a cop when I grow up, and I thought I might as well start right away."

CZECHOSLOVAK AGREEMENT

A military agreement defining the principles on which the Czechoslovak armed forces will be organised under the supreme command of the Czechoslovak commander in chief for co-operation with the Allied armed forces was signed yesterday.

The agreement, which affirms determination to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion, was signed by Lord Halifax on behalf of Great Britain, and by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Jan Masaryk, on behalf of the provisional Czechoslovak Government.

Chinese Columns Move Against Japanese

Three Chinese columns were reported yesterday to have started an offensive against Nanking, the Japanese - occupied capital of Kwangsi, and to have recaptured several points after bitter fighting. —Associated Press.

NEW SYSTEM OUTS SPOTTERS

A new A.R.P. signalling system, the first to be installed in the country, which will revolutionise the country's A.R.P. control organisation, was on show yesterday at Bury (Lancs).

Officials saw a button on a control panel, which, when pressed, will simultaneously start all the town sirens within six seconds, ring bells and flash lights in receiving sets in the homes of part-time A.R.P. personnel within ten seconds, warn factories to take cover when there is imminent danger, switch off all street lights, and put on lights in air raid shelters.

All these operations can be synchronised or performed separately, and the factory warning system will abolish the need for spotters on roofs.

M.P. ACCUSED OF NEGLECT

"SHAMEFUL neglect" of his duty was alleged yesterday against Captain A. S. Cunningham-Reid, M.P. for St. Marylebone, whose resignation is being demanded at a meeting today.

In a letter sent to members of St. Marylebone Conservative and Constitutional Union by Mr. D. L. Oliver, a member of the executive and the council of the union, Captain Cunningham-Reid is sharply criticised.

"After months of absence," states Mr. Oliver, "our M.P. has at last thought fit to write a letter which is a complete evasion of the points that will be before you for consideration at Saturday's meeting.

"This meeting has not been called because of the M.P.'s recent visit to America. It has been called because the council of the union think that Captain Cunningham-Reid has shamefully neglected his duty to you and the constituency for many years past.

"Look at his division record in the House of Commons.

"From 1935 to 1938 he voted only eighty-two times out of a possible 963. In the twelve anxious months before the war, and for the first five months of the war, he voted only ten times out of a possible 339. All this was long before evacuation schemes were started."

Mr. Oliver suggests that question and answer in Parliament made it clear that Captain Cunningham-Reid was granted a permit to visit the U.S.A. on a purely private mission.

"I say, and the Council of the Union say," writes Mr. Oliver, "that the M.P. should have been here looking after his constituents, and their children.

Was Censured

"Captain Cunningham-Reid has shamefully neglected your interests for many years. The Council of the Union censured him for his neglect before his last visit to the U.S.A."

Mr. Oliver is the proposer of a resolution on the agenda of today's meeting calling for the selection of Sir John Fitzgerald as candidate for the division. Another resolution calls Captain Cunningham-Reid to resign.

SEIZED TO AID GERMANY

Nine Norwegian ships in Swedish harbours have been seized by the Swedish Government, and will be used in coastal traffic, as well as for transporting timber to Germany.—British United Press.

EVACUEES IN MANSION: SUED

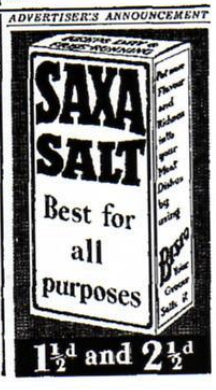
AN Edinburgh man who paid £450 for the lease of a mansion and shootings for two months and claimed damages from the owner because evacuees were there for twenty-seven days, failed yesterday in an Edinburgh Court of Session action.

John C. W. Barrett, a master printer, of Succoth-place, Edinburgh, sued Roeli Alastair Murray-Allan, of Glenfeochan, Argyll, for £200.

The action was dismissed by Lord Stevenson.

He said Mr. Barrett stated that the presence of the evacuees—three mothers and three children—interfered with his peaceful and exclusive possession of the house and that consequently there was breach of contract.

ADVERTISER'S ANNOUNCEMENT



Appendix 36 – **Daily Mirror (1st January 1941)**

hey Still Criticise Cabinet

BY OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

IY did the Premier stop short of tackling depart- in charge of the Home

anestion asked by r. Churchill's recent construction. thur Greenwood is not isfaction.

Ernest Bevin insists that his sibility is limited to seeing that wer is available.

Beaverbrook is in charge of air- roduction.

no one Minister is responsible rdinating the efforts of these nts

time there was a rumour d George would be given this

would not have Lloyd His age makes him, in any quitable choice.

e Parliament adjourned the uestion of man power and on was vigorously debated.

arliament meets again this will be discussed with vigour.

has happened since mid- r to reassure the critics.

'S IN ETER RAID

ROONEY No. 1 STAR OF 1940

WHO will be your favourite film star in 1941? 1940 was a triumph for youth, writes Reginald Whitley, *Daily Mirror* Film Critic.

I have just received the result of a poll of 4 000 British cinemas conducted by *Motion Picture Herald* giving the ten best international money-makers of 1940.

Here they are:—

1. Mickey Rooney.	6. Nelson Eddy.
2. Deanna Durbin.	7. Errol Flynn.
3. Spencer Tracy.	8. James Cagney.
4. Jeannette Mac-Donald.	9. Gary Cooper.
5. George Formby.	10. Bing Crosby.

Formby Leads

Now for the ten best British stars of 1940:—

1. George Formby.	6. Charles Laughton.
2. Robert Donat.	7. Will Hay.
3. Gracie Fields.	8. Conrad Veidt.
4. Arthur Askey.	9. Gordon Harker.
5. Lucan and McShane.	10. Anna Neagle.

Frankly, I'm not surprised at Formby, for he provides a laugh from Cornwall to the Orkneys. In fact, everywhere except the heart of the West End of London he's a sensation.

Arthur Askey was a terrific hit in "Charley's Aunt," and Lucan and McShane are popular with masses of cinemagoers out of London and in the suburbs.

Shirley Out of It

The result of the poll of 15,000 American cinemas is interesting but shows a difference in taste, although Mickey Rooney completes a double by being the top of the list. Here it is:—

1. Mickey Rooney	6. James Cagney
2. Spencer Tracy	7. Bing Crosby
3. Clark Gable	8. Wallace Beery
4. Gene Autry	9. Bette Davis
5. Tyrone Power	10. Judy Garland

Surprising to find Deanna Durbin not in the first ten in America's list and Shirley Temple out of the reckoning altogether.

Czech soldier mentioned in the column, with his wife and baby

SHAKESPEARE NAMES FOR WAR BABIES

SOLDIERS' wives are among the many mothers evacuated to maternity hospitals in the Shakespeare country who are naming their New Year babies after characters in Shakespeare's plays.

Brought by ambulances from bombed areas, they are so grateful for the attention and hospitality they have received that, they are making their children living reminders of the hospitals in Shakespeare's country, where they were brought safely through their ordeals.

Portia and Jessica, from "The Merchant of Venice," Helena and Hermia, from "A Midsummer Night's Dream," and Phebe, from "As You Like It," are some of the names the mothers have chosen.

Not Czech's Choice

But a Czechoslovakian soldier who was visiting his wife and baby in one of the hospitals told the *Daily Mirror*: "I'm more than grateful for what the hospital have done for my wife and baby. But I know nothing about the famous Mr. Shakespeare or his plays.

"I'm just naming my little boy plain John Tommy."

"An Apple a Day, Keeps—

'he Doctor away."

Maybe, but an apple a day isn't likely to keep the lads away from Golder's Green (London) pantomime where the lady with the apple, Gabrielle Brune, is "Aladdin." Do YOU think so?

With the horse is Mrs. Peter MacNiven, of Dunstaffnage Castle, near Oban. She saw what she thought was a drowning man in the sea, and after a hard swim reached him. Then she found it was a racehorse, towing its waterlogged horse-box. She got it back to land.

Appendix 37 – **Daily Mirror (10th February 1941)**

TO THE HOUSEWIVES OF BRITAIN. In the early mornings and late afternoons your husbands, sons and daughters — WAR WORKERS — most need the buses, trams and trains. If you are crowding in, *they* are crowded out. So help them all you can

PLEASE FINISH TRAVELLING BY 4 O'CLOCK

..and leave the buses, trams & trains free for war workers

ISSUED BY THE MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT AND THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND NATIONAL SERVICE

3% SAVINGS BONDS

The PEARL gives you, through the new POLICY, an opportunity to :—

HELP YOUR COUNTRY;
BUY YOUR BONDS by yearly, half-yearly or quarterly payments;
SECURE COVER against War Risks;
CLAIM INCOME TAX ABATEMENT in respect of your payments.

ENQUIRY FORM
To
PEARL ASSURANCE Co. Ltd.
High Holborn, London, W.C.1

For my information only, please supply quotation assuming that I wish to secure £..... of 3% Savings Bonds and that my age next birthday will be .....

Name .....
Please state whether Mr., Mrs. or Miss

Address .....
6D.D.Mir.10/2/41

JANE . . .

All characters in this strip are fictitious and are not intended to represent any person living or dead. (Copyright in all countries.)

I'M WATCHING YOU WOMEN!

She Defied GOEBBELS!

CLARE HOUSE throws her weekly spotlight on the things women are doing . . . grave and gay, fine and foolish.

PERSONALLY I've never had the faintest shadow of a doubt of what it is we are fighting for. But if ever I had, I'd go and have another talk with MISS DOLLY SPERKOVA, and hear more of the joys of newspaper work under Totalitarian "guidance."

\+ + +

I met her at the George-street, W.1, headquarters of the Czechoslovak Foreign Office where she helps to run the little weekly magazine for Czech exiles in England. Dolly is herself an exile, though she needn't have been if she had done as she was told.

When the Germans occupied Prague, she was editing her own newspaper, though in her early twenties, and Hitler's propaganda boys immediately got busy sending out their version of the news and expecting it printed

\+ + +

Dolly didn't agree. She had old-fashioned ideas of democracy and the freedom of the Press and refused to print what she knew was a lie

The stubbornness of this chit of a girl began to worry the Propaganda Gang and Dolly realised it would be healthier if she wished to keep her notions of freedom intact to take them over the frontier. Without visa or passport and in considerable danger she crossed by a secret route into Poland, a voluntary exile.

And once there, she worked hard . . . and we can thank this Czech girl in her twenties for many of the Czech pilots who are fighting with us now.

★

The road she took she taught others to take. She found a way of getting hundreds of Czech soldiers and airmen out of the country by this secret route.

Hundreds of the soldiers and airmen we have with us today are fighting with us against the common enemy thanks to her work in Poland

Though she tells me Prague is the loveliest city in the world, Dolly is quite happy in London. She is working hard for her beloved country against Fascism. Her brave, brown serious, unmade-up little face lit up when she assured me she would be back home by next Christmas!

Mrs. Donovan.

\+ + +

She does not feel an exile. "Our President, Dr. Benesh, says we are citizens of the Czechoslovak republic whose State for the moment is here. We are guests—and you are admirable hosts."

Useless Eustace

"It's no use! I've resisted the temptation long enough!"

"Sinners"?

I thank Mrs. KITTY DONOVAN, of 40a, Hill-street, W., for this story. Mrs. Donovan has been in service all her life. With her fourteen-year-old son she was made homeless by a bomb. She now sleeps in a Bond-street shelter.

The shelter also houses several local ladies of the pavement, much to the annoyance of more respectable shelterers.

The very first night she was there one of these "ladies" took off her luxurious soft coat, gave it to her . . and apologised for having worn it.

\+ + +

At Christmas this same woman invited Mrs. Donovan and her son to a five-course Christmas dinner, with crackers, wine and presents for all. She buys medicine for the boy, because, she says, he looks pale and needs vitamins.

"I've never known such kindness from anyone in my life," says Mrs. Donovan, almost in tears of gratitude as she tells her story.

I think this is a lovely tale and am sorry for anyone who doesn't think so, too

She gets our two guineas

This week our £2 2s. goes to Mrs. M. Dahl, of 3, Pembroke-road, Weston-super-Mare, Somerset. Because I liked her letter, which was not a begging one, but serious and intelligent. Mrs. Dahl has been bombed out twice and wants to get her three small children to safety while she does munition or war work to "get even."

She would send them to Scotland to live with her mother, who has offered them a home, but on her husband's small pay can't manage the fares. Can I find her some kind person to billet her babies? No, I can't. But I can send her our £2 2s., to help get them to Scotland, for I believe her letter and agree with Mrs. Dahl that she would be of greater use to our war effort making munitions, knowing her children were in safety till it's all over.

Thank you! Thank you to those kind readers who wrote to Mrs. Sullivan, the heather seller, and sent her little gifts of money after reading about her on this page. It's nice to have that sort of reader.

Appendix 38 – **Daily Mirror (24th March 1941)**

DAILY MIRROR, Monday, March 24, 1941.

3 MORE BOMBERS DOWN

Daily Mirror

A CZECH sergeant and a South African flight - lieutenant from a famous Hurricane squadron played "cat-and-mouse" with a Junkers 88 before shooting it down near Poling, Arundel, Sussex, yesterday.

At least three enemy bombers were destroyed over Britain at the week-end—two yesterday and one on Saturday. Others were damaged.

When the two Hurricanes smashed the Junkers 88 yesterday, the South African made an attack, and then "stood-off" while the Czech sergeant went in.

The German bomber was almost blown to pieces, and crashed in flames. It came hurtling out of the clouds just as worshippers were leaving a village church.

Risking their lives some soldiers ran to the blazing machine and pulled out four of the crew. One was dead, another injured.

The Czech pilot, although his ammunition was almost gone, attacked and damaged a Heinkel on the way back to his base.

Week's Score 32 to 11

German and Italian losses in the air last week totalled thirty-two. ours eleven. In attacks on Britain and coast shipping the Luftwaffe lost six planes. The R.A.F. lost three, but the pilots of two were saved.

Over enemy territory the tally was: Enemy three, R.A.F. two.

RUSSIA-TURK PACT REPORTED

A Soviet communique reviewing an official exchange of views between Russia and Turkey, initiated by Russia is expected to be issued in Moscow it was reported in Istanbul yesterday.

A Moscow message from the British United Press adds that reports that some sort of Soviet-Turkish Non-Agression Pact is under way are generally believed.

Another report says that Greece has warned Yugoslavia that permission to Germany to send hospital trains and war materials across Yugoslavia would be considered a "hostile act."

Crashed in Flames

One of two German raiders that tried to bomb a vessel at anchor in a North of Scotland bay yesterday had its tail shot away by A.A. land batteries, and it crashed in flames.

Four German raiders attempted to cross the south coast last evening. Two were turned back by A.A. fire. The other two carried on for a while, and soon one was damaged by A.A. fire.

No enemy raiders were reported over Britain up to a late hour last night. Thus for the second night in succession darkness brought no renewal of air activity.

After being hit by A.A. gunfire, a Heinkel bomber crashed in a field near a small east coast town at dusk on Saturday.

PLANE RESERVE IS A RECORD

Continued from Page One

is Director of Armament Development.

W. S. FARREN is a technical expert, a scientist who knows the problems which face war pilots. In the last war he was an experimental engineer—and a pilot.

The Minister gave this news of our air resources:—

"Our storage houses are distributed everywhere, hidden up and down the countryside. And there we keep our reserves.

"The tally (up to last Wednesday) showed that the aircraft all ready for action is a record, surpassing anything in the history of aviation.

"In new production, we had a record in February both in fighters and bombers.

Six new types of aircraft had been brought into operation—Beaufighter, Fulmar, Whirlwind, Stirling, Halifax and Manchester.

"There are, at this moment, two new aircraft passing from the development stage to production," he added, and behind those are several other new types.

PEASANTS ARE ARMING

Continued from Page One

Cubrilovic, who resigned from his Cabinet post as Minister for Agriculture, when he arrived at his home-town of Banjaluka.

At Kragujevac, centre of a large Serb district, 10,000 men and women paraded the streets, singing the rebel song.

High military quarters reported that there was great discontent in the Army, especially among young Serbian officers, over a reported statement to the Cabinet by the War Minister, General Nedic, that Yugoslavia must surrender.

In some towns, as many as 30,000 people gathered in the streets, cheering the Ministers who had resigned.

Big Demonstration

One of the largest demonstrations was at Skoplje, near the Greek frontier, where the crowd called for resistance to the Axis demands.

Leaders of the opposition to the agreement said that a huge demonstration was planned for Belgrade today.

David Walker wired from Belgrade last night:

Peasants in many parts of the provinces are arming for individual action in the event of signature. Yugoslavia has until Wednesday to make up its mind.

A Belgrade message says that Britain is understood to have told the Yugoslav Government of the support which could be given if asked for.

The United States impressed on the Yugoslav Government every possible aspect of the effect the Lend and Lease Act will have on the war.

Prayers Amid Ruins

There was no roof on this Bristol church, damaged in an air raid; there was no glass in the windows, and the cold wind blew in. But it made no difference to the choir and congregation, who had gathered there to join in Britain's national day of prayer. "Though buildings may perish, the Church lives on," the curate said.

Sunday in Plymouth

Sunday was moving day for many people in Plymouth, which yesterday began to sort itself out after two successive night raids.

Here is one family leaving the bombed area with some of their belongings — part in the case father is carrying, and part in the pram.

Nazi Guns Fire Again

German long-range guns fired across the Straits of Dover yesterday afternoon and evening, for the first time for a considerable period.

The shelling lasted for some time at irregular intervals but no damage or casualties has been reported.

LATEST NEWS

NEW ITALIAN ATTACK REPULSED

Communique issued by Greek H.Q. last night, Athens announces:—Artillery activity. An enemy local offensive action in the region of the Aoos River was repulsed with heavy losses to the enemy.—Reuter.

FAMOUS REPUBLICAN LEADER KILLED

The Popolo di Roma publishes messages from Burgos saying General Lister, famous Spanish Republican leader, killed in North Africa with De Gaulle's forces.—British United Press.

MORE CANADIAN CHEESE

Ottawa, officials say Canada will be able to supply Britain in 1941 with 1,125,000,000lb. Cheese to 100,000,000lb. last year.—Exchange.

Thanks to BACHELOR CIGARETTES

I enjoy a really cool cigarette . . specially blended for sensitive throats

PLAYER'S BACHELOR CORK-TIPPED 10 FOR 9d. 20 FOR 1/6d.

Printed and Published by THE DAILY MIRROR NEWSPAPERS, LTD., 1 Geraldine House, Rolls Bldgs., Fetter-lane, London, E.C.4.—Monday, March 24, 1941. Tel. Holborn 4321

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Appendix 39 – **Daily Mirror (24th June 1941)**

24/7/1941

Daily Mirror THURS., JULY 24

Russia's Battleship of the Ground

One of the huge Soviet tanks with revolving gun turret, and more heavily armoured than any previously known, which have been thrown into the battle against the Germans by Marshal Timoshenko. The picture was taken in the battle zone.

Passing it is a Russian armoured car.

'Rough Deal to Army' Protest

PEERS expressed criticism in the House of Lords yesterday because General Viscount Gort's dispatches about the campaign in France and Belgium were still not published.

Viscount Trenchard said that in the last twenty years the Army had had a rough deal. He added: "This is a rough deal that has been handed out to the Army

He asked the War Office to reconsider its decision, in fairness to the Army as a whole

Glory and Honour

The Joint Under-Secretary of State for War said he regretted that he could add nothing to a statement by the Secretary for War, who had hoped to publish the dispatches in mid-June, but had found later that it would not be opportune.

Lord Londonderry said he felt very strongly that there should be a full account of that splendid achievement, the Battle of Flanders, which reflected as much glory and honour on the British Armies as any feat of arms in the past.

Lord Nathan said he did not think there could be any foundation now for strategical or technical objections, and the House and the public were entitled to a frank statement

Continued from Page One

2 KILLED STUNTING OVER GIRL'S HOUSE

TWO Czech airmen who were killed when their plane crashed into some houses at Wolverhampton were stated at an inquest yesterday to have been circling round very low over a girl friend's house at the time of the accident.

Among their belongings were letters from two Wolverhampton girls, one of whom lived about 150 yards from where the plane was wrecked.

A policeman said he saw the aeroplane diving very near to the houses. Later it crashed on rooftops and exploded and burst into flames. The plane was shattered to pieces.

The two airmen were found in the front gardens of the houses with burning debris all around them.

It was stated that the two Czechs were pupils on an instructional flight.

They were competent to fly the machine, but they had exceeded instructions in the radius they should have covered and in the manner of their flight.

The wing of the machine might have caught an obstruction when banking.

Misadventure was the verdict.

WE PLAN TO FEED EUROPE

QUICK supply of badly-needed goods to the peoples of Nazi-looted Europe after we have won the war is planned by the British and Empire Governments and by the United States and South American republics.

The Minister in charge of Post-War Reconstruction revealed that last night in a broadcast to the Empire.

Measures were being evolved to ease the economic difficulties of producer-countries whose normal markets have been cut

GERMAN FLAGS HALF MAST FOR BIG LOSSES

According to a message received in London from a neutral source, flags are reported to have been lowered to half-mast recently in Constance and other towns in Baden owing to the alleged losses of the Baden Army Corps on the Eastern front.

'HITLER TO SACK ARMY CHIEF'

General von Brauchitsch, Chief of Staff of the German Army, is about to be dismissed from his post, Moscow radio declared last night, quoting "reliable sources in Zurich."

The German News Agency, said the Moscow announcer, reported that Brauchitsch has left on a tour to establish more co-operation between the German armies.

"His sudden departure," the announcer added, "is interpreted as his removal from the leadership of operations in the west."

CLOTHES BY CARD

CLOTHING cards are to be issued.

This was revealed by a Food Ministry announcement last night.

Urging that old ration books should not be thrown away, the Ministry stated:

"They will still be needed for clothes rationing and later for obtaining clothing cards."

COUPONLESS WORK KIT

INDUSTRIAL concerns, including mines and quarries, can now buy without coupons types of overalls and other protective clothing and footwear necessary for their employees.

Employees who wish to take advantage of the scheme must obtain a certificate from an inspector of factories or an inspector of mines, stating that the clothing—the nature and quantities of which must be specified—is required for safety or health.

It should be surrendered to the supplier with the order.

WAR DEBATE SOON

The Premier will, in the near future, make a full public statement to the Commons on the war situation and will probably survey developments. A full day's debate will follow.

AND BRENDAN SHOULD KNOW

BRENDAN BRACKEN, new Minister of Information, has these qualifications for the job — he himself claims them:—

He was conscripted—and doesn't know for what reason;

He feels himself singularly incompetent to succeed Mr. Duff Cooper; and

He's not his own master.

He believes he got the job because "I am myself a Pressman: I understand the duty of a Pressman is to dish out the news."

This has been Brendan Bracken's Press experience:—

Editor of "The Banker";

Chairman of Financial News, Ltd.;

Managing director of "The Economist";

Director of Eyre and Spottiswoode, Ltd.

"I'm a Pressman"

He told representatives of the world's Press, meeting him at the Ministry yesterday:—

"I come here as a colleague absolutely. I am a Pressman. I am interested in news, and if I cannot get news into the papers the sooner I depart from these premises the better for you, the better for the country and the better for all of us.

"So far as I am concerned, I am going to do everything in my power to be worthy of occupying this post.

"So long as I am at the Ministry," said Mr. Bracken, "I am going to try to adopt a rule which should never be broken—everyone here, whether he likes it or not—is a temporary Civil Servant."

And he described Sir Walter Monckton, Director-General of the Ministry, as "the Ministry's one foundation."

R.A.F. TO HAVE FILM UNIT SOON

The formation of a Royal Air Force film unit to record actual operations and co-operate in making films with news and propaganda value here and abroad is under consideration

FRENCH BOATS 'SEIZED'

Three French fishing boats have been seized by British warships on the Newfoundland Banks, it was announced in Vichy last night.—Reuter.

'U.S. NAVY IS READY'

same vigour as in Syria we shall save the honour of France."

According to Admiral Hasenchang, chief of Chinese Intelligence, the Japanese Fleet on the way to Indo-China consisted of seven major warships, three aircraft carriers and fifty-five destroyers

They passed the Island of Kyushu, Southern Japan accompanying transports.

Thirty transports had also been seen steaming south from Canton.

The Japanese are carrying out military mobilisation on a scale never seen before, according to reports reaching Shanghai.

We Nail Lie

Reports in Chungking, China, say three classes of reservists have already been mobilised in Japan and motor vehicles are being requisitioned.

The British Foreign Secretary nailed Japan's "British aggression" lie in the House of Commons yesterday. He said:

"The alleged designs of Britain in Indo-China and Thailand are non-existent."

Admiral Nomura, Japanese Ambassador, had a half-hour conference with Mr. Sumner Welles, acting U.S Secretary of State, yesterday

An unconfirmed Washington report last night said the United States and Britain have agreed on economic measures against Japan

Navy Secretary Knox was asked if the United States Fleet was in a position to do "whatever is necessary to carry out our policy in the Far East" He said "Yes"

— and so can You!

In this splendid home medicine you have an assurance of regular, gentle, natural action of the bowels—and real freedom from sick headaches, digestive upsets, liverishness. You can take BEECHAMS PILLS in perfect safety. They are purely vegetable and, therefore, absolutely reliable. Get some to-day!

Purely vegetable

Beecham's Pills

Sold Everywhere.

Boxes 1/5 & 3/5 (Including Purchase Tax)

Also obtainable in PENNYWORTHS

Thomas Beecham & Sons

AIR SPUN in battle dress

Same quality—same quantity — same price

WARTIME restrictions have obliged Coty to simplify packing material. You see the result in this illustration—the same "Air Spun" box with the familiar powder-puff design but with no detachable lid.

We don't apologise for this change because it is a necessary measure to help the war effort in economising precious board.

The new box contains exactly the same amount of powder as before in the usual shades. The quality is unchanged.

Remember 'Air Spun" is the face powder that prevents enlarged pores. "Air Spun" costs 1/6 including Purchase Tax.

Use sparingly—stocks are limited

Coty

AIR SPUN

The face powder that stays on

LATEST NEWS

RAIDERS OVER LIVERPOOL

Raiders were over parts of the British Isles early today. Some were in the Liverpool area, others off Northern Ireland, and over a town in north-east England.

R.A.F. RAID ON N. FRANCE

R.A.F. last night raided objectives near Bethune in Northern France. Seven fighters were destroyed. Five of our fighters are missing.

SPORT NEWS

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Appendix 40 – **Daily Mirror (7th May 1942)**

HE FAKED DEATH TO ESCAPE HONG KONG

ESCAPING from the Japanese, a party of British officers who had defended Hong Kong were aided in a journey across China by guerrillas and villagers.

One of the officers, shot through the chest in the fighting, has arrived in Calcutta after a series of remarkable adventures.

He was shelled, bombed and sniped at as, with eighty - four Indians, he defended a narrow peninsula in Hong Kong with AA guns, which were used against land as well as air targets.

"I was hit in the chest and knocked down a steep hill to a beach," he said.

"I clung to a stone for some time and then looked up to see a Japanese sentry only 30ft. above me.

"I watched fascinated as he took careful aim and fired. The bullet hit a stone and then struck a metal pip on my shoulder, numbing my arm but not wounding me.

"The sentry threw stones at me, but I faked dead. After two hours I found he had gone, and made my way to the beach.

Built a Raft

"Later, Chinese approached in a sampan. They handed me a note signed by a Catholic priest, saying 'Come with the bearers of this and I will make arrangements for internment.'

"Dressed in coolie clothes, I was taken to the Aberdeen Industrial School, where there were nine Britons.

"A Japanese newsreel man was good to us, but good times ceased when the Japanese equivalent of the Gestapo arrived.

"With two other officers, I built a raft.

"Later we boarded a sampan, whose crew took us a short distance and began arguing about payment.

"Eventually we paid 250 Hong Kong dollars for the trip of 500 yards, but it was our salvation.

"Our journeys across the hills were very slow. Guided by Chinese guerrillas we travelled in lorries, trains and rickshaws and reached Lashio. Then we flew to Calcutta.

"We received grand treatment from Chinese villagers, although at one village we were caught by bandits.

Tommy-gun on rail trip—"on way to Paris"

A HOME GUARD, aged 17, travelled by train from Suffolk to Dover, through London, with a tommy-gun in a sack and ammunition in his respirator haversack.

This was stated at Bungay, Suffolk, yesterday, when Frederick Charles Steward, of Ilketshall, St. Margaret's, Suffolk, farm labourer, was charged with stealing a tommy-gun, two magazines, 150 rounds of ammunition and a Service respirator.

Steward told the magistrates that when he reached Dover he aimed to take a small boat across the Channel.

He said he intended to shoot at Germans when he landed in France.

He had planned the exploit three weeks before, thinking it would enable him to get into the Army, for which he had volunteered unsuccessfully.

"The Bench feel you may be suffering from slight mental aberration, and they are ordering you to be placed on probation for a year," said the chairman.

"We really believe you do desire to join the Army. The Home Guard training has been so excellent that it has overstimulated your imagination."

Steward told the *Daily Mirror* afterwards that his object was to make for Paris and find Laval and Darlan. "I was going to kill them and return to England. They are traitors," he said.

MILLIONS TO BUILD A NEW BRITAIN

Between 250,000 and 300,000 workers on the civil engineering side of the building industry will be needed for post-war reconstruction, and 1,300,000 to 1,175,000 workmen to carry out the programme.

Estimated expenditure will be £800,000,000 a year for ten years.

Mr. R. Coppock, the president, said this at the annual meeting of the Building Industries National Council.

FOR HONG KONG PRISONERS

Japan has agreed to the visit of an International Red Cross delegate to Hong Kong to discuss the question of prisoners of war says a message from Australia.

KNOWLEDGE ON TAP

No, they're not tapping impatiently at a long wall. They are girls in the Girls' Training Corps learning the Morse code by tapping their fingers on the back of the other hand to get them into rhythm and weight of tap before they go on the Morse key. This class of GTC volunteers is at Waddon, Croydon (London), and the Corps is springing up all over the country, among girls as yet too young for any war service.

Huns loot all French medicines

From DAVID WALKER

LISBON, Wednesday.

COMPETENT medical authorities arriving here from Unoccupied France describe the German looting of all French supplies as now complete.

Not merely stocks, but all stores have now been successfully plundered.

The following vital medical supplies are at present unprocurable in France:—

Morphine, chloroform, ether, insulin, bismuth, quinine, iodine, glycerine and petroleum jelly.

It is similarly impossible to make up medicines, since supplies are exhausted. Even cod liver oil cannot be obtained.

The situation at hospitals is described as "worse than tragic."

Stricken French Prisoners

There are no supplies of cotton gauze, bandages, needles, rubber gloves, dental supplies or film for X-ray.

All these supplies were requisitioned for the German needs on the Eastern front.

But France is particularly angry owing to the fact that the majority of the French prisoners hitherto released are found to have developed tuberculosis, which it is impossible to treat since all the food containing vitamin "A" has also disappeared.

PRIVILEGE CASE: SPEAKER'S RULING

The alleged breach of privilege by Mr. McGovern, M.P., after a recent secret session of Parliament was raised in the House of Commons again yesterday.

Mr. Shakespeare (Norwich) said he intended to raise the question, but as Mr. McGovern was not present, he might be allowed to postpone it.

The Speaker ruled that the matter should be discussed on the next sitting day, and that if Mr. McGovern was not in his place they would have to proceed without him.

PRAYERS FOR CROPS

Next Sunday—Rogation Sunday—is to be observed as a day of prayer for blessing on the sowing of crops.

le war memorial

isited a South Coast town recently, d demolished the town's memorial to last war. Here, amidst a heap of is left—of a memorial to war.

3 Huns in night

Flight - Lieutenant Karel Kutelwascher, the Czech pilot who recently shot down three Heinkel raiders in one night, brings his total "bag" up to eight. His "specialty" is to hang around a Nazi aerodrome and wait for the r... return. Then he swoops

"CHILDREN'S HOUR" FOR SWEETS

A "CHILDREN'S hour" for buying sweets has been started by a North London confectionery firm.

The scheme, which ensures that every child will get a fair share of sweets, may spread to other towns.

Every Saturday afternoon between 2.30 and 3.30 the firm's chain of sweetshops are open to children only. On the day before, the shop window is filled with chocolate and other sweets so that the children can make their choice.

Then, on Saturday, they queue up outside the shop, and the first one is admitted at 2.30 p.m. Should there be some children unserved at the end of the hour, they are given numbered tickets so they can get priority next sweet-day.

"We are trying the scheme as an experiment," the head of the firm told the *Daily Mirror* yesterday. "So far it has been a great success.

"The children are orderly, and appreciate the idea. And we are saved having to disappoint them so often during the week."

Appendix 41 – **WW2 newspapers' circulation**

ABC Net Sales 1939-1948

The Audit Bureau of Circulations Ltd (ABC) prepared a summarised list of the net sales of all publications belonging to its membership. The last list prepared before the war was for Jan-June 1939 and the first list prepared after the war was for Jan-June 1948. We have taken details from both of these analyses to form the following comparative tables.

National Dailies

Title	1939 circulation	1948 circulation
The Daily Mirror	2,500,000	3,700,887
Daily Mail	1,532,683	2,076,659
Daily Herald		2,113,856
News Chronicle	1,298,757	1,619,557
Evening News (London)	837,638	1,652,646
Star	488,119	1,081,812
Evening Standard	384,419	780,820
The Times		238,682

National Sunday Papers

Title	1939 circulation	1948 circulation
News of The World	3,750,000	7,887,488
The People	3,000,000	4,672,708
Sunday Pictorial		4,004,571
Sunday Express	1,485,141	2,578,862
Sunday Dispatch	823,692	2,061,290
The Observer		383,771

Source:
http://www.adam-matthew-publications.co.uk/digital_guides/popular_newspapers_world_war_2_parts_1_to_5/ABC-Net-Sales.aspx

Appendix 42 – **Interview participants**

Mrs Eva Halata	A widow of a Czechoslovak RAF pilot (interviewed 15th June 2008)
Mr Adolf Pravoslav Zeleny	A navigator in bombers (interviewed on 21st June 2008)
Mr Arnost Polak	A navigator in bombers (interviewed on 22nd June 2008)
Mr Svoboda/Scott	A Spitfire pilot (interviewed 28th June 2008)
Mr Miroslav Antonin Liskutin	A Spitfire pilot (interviewed 29th June 2008)
Mr Charles Lamberton	A Spitfire pilot (interviewed on 14th July 2008)
Mr Hugo Vilem Mellion	RAF clerk (interviewed on 24th August 2008, after his stroke in June 2008)

Appendix 43 – **Interview notes**

15/6/08 – Mrs Eva Halata, London, *1927

A widow, talking about her husband - Vladislav Halata (*13/2/1912 Frydlant nad Ostravicu, deceased), and her life in Britain

1949 – She met her future husband in a club in London.

Arrival to England - 1937 - He was sent by his Czechoslovak company to build a power station in France. Then they got to the French air force (he was in the Czechoslovakian air force before). When France was invaded they had to leave. They could not go back to Czechoslovakia. Then they were sent to Casablanca, but there were bomb explosions on the way, so they found themselves in Liverpool.

England – there they were divided into groups according to nationality. Soon they started English courses (no knowledge of English). He then moved from there to Cambridge and Duxford. After some training, they were moved to 310 Squadron. He became a mechanic at first, and then in 311 Squadron, a pilot.

September 1949 (at the age of 22) – she arrived in England; she had been in a camp in Germany before that. They offered her emigration from Germany to England or Denmark. She wanted to go to the USA (they had some relatives there), but they persuaded her to go to England. She couldn't speak any English, only German. High committee, chose her to go (medical check up – perfect health). They went by train through Holland. Some more medical checkups – horrible conditions. If they were pregnant or ill then they wouldn't let them go. They were on the train all night.

In England – they were given food and then split into small groups as well. They went to the army camps – put them into factories (wool) – Yorkshire. They got basic salary, food, accommodation and some English classes. Soon they started picking up 'words they needed'. Later she was helping in a maternity hospital (cooking). Mentioning a cosy room, which was a symbol of comfort for her, a settlement (although she was very young, not expecting too much). She was the only foreigner in that hospital. All the English people were nice to her. Free English classes. Focusing on the details from her job –Also mentioning some particular people (details what they have done and if they are dead or alive).

Her free time - visiting friend in London. She persuaded her to move there – more money, people, and more things to do. **CZECH CLUB – in London** – old settlers gave it to the Czechoslovakian soldiers – to socialize. (It was a club where you could dance, Saturdays were booked for different organizations and other visitors - for Sokol, Air force, Army,.., Christmas, New Year – life music). Monday closed. Library also included. Also an important person in Czechs lives: Father Lang – looking after the Czechoslovak community. Moravians were very religious – Catholic Church – an important part of the Czechoslovak community. Also spreading the culture – giving people some newspapers, etc. Her husband was more into reading newspapers than her (she had the typical position of a woman in the marriage).

After the war, sources of information: Free Europe radio, BBC, Canadian newspapers (about the Czechoslovakian emigrants – produced by them).

RAF – her husband started there as a mechanic when he couldn't speak good English. *'He was the best mechanic in the Air Force'*. Checking the engine (again Mrs Halata was telling me stories she had heard from her husband, anecdotes – about the Gypsy who never changed one part of the engine). When I asked her about day-to-day life in the RAF or the flying or service she did not know much about it – so she offered me her husband's log book instead. He became the pilot when he 'knew everything' (went on several training courses and a language course). He spent 800 hours in the air, flying mainly towards Norway. In his accommodation there were 12 boys in one room. Again, she told me stories

about who was shot down, and how, rather than painting a complete picture about the life there. English leadership, but the Czechoslovakian men were isolated. 1940 Free Czechoslovak Air Force Association was established. He was a member.
After the war he was struggling to find a job. Then they went back to Czechoslovakia. Back to his job in the steel factory in Vitkovice, but they wouldn't pay him properly, so he couldn't cover his expenses. He went back to England. Then communists took over in the Czechoslovakia. Therefore he couldn't go back anymore. In England, there was also shortage of work opportunities, so some people in the office asked him why he didn't stay home...However, he explained the situation there. He said to one of the office workers: 'You go there and I will stay here.' His parents had troubles with communists because their son was an immigrant in England so he wrote home a postcard that was posted by his friend in Switzerland, so his father could show it to the communists, proving that his son was not in England, and they left him alone.
Politics - Her husband didn't like President Benes – he apparently used to say to the pilots: 'look after yourselves, I did it as well.' Mr Jan Masaryk (the foreign minister and the son of the legendary president Prof. T.G. Masaryk; probably murdered by the communists in Prague in 1948) – a nice person, close to ordinary people – always in the Czech club, playing the piano. She got a **British passport** – an important part of her **identity**, she always felt like a Czech person but was very pleased she got it because she felt she got more respect in Europe.
Newspapers - She liked *The News of the World*, her husband read *The Observer* – but it was too heavy for her. She was interested in the English gossip.

21/06/08 – Mr Adolf Pravoslav Zeleny

*Rozva, Brno; 11/10/1914
A navigator in bombers
Arrival: 'It's a long way, I am afraid...' He started telling me that he was a professional soldier, before the war and who decided to go to the war against Hitler as soon as the war started. He went to France... He started the whole saga about how he got into England. He knew quite a lot about the foreign legion before – he wanted to join with another two colleagues.
He knew about **England** before only from Karel Capek's novel (a famous Czech author from the 1920s and 1930s, who invented the word 'robot') but nothing else. He thought he would stay in France or Spain. In England they were travelling by train, to Exeter and then Wales, which he knew very little about. (Nobody knew where they were). They ended up in a tent camp (he thought it would be cold water.... but it was *'superb'*. There were nice

beds, white linen, everything organized, cooking English food, which they liked, but it stopped soon – saving money, no big breakfasts anymore). In the camp, they played football, or exercised. They had lots of time in the beginning; waiting or preparation. They had very few men. He also had a textbook – how to learn English. He learnt it by heart in 6 weeks. Then he could listen to the BBC or read papers, but he was ashamed to speak (pronunciation). He mainly read some local **newspapers**, or the Daily Mail – easy English in them (other newspapers too expensive or too heavy, even other English soldiers advised them not to buy them). Some people even didn't learn enough English to be able to read... The camp was very enclosed – isolated from the world. Then they had to learn regulations. He calls the members of the Czechoslovakian nation 'Checko' instead of Czechs (no problems with Czechs or Czechoslovaks.

He got married in 1942 before he joined 311 Squadron. He went dancing, met an English officer in French, talking about Mozart (who they both loved), then met his English wife Vera Drake (spoke French then, his English still wasn't good enough). He was interested in History.

They had no problems as an English/Czech couple – 'they had no money... so they were equal.' (Social criteria mixing with the national ones). And the **Czechs were quite popular** amongst the English community. Towards the end of war, they had some more English men in the Squadron – as they ran out of specialists. There were other 3 squadrons of Czechs, but they never met. Not many civilian Czechs he remembers. Some girls who came before the war. He had no interest in mixing with other Czechs. They (with his English wife) went to London but did not meet anybody.

Funny stories about English men pronouncing the Czech names. He had to shorten his surname to Zike. The Czechoslovak newspaper – 'I might have known, but I don't remember reading it.' He remembered the Czech Club – some other boys went there. But he was not interested because he had a wife. He was worried about me asking his, because he doesn't know. All he remembers reading were **some Czech transcripts of the newspapers** that someone maybe brought back from London.

He had to go on a course to pass examinations in English. The English officer had great knowledge about the Czech History – very impressive (he found it important – Czech identity – the knowledge of his own country and its history was very important). After that, his wife was amazed because he was almost fluent in English (his wife was a reader for publishers, but poorly paid).

He was a navigator in bombers in **311 Squadron** in Norfolk. They had a lot of losses and low replacement. Very few volunteers – then they got people from the army. Later they transferred them somewhere else where it wasn't so dangerous - to the costal command. They were flying over the channel – 3 bombing raids, mainly on patrols – but they didn't see the submarine... He doesn't know how they survived. He recounted a story (in great detail) about the flight – their white Wellington near the French cost. Three German planes attacked them but didn't fire – the only explanation is that they were students (from flying school). He had to give the position of their plane and what they were doing to the wireless radio. ('***It is a good story'*** – again **trying to please** the interviewer).

The Czechs v the English – Czechs had a very **good reputation** (very good in navigation, successful attacks, etc.). Benes and Czech exile government...We knew they were there. But he was not interested – a professional soldier. He hoped that the Russians would be good for the Czechs. Some things they had meetings about were published in some Czech or English papers but he didn't remember it... Read some bits about the Czech pilots in the English papers, but they thought: 'so what? He was lucky and he survived. But how about the ones who didn't...?' Then he started talking about the ones who died. One boy wasn't born as a pilot. He then flew into the mountain.

Propaganda – influence? 'Yes we agreed with them. That's what they wanted as well – they wanted to beat Germans too.' The English were spying on them as well, he saw secret

documents as an officer involved in the intelligence service but after the war they kept an eye on him. As his parents still lived in Czechoslovakia, they said they could be tortured to force him to work for the Russians.
After the war finished, they went home with some of the planes to establish the new Czechoslovak Army and Air Force. He also became an officer in the Air Force in Prague. He went straight to service without seeing his mother. Then communists took his position away from his. He had to emigrate. His parents were devastated – they were in German camps, but said 'go and do not come back. But do it legally: we do not want to be punished.' So he faked a document that they had inherited a farm in England. So he had a very comfortable flight... 'I had an exciting life, really...'

22/06/08 - Mr Arnost Polak

(Mr Polak - third from the left at the Brookwood cemetery, spring 2008)

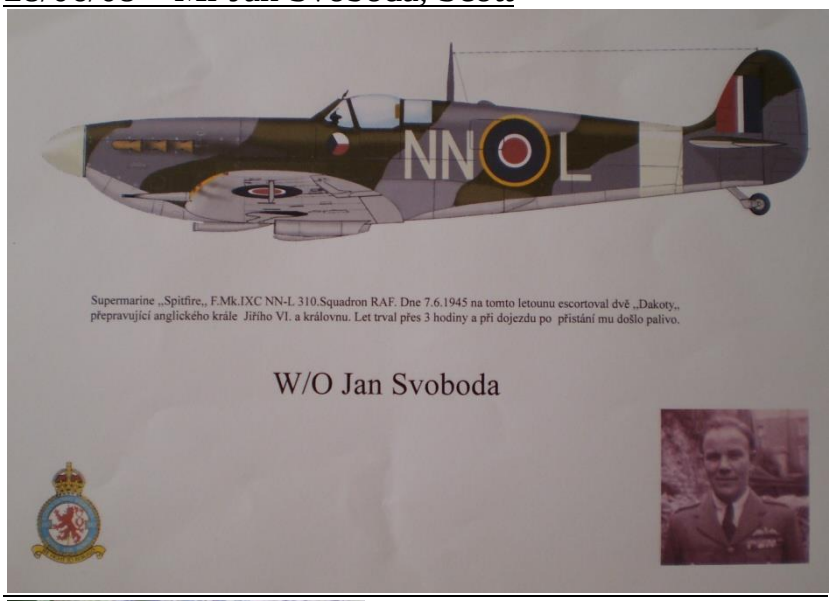
*1921, Prague, navigator in bombers

The first part of his interview, where he is describing his journey to England, is not recorded (technical problems with the voice tracer).
He was Jewish: therefore he came at the age of 15 with his 18 year old brother before the Second World War started in order to escape the Nuremberg laws. They came to **England** to work on the farm. They listened to the **BBC radio** – the News– in the favour of the Allies, but they got to know what was happening, the Dunkirk, etc. They did not know about the holocaust and were not political.
1941 -He joined the **RAF** when he was 18. Read some newspapers, but not much. **The Czechoslovak** – he saw the odd number, from time to time. They listened to the **Prague radio** (Vlasta Burian + German **propaganda** – Battle of Britain – heard numbers of shot down planes from British and German sides – different). However he felt that even the British numbers were excessive.
They were moving places as a Squadron. Training in Scotland, radar training in London, etc. Then he was placed as an operational unit in Wales, New Forest, Cornwall and many more. Everybody had to do 800 hours of operational flying, then taken somewhere else.. Their Liberator – aircraft – 8 members – a team. Close friends, within some special **friendships** 2 – 3 men. Only one English man, Geoffrey Shaw, in his crew: Oxford graduate . Teacher who taught in Prague in the English grammar school, where he used to go to school too (different floor) and had long Czech connections. 'He was there to keep an eye on us – foreigners, I think.' English became quite Czechophiles (liked Czechs) – maintain the contacts after the war.
Operational unit – **everyday life** – stand by duty, operational duty, days off. Walks in the woods. If you had money – went to Bournemouth, play cards, go to pubs, organized dancing. Used to go swimming, shooting rabbits, collecting seagulls' eggs from the nests – there was a lady in a cafe, they gave her the seagull eggs and she cooked them for them

(food was scarce). Locals had no problems with the Czechs. But **they didn't mix much** with them when they were in operational units.
Daily Express, Mirror – the popular **newspapers** he read. He cannot remember any specific articles about the Czechoslovak pilots (he thinks it wouldn't be permitted). He also does not remember many details... **Newsletter** – there was an official RAF newsletter circulated through all the stations – written in English. He remembers a cartoon character, Pilot Officer Pun. 'It was lying about messily so you could pick up one...'
> There was **not much attention paid to the media** at that time. Although information was crucial, they seemed to rely on the leaders to tell them about what was happening, or ask each other..<
How did you survive? 'It wouldn't happen to me. Only to someone else'
Czechoslovak minority – living in exile – he only knew one family from Vrchlabi, moved to England 1938. Other than that he had no connections. He met other Czechs in the Club in London, but they mainly stuck together with the friends, not mixing much– we were a closed community, not much exposed to others. English were nice, not aliens. They didn't make many plans – didn't know whether they survived... After the war they went back to the Czechoslovakia 'without a question'... They knew that there were other squadrons but not details. 'One had to be very careful what to say – not to get into problems...' British were scared of spies who infiltrated from civilians. Keep your mouth shut - posters. 'Always on the guard'. IN THEIR SQUADRON they always reminded them.
Czechoslovak position in the RAF was established immediately (after the training). 'Our squadron was successful in comparison with others.' Pilots had large experience from Czechoslovakia, then fighting in France. They were also successful in Battle of Britain (general Frantisek – flying with the Polish squadron, Kutlwasser – 'Cat's eyes' – good at flying in the dark) – promoted the Czechs – **national identity**.
Exile government – they didn't know much about them. Benes came and they paraded. He stuck a medal on him. They were proud of him, he was their president, but not remember much... One had to do what one had to do to get rid of the Germans... (Again he feels embarrassed when he cannot remember him). He does not want to talk about politics. There were many communists around.
Information about home, Prague – cannot remember. Heard about Lidice, but not much about general life... Propaganda – one believed a lot of it. Sometimes too obvious – then doubting (British shot down 200 aircrafts in one operation; they knew it was not true – they knew the numbers from their friends). But 'if the NEWS WAS GOOD, ONE WAS HAPPY TO BELIEVE IT BECAUSE ONE WANTED TO BELIEVE IT.' There was nothing about individual units in the newspapers – secret (position or names).
1944/45 – 311 Sq in Scotland, than course (wireless navigator – he wanted to be a pilot but they said they had enough already) and 246 Sq transport command Sq in Wales. Different atmosphere. Crew – 4 – 2 pilots, navigator and a wireless operator. They were flying to the Far East and then the Mediterranean – 12-14 days return trip, then leave for 10 days...They had lots of leave. Used to go to London, or to visit his friends.
After the war, he returned to Czechoslovakia in August. Russians didn't allow it much earlier – arguing about the land. He stayed in the Air Force, carried on in transport flying. Flew around Europe with VIPs, Embassy people... In 1946 – he was thrown out of his flat by communist. There was no appeal. He had no family there, went back to London. Joined his brother who went to London university (after he left the Army). Then he started working with Ivan Schwarz. After the war – shortage of everything. They were successful. Czech wife, who cannot speak much Czech, came here as a child.
Czechoslovak minority – from the First World War - some Czechs here. Formed into Sokol, then Czech club... Then large amount of refugees from Nazi Czechoslovakia. I think there were hundreds of thousands...Purpose of the Czechoslovak? Maintaining the Czech language (people had to assimilate into the English environment)... Many English were

interested in the Czechoslovak people after Munich... It was in the news very much before the war.

28/06/08 – Mr Jan Svoboda, Scott



*Brno, 1918, Spitfire pilot

Arrival to England – He came from Yugoslavia, through Greece, Turkey. The Germans were very close.

1941 he arrived in England, he couldn't speak any English. Course – learnt English in 2 months. He was a pilot before in the Czech Republic, however he was put on a course where he learnt everything from the beginning – he liked it, as it was very thorough. Positive feelings about the **RAF** and beginnings in England (as everybody else!). He found understanding English on the radio very difficult – so he was happy to learn quickly. He started in the Squadron 310, where he also finished.

> **No diary. No newsletter**. Not keen on talking about the 'official matters or media' – he remembered best the personal matters (getting drunk, girlfriends – she was teaching him English – 'the best way!'<

Tow months of an English course. Then he was sent to Canada for training (8 months). He loved it there. Another course – to show their capability – operational unit. Then he stayed with the Squadron. Complaining about his Sq leader (Hartmann) – he found him useless. He apparently took advantage of Mr Svoboda.

They were using mainly spoken English – but it was fluent when he got to the Squadron. **Czechs v English people** - 'We kept to ourselves (Czechs) and they kept to themselves (local people).' But they liked us, looked after us, sometimes. **Free time** – he had a car (that he found overturned on the side of the road), the only one in the squadron. Torquay –

holiday with friends... One of his best friends died in his own aircraft after the war. English people 'understood when we got drunk'. In the uniform, you could get away with many things.
He use to go to the Czech club in London, and he met other Czechs there. He found out about it from other boys. He went there very seldom, he didn't like London. He saw '***The Czechoslovak'*** there, but never read it. Also there was Czech food and drinks. It was friendly – they were Czechs. It didn't matter what position they had – 'Czechs were Czechs – as long as they spoke Czech they were alright'. He didn't care about friendships, only about Squadron. Some came back to the Czechoslovakia; some stayed and wanted to stay. He got married after the war to an English woman. She wouldn't survive in Czechoslovakia. 'She started losing weight – doctor said, take her home, so I did. We moved close to her family near Brighton'.
How did you survive? 'I took it day by day.' There were about 14 pilots in our Squadron – like a big family, nice **relationships**. Socializing a lot. He married his girlfriend after the war- he didn't make her a widow. Not worried too much about leaving parents in the Czechoslovakia. 'My parents were still alive when I got home.' (That's all he mentioned). Didn't feel any different to the British pilots within the RAF ('all in the same boat').
Didn't know much about **propaganda** or the **Czech exile government** then. 'We were very busy.' On the invasion – we were doing three flights a day (3 times 2 hours). Patrols, over to France. 'His friend came to him when he came back from flying and shot a pistol next to his ear (as a joke), but it didn't wake him up – slept so deep. However, his friend got into trouble as all the officers heard it and came. You know, we all had pistols....'
He didn't know much about what was happening in the Czechoslovakia. 'Only from the newspapers, what the boys were talking about...'I was never politically orientated. I did not care. Not much **propaganda**. All the English people knew that we were there (our position) – it wasn't a secret. They only stayed at one place for two months; they were moving around for security reasons. He also didn't worry about the **representation** of themselves in the newspapers – as long as he lived... it was fine.
Stories about fighting – He could remember all details and I realized how amazingly talented pilots they were. Of course lucky as well, but cold minded and experienced. To be good wasn't good enough. '*I was always cool. Clear thinking...That was my luck.*' Once I was sent on a course because I crashed a plane when parking it – in Sheffield for 4 weeks together with others who had other disciplinary issues. I was so good – wanted to get back as soon as possible. *'When he was in trouble in the plane, the boys were already drawing lots for his car. When he came back, they were disappointed – cheeky monkeys..'*
A typical day – they were only worried about their immediate surrounding... '*We were actually selfish in a way.' 'Nothing to say that is worth writing about...' 'Except from, I had a car...'* >He didn't remember much about what they did at the base (faded away...). '*We were all friends – you have to be. I didn't know many Czechs. I knew airmen from other Squadrons.'*
After the war – *'You felt deflated; you had no attention, now you have to live for the future; that's all'. 'I got married, we went to the Czechoslovakia, and then we got back. Some boys stayed in the air force. I opened a garage – repairing. Then I started stop car driving – I was first one world champion...a celebrity.'* His wife's father told him, you can't marry my daughter because your country has no history... They didn't know anything about the Czechs. His father-in-law said to him: 'You Czechs - I thought you were black.'
National identity – he did not care much about these things but he told his future father-in-law that the Czech history is probably richer than the English one. Again the need to have a firm base from the past for a stronger position in the present. A typical phenomenon of a small nation. Low self esteem but patriots. <

29.06.08 – Mr Miroslav Antonin Liskutin

*Jirirkovice, Brno, 23/08/1919, Spitfire pilot

Arrival – '*Something I should put ahead of that is a description of what happened after Munich, Chemberlain,...'* He felt that Britain would need pilots (before the war started), so they went over there. Flying conversion unit of 23 men, and 4 of us survived the war. They took a walk to Poland. There they were very helpful. He mentions many details again. Across to Sweden, then to London. In the beginning the British didn't want them to come – which the Czechs didn't understand, because they thought they would be welcome there. 'There he met the Czechoslovak air force attaché, who confirmed that the war is coming because he knew a spy who worked close to Hitler....' 20th May 1939 – he was interviewed by the English air force officers. He was fluent in German by the age of 12, in French by the age of 15, and his English wasn't that good but he used to listen to the radio in Brno, some programmes in English. He was not anywhere near the 800 words that they needed. He wasn't accepted as there was no war but they told to him to come if there was a war and he would be accepted straight away. So he went back to the Czech Embassy. But he didn't want to be with refugees – "I am a fighter and I came here as volunteer" – so he was introduced to the French attaché, who agreed with him that the war might start after the harvest was in (end of August). So he got a ticket to Calais – and went to the French foreign legion (army – to be transferred to the air force).

In France, they had old equipment, he was depressed. He spent 2-3 weeks in London (he was walking through) the same in Paris – almost a holiday, as he had food and accommodation provided. End of June, he got to North Africa, where already other Czechoslovaks were arriving, so they formed a unit. They were bored there, as they weren't doing much....

1st September, war started. He was sent to **Morocco**, emergency – a potential attack from Italy. Then they started some training, familiarization with the place and the plane (old models)... (many more details about the quality of different types of planes). Funny story – when his leader didn't want them to rush into fighting – as he said enjoy the wine and the girls for as long as you can.

1940 he got into the **RAF**, he was jealous that a friend of his had already got into fights (but when he was shot down few weeks later he realised he was lucky). In England, he went through several trainings, flew different planes, and then finally he started flying a Hurricane, which was his dream. First time in the air in it, he felt happy but scared... Everything is happening much faster than I expected. Description how he was landing, and controlling the aircraft... as he was good he was offered to fly Spitfires. He was sent to do his complete conversion. It was much easier for him than the Hurricane – much simpler.

> In England they actually were not exposed to the **real life** and true local people. They were isolated amongst themselves within their units. Also **national identity** factor – '*the foreigners were friendly, just like my own people'*. However then he describes some of the Czechs as extremely unfriendly. The relationships obviously went beyond the national

level. Lowest level- sub-national = personal. Then national – Czechoslovaks/Czechs. And above that their role as RAF pilots.
>Talking about other **pilots who got killed** – quite often for '**carelessness**', there was no need to fly like that – might have been a security way of thinking, that they must have done something wrong – he was not going to...<
Then he got into **145 Squadron – a foreign** Squadron. Other pilots there – Australians, South Africans, Belgians, New Zealanders, Canadians, and only 3 Czechs... all were nice. They were friendly, just like 'my own people'. There were also charming ladies from the parachute section. He described the fights – again '**a full story'**. Later they moved this Squadron to the Far East – he had to go to the Czech Squadron, although he didn't want to go there – he was quite happy to stay at this one, which he liked.
At the Czech 312 Squadron, the Czech leader Vasatko was horrible to him (he knew him from Olomouc – flying officer), as an ordinary man, he wasn't taken as equal..., although they were all volunteers. He didn't believe him that he had already flown Spitfires, might have been jealous that he was with a foreign Squadron... Then they started flying, other officers were nice: real gentlemen. They were on readiness straight away, with hurricanes. He had a **hobby – taking photographs**. Had documented everything, even secret things such as putting bombs on Spitfires... Later Squadron moved to South Wales. He talked about difficulties during the flights – landing in fog, almost running out of fuel, landing on the farm field. When they lost a plane, the Squadron leader blamed them for costing the Czechoslovakian government £6000. He quite often found that the Czech Squadron leaders did not have the right approach... Although they flew with the men all the time and were good organizers, they did not like the ordinary pilots... Some boys were preaching about the communist ideology, trying to influence the airmen to be against Western Europe and support the Russian revolution... Listening to the Moscow radio, spreading pamphlets about the second front, how the Russians were coming to help. He didn't like it. He believed in freedom and did not care about **ideologies...**
Everyday life – 4 o'clock – breakfast (fried egg and tea), 10 o'clock snack. They moved into the central operational room. Readiness in 15mins (have to be sitting nearby), readiness in 30mins (could walk around, shooting rabbits), stand by. Sometimes the German aircrafts wouldn't be picked up by radar until they were three miles far from us (on the coast). So they were situated on the cliff. In the evenings, they were sometimes taken to some local club (dancing, etc.). Not many Czech friends outside the squadron, Czech club was always bit too far away (as he was positioned in Cornwall, Scotland, South Wales,...). *We were a 'Czech unit but we were all behaving as members of Royal Air Force.' 'Our aim was to be seen as any other squadron – no differentiation. We were there to* ***fulfil the task****, and only if we were as anybody else we could do it properly.*'
Information - '*We admired our* ***President Benes*** *– but they were there doing their political bit, and we had to do our part.*' *We had some pamphlets about what was happening in Czechoslovakia. Only typed, I don't know who producer them (in Czech) – may be produced by the Czechoslovak Embassy. 'That was all we needed. We were busy with our own things.'*
Arrival – feelings about meeting the first English – in the hotel, a nice young lady who showed him around London (another perfect story, ready to be told). In the evening he went to the cinema – end surprised to see people smoking there. Also seeing so many Muslims from many countries surprised him. He kept his diary – only factual, dates and events.
He also talked about his ability of reading; fluent in 4 languages, it helped him in life.
Newspapers – he didn't like the Daily Mail. He liked the Daily Express –easy language; came across the Guardian and Herald. He didn't like The Times or The Telegraph because of their style (Presentation and language). They were not close to his own style... He remembers some comments about the Czechoslovak aviators. But not in details. Matter of

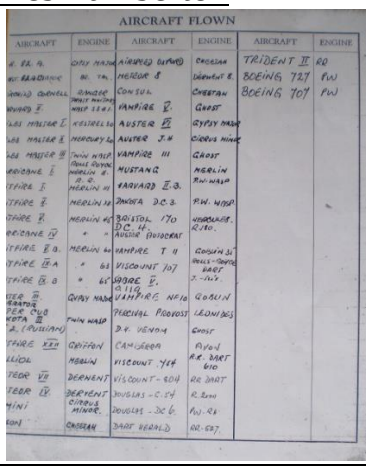
fact – the majority was correct. He hated when they used the word ‘refugees’ – as they were volunteers.

Flying – their service started half an hour before sunrise and finished half an hour after sunset. In readiness in the crew room – long hours. A compensation for these long hours was a lot of leave. He used it to study – to finish a school leaving examination, as he had missed out on education, due to flying and exile. Easter 1945, he graduated. So he could have gone to the Czechoslovak universities, but he wanted to continue flying.

Q: **What kept you going?** ‘*The desire to defeat Germany!’ Sense of achievement. I would risk everything to help to set free our republic.*

After the war – *‘When the war finished – we felt bit disappointed. We though it would be more exciting.’* (His son was born 1944, and he got married during the war). They were scared that they *would* not be able to go back to Czechoslovakia, as it was occupied by Russians – very confusing. Czechoslovak squadrons took the aircrafts they were using back to Czechoslovakia and set up a new army there. So they had to fly them over there. Prague did not look as if it was in Czech hands, as there were Soviet planes everywhere. Back in Czechoslovakia. Serving as pilots. In 1948 – communists ended their work and sent many airmen to jail, or dictated what kinds of jobs they could take (agricultural or factory). So he decided to emigrate. He took his wife and children and went back to England (his Australian friends invited them to work and live in Australia; however his wife didn’t want to move so far. In England, he started working on a farm; soon he was accepted back into the RAF. He became a flying officer, and later also instructor.

14/07/08 – Mr Charles Lamberton



*9/2/1922 in Prague

Arrival – I was at school in Switzerland 1936, and then I came to Prague. From there I was sent by my parents to England (to school – for 3 years, where he was adopted by his mother’s old school friend). Parents were originally Austrians. But they moved to Czechoslovakia after WW2 (father was a diplomat). He got into the Czech Squadron because he had a Czechoslovakian passport and got a position there – assistant mechanic; however he **did not feel Czech**, but British.

RAF – First he joined the Czech army, 6 months’ ‘square bashing’. He wanted to fight Hitler but only through flying. He didn’t want to go into the trenches. So he joined the RAF. 1941 – he was sent for flying training – Squadron 312. Czechoslovakian instructor, Puda, was an excellent pilot. Then he did 90 operational tours. He started with 310 – low level flying to Holland. Also bomber escorts. Flying Spitfires. Later he went back to 312 (Sq Leader asked for him – Tony Vybiral).

A typical day – every morning, briefed in Operational room, then off we went to our planes. Engines were ready, we just jumped in. The whole squadron – 12 of us – always

together. Flights were about 2.5 – 3.5 hours. Low level intruder flights to Holland or escorts.

Czechoslovak v English relationships – excellent, no problem. Most of the Czechoslovaks didn't speak very good English. OK on the radio, but they didn't adapt as well as I did. Eventually, they did (after the war). I never wore 'Czechoslovakia' on my shoulder – I thought if I was caught, I would be shot or treated as a real enemy. (A story about his friend who was captured by the Dutch and beaten because he was Czechoslovak).

Newspapers – we have never seen the Czechoslovak newspapers. Nothing written in Czech. (They might have had them in the Czech army). In our free time we did pub crawling, we all had our cars, and I kept a dog. We all had our girlfriends – life was normal. We listened to the radio – mainly Churchill, never read newspapers, rarely went to the cinema. I didn't like the Czechoslovakian exile government. Except Jan Masaryk – he was very nice. But President Benes never came to us, never to talk to the men – as we did not exist. I never got a medal (only on paper).

We never met any **other Czechoslovaks**; had nothing to do with the community. Very enthusiastic as a pilot. **Atmosphere** – high morale. Even when we lost people – they were quickly forgotten (not completely but not mentioned again).

Flying was everything, all we were interested in (passion). Then my personal life suffered due to it. I couldn't switch off (after war. 7 years without any leave). We were an elite group within the RAF, and we had a task to do – no matter what were the politics. What kept you going? 'We drank each time when someone died but then quickly forgot and off we went again. I must have been mad. He didn't speak good Czech. There never was an issue if you were a Czech or a Slovak. Just one group... Propaganda – **'it was a general taboo not to talk about details from our lives in the bases...'**

Czechoslovak embassy – they weren't interested in us... **Newspapers** - A lot of wives sent stories into newspapers about their husbands. We never did it ourselves. We were conscious of the fact that we were very well thought off. We had our top button undone and hair as long as we could get away with. But there was a rivalry between us and the bomber boys. I felt sorry for them, they were writing more about Spitfire pilots (fighter boys) than about the bombers. But they quite often ended badly. Radio – not much about the RAF or Czechoslovak pilots (we wanted to be a part of the air force; we didn't want them to mention us separately). We got on with the locals very well – meeting them in the pub, they were very friendly ('However - low flying – during the war people always prayed for us and after the war they started screaming').

Time off – every six months. I went to see my aunt. Watched cricket matches – mostly boring. I never went to the Czech club in London. Only into night clubs – we had an easy entrance into all of them (thanks to our uniform). I never had any Czech friends outside the RAF, apart from the airmen.

After the war – when the war finished – I couldn't concentrated. I was useless for 6 months. The Czechs, they all went back... (They lived a dream. They all wanted to go.) He was one of the 1st RAF pilots who returned to Prague. A party at the Embassy. He saw the danger of communism starting there. He witnessed when all the Sudeten Germans were sent away in a cattle wagon. Didn't find his mother, only her friend. 'I didn't want to know anymore...' I came back to England and told them, but they didn't believe me. However, in a year they were all back.' I had to leave the RAF; later on I joined 610 Sq and flew Spitfires again. Then I became an airline pilot (flying into the Far East, and flying instructor with Iraq air force).

>Talking about the Czechs as about a group of people he was not a part of. <

24/08/08 – Mr Hugo Vilem Mellion

*8/9/1918 in Belgrade, RAF clerk GD, (he also was an active member of the Czech Veterans' Association with many links to the Czech republic, who had his last speech about his war memories at University in Prague in June 2007; unfortunately after a stroke, which happened in June 2008, he struggles with recalling details and focusing on questions).

Arrival - Came to England to improve his English – winter 1939 for his father's shipping business. His English was good already; he had been English at school in Czechoslovakia since he was 10. He lived in Prague, Celetna Street. He came by train, to London, stayed in YMCA (elsewhere it was expensive). People were generally nice, I was a stranger...

Life in England - Later on he moved up to North – to not to be lonely. He went to school (it was very strict), but also he learnt from practice. Then his sister was getting married (she already lived in Warrington) on 8th September 1939, just few days after the war started. They suggested that he would struggle in London, as it would be bombed or targeted, so he moved permanently to the North. After that he met his 1st wife in 1941– English woman (stayed together till 1954; then he remarried in the 1960s – still living with his new wife), and their daughter was born 1942.

1941/42 - **311 Squadron** – Due to his advanced English, he started working as a clerk GD (assistant, and kind of somebody 'who sorts out everything'). He was sent to training first, but then he settled in 311 and stayed there for the rest of the war. He had his own car. At the beginning of the war, he was a kind of link between the English leaders/commanders and the Czech crew/men. Their English, however, soon improved during their stay in England. Due to the fact that he was married, they had separate accommodation (only once they stayed in the tent camp). He was very proud of the 311Sq – the first Squadron fighting Germans from all of the Czechoslovakian Squadron. (Showing me a Czech book where all the Squadrons and all the names of all the Czech aviators - bombers, pilots, navigators, mechanics,...).

Free time – they had some special shows in English just for their squadron. There were some films in their base (in English) and some RAF educational programmes. But he mainly stayed around his family. Never wrote a diary.

Newspapers – never saw '*The Czechoslovak'* or any other Czech newspapers or newsletters. The only newspapers he read were common British newspapers that they had at the base; he got all his information from there (about the progress of the war, or Czechoslovakia). They also listen to the radio – about what was happening at home (the WO wireless operators told everything to the rest of the men).

Czech minority – he had no links with other Czechs outside the RAF. He had a few friends from the RAF (and their wives – '*we were very happy'*) but most of them died. He didn't go to the Czech club much at all and claimed that the emigrants started coming to England in bigger numbers after 1989 – before only scattered numbers. However, they established their position in the RAF very quickly. They were proud to be Czechs but also proud to be a 'proper' part of the RAF. He recalls the Czech-British relationships as non-problematic. 'They knew quite a lot about us from the newspapers' (the war and the pre-war Munich affair).

Exile government – he knew quite a lot about Benes and his politics ('I met him, read some of his printed speeches'). However, the airmen, we were always apolitical. Also, busy with their lives – not interested in politics as much. They only thing he realized was Benes's orientation towards Russia even during the war...

Propaganda + Representation of the airmen in British newspapers – there were many reports about the airmen ('every other day'); sometimes the names were different, as it had to be a secret, but the content he found quite correct. Also he does not recall any

propaganda influencing his life. The morale of the Squadron was high; they were fighting for the freedom of their country – therefore did not need any propaganda. He also did not have any support or anything to do with the Czechoslovak Embassy.
After the war – he went home to Czechoslovakia with his wife, carried on in his family business. Then he returned to England in 1948 when the communists confiscated his company. He shipped his furniture and some belongings to England.

Appendix 44 – **Copyright agreement and signed participants' copies**

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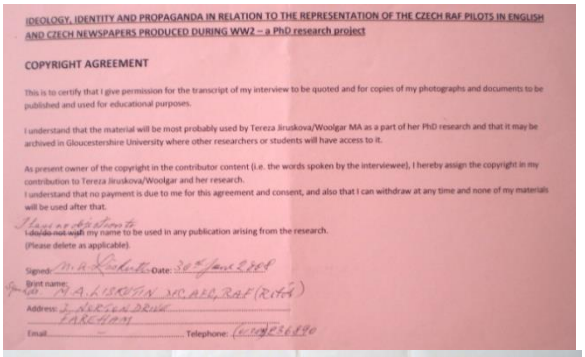
Print name:
……...……...
Address:
……...……..
……
……..….
Email…….....….. Telephone:
……..……..



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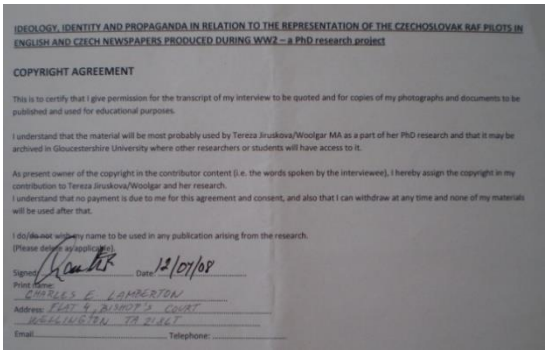
Signed: M.A. Kisbotn Date: 30th June 2008
Print name: M.A. KISBOTN MC, AFC, RAF (R.164)
Address: 2 NORTON DRIVE
FARNHAM
Email: Telephone: (01252) 736890



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(Please delete as applicable).

Signed: Date: 12/07/08
Print name: CHARLES E LAMBERTON
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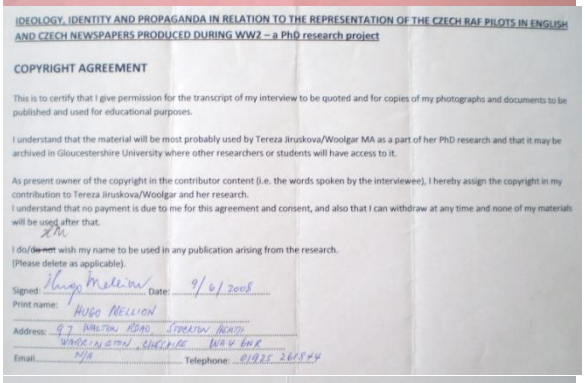
WELLINGTON TA21 8LT
Email: Telephone:



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(Please delete as applicable).

Signed: Hugo Mellion Date: 9/6/2008
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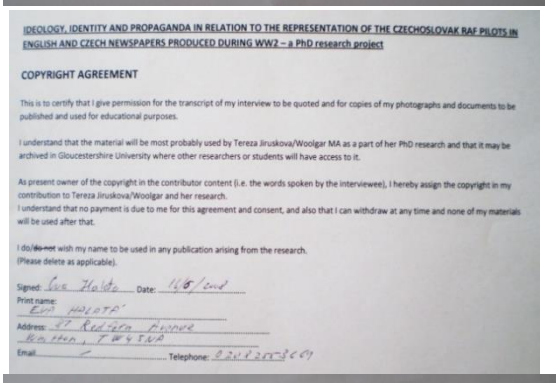
WARRINGTON CHESHIRE WA4 6HR
Email: N/A Telephone: 01925 267844



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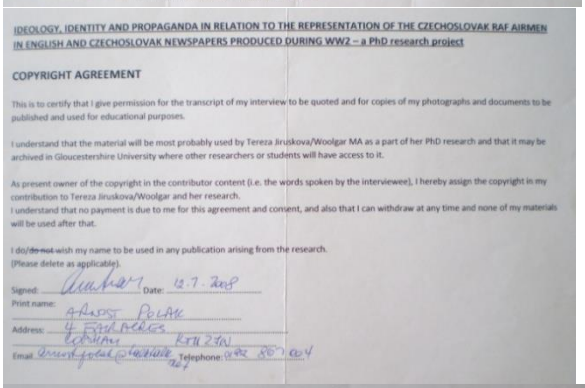
(Please delete as applicable).

Signed: Date: 165/2008
Print name: EVA HALOTA'
Address: 47 Redfern Avenue
Rochdale, OL11 5NA
Email: Telephone: 01706 356709



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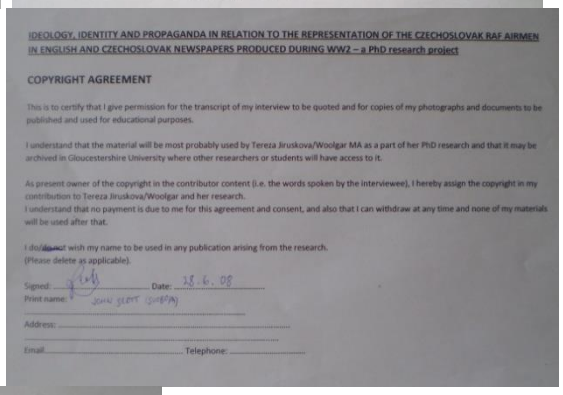
(Please delete as applicable).

Signed: Date: 12.7.2008
Print name: ARNOST POLAK
Address: 4 FAIRBERGS
ICKNIELD KT11 2SN
Email: Telephone: 01932 867004



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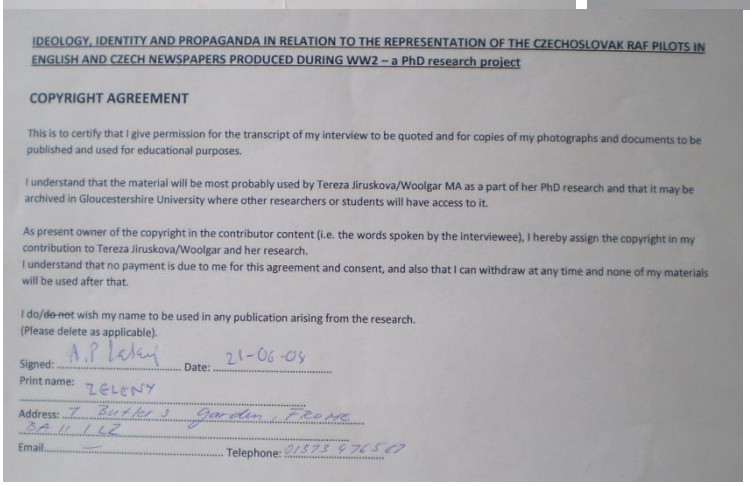
(Please delete as applicable).

Signed: Date: 23.6.08
Print name: JOHN SLOTT (SLOTA)
Address:
Email: Telephone:



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(Please delete as applicable).

Signed: A.P Zeleny Date: 21-06-08
Print name: ZELENY
Address: 7 Butler's Gardens, FROME
BA11 1LR
Email: Telephone: 01373 467507

Appendix 45 – **Sample letter to the Czech RAF veterans**

22nd June 2008

Colonel J. Scott
52 Valley Road
Newhaven
BN99XB

Dear Mr Scott,

Thank you very much for getting back to me through your friend. I greatly admire what you contributed towards during the Second World War and I am honoured to have the opportunity to write a thesis about your lives.

Following our phone conversation with him, I would like to confirm that I am coming to Newhaven on Saturday afternoon (between 3-4pm). Please let me know if there is a problem and I will try to think of some other options.

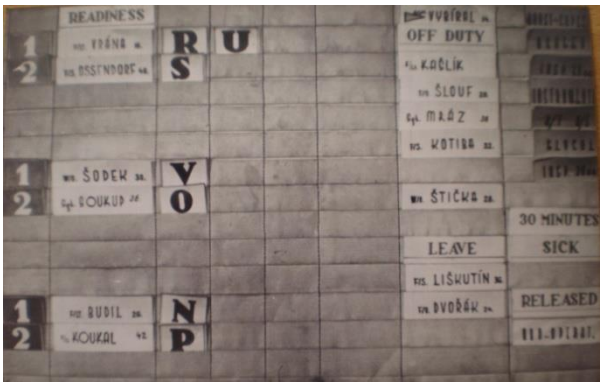
I have also included the sample questions and a copyright agreement so you can get a better idea about what I will be asking about. However, you do not have to prepare yourself or write anything down – these questions are only guiding ones. I am looking forward to meeting you.

Yours sincerely

Tereza Jiruskova-Woolgar

Appendix 46 – **Mr Liskutin's WW2 RAF photographs: Bombs on Spitfires, 312 Squadron, Chichester, May 1944**

Appendix 47 – **Mr Liskutin's WW2 RAF photographs: "B" Flight readiness board, 312 Squadron, Tauton, 1943**



Appendix 48 – **Mr Liskutin's WW2 RAF photographs: Operational room, 312 Squadron, Chichester, July 1944**

Appendix 49 – **Mr Liskutin's WW2 RAF photographs: Spitfire EP 660, 312 Squadron, RAF, Plymoth, August 1942**

Appendix 50 – **Mr Liskutin's WW2 RAF photographs: Mr Liskutin being presented with a medal by a Czechoslovak army general, 312 Squadron, Harrowbeer, 28/10/1942**

Appendix 51 – **Mr Liskutin's WW2 RAF photographs: Field accommodation, 312, RAF Appledram, Chichester, May 1944**

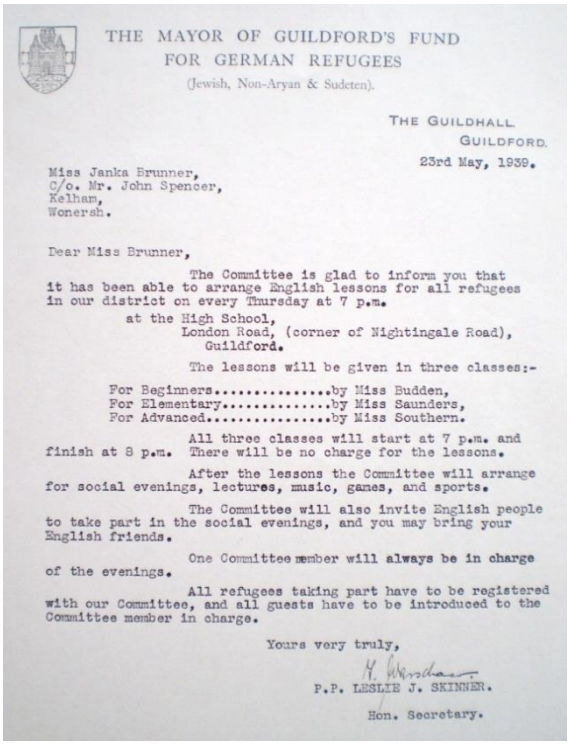
Appendix 52 – **Mr Liskutin's WW2 RAF photographs: "B" Flight in Readiness, 312 Squadron, RAF, Harrowbeer, Summer 1942**

Appendix 53 **– Mr Liskutin's WW2 RAF photographs: Some of the Squadron pilots in readiness, 312 Squadron, RAF, Appledram, May 1944**

Appendix 54 – **Mr Liskutin's WW2 RAF photographs: Squadron pilot Liskutin in readiness with Spitfire MK IIa, 145 Squadron, RAF, Catterick, Yorkshire, September 1941**

Appendix 55 – **Mr Liskutin's WW2 RAF photographs: Mr Liskutin has landed with a damaged Spitfire after combat over France, 312 Squadron, RAF, Redhill, August 1942**

Appendix 56 – **The Czech Refugee Trust – records in IWM – 8/4/1938 and 29/9/1942, Miss J. Brunner**



THE MAYOR OF GUILDFORD'S FUND
FOR GERMAN REFUGEES
(Jewish, Non-Aryan & Sudeten).

THE GUILDHALL
GUILDFORD.
23rd May, 1939.

Miss Janka Brunner,
C/o. Mr. John Spencer,
Kelham,
Wonersh.

Dear Miss Brunner,

The Committee is glad to inform you that it has been able to arrange English lessons for all refugees in our district on every Thursday at 7 p.m.

at the High School,
London Road, (corner of Nightingale Road),
Guildford.

The lessons will be given in three classes:-

For Beginners.....by Miss Budden,
For Elementary.....by Miss Saunders,
For Advanced.....by Miss Southern.

All three classes will start at 7 p.m. and finish at 8 p.m. There will be no charge for the lessons.

After the lessons the Committee will arrange for social evenings, lectures, music, games, and sports.

The Committee will also invite English people to take part in the social evenings, and you may bring your English friends.

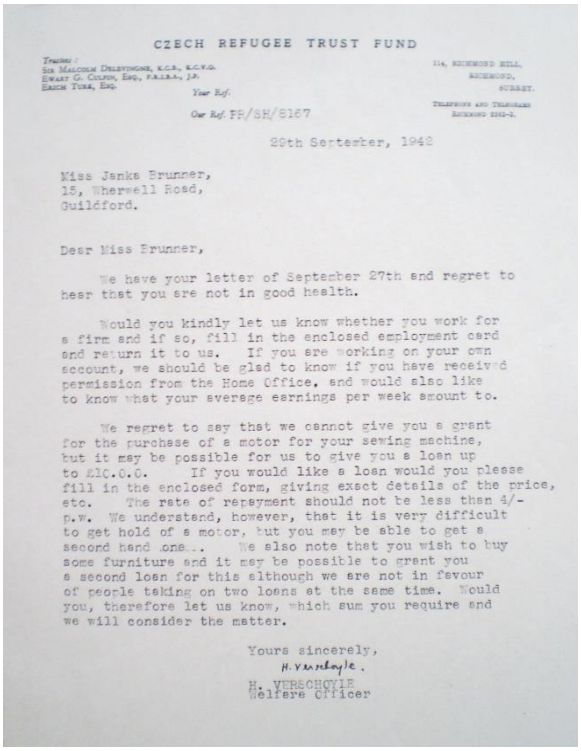
One Committee member will always be in charge of the evenings.

All refugees taking part have to be registered with our Committee, and all guests have to be introduced to the Committee member in charge.

Yours very truly,

P.P. LESLIE J. SKINNER.

Hon. Secretary.



CZECH REFUGEE TRUST FUND

Trustees:
Sir Malcolm Delevingne, K.C.B., K.C.V.O.
Ewart G. Culpin, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., J.P.
Basil Tuke, Esq.

114, Richmond Hill,
Richmond,
Surrey.

Telephone and Telegrams
Richmond 2362-3.

Your Ref.

Our Ref. FR/SH/8167

29th September, 1942

Miss Janka Brunner,
15, Therwell Road,
Guildford.

Dear Miss Brunner,

We have your letter of September 27th and regret to hear that you are not in good health.

Would you kindly let us know whether you work for a firm and if so, fill in the enclosed employment card and return it to us. If you are working on your own account, we should be glad to know if you have received permission from the Home Office, and would also like to know what your average earnings per week amount to.

We regret to say that we cannot give you a grant for the purchase of a motor for your sewing machine, but it may be possible for us to give you a loan up to £10.0.0. If you would like a loan would you please fill in the enclosed form, giving exact details of the price, etc. The rate of repayment should not be less than 4/- p.w. We understand, however, that it is very difficult to get hold of a motor, but you may be able to get a second hand one... We also note that you wish to buy some furniture and it may be possible to grant you a second loan for this although we are not in favour of people taking on two loans at the same time. Would you, therefore let us know, which sum you require and we will consider the matter.

Yours sincerely,

H. VERSCHOYLE.
Welfare Officer

Appendix 57 – **List of interview questions**

Name, surname, date of birth, where you were born and today's date.

Arrival:

ARRIVAL ----------> DIARY ----------> NEWSLETTER ----------> NEWSPAPERS

- Could you please tell me about your arrival in England? Your initial knowledge of England and English language when you arrived, your feelings, people, etc.
- Did you keep a diary about your journey to England? (Did you carry on whilst settled and fighting in the RAF?) Why/ why not? If so, could you describe what you recorded and how?
- Did anybody around you during the journey produce a newsletter or anything similar? If so, please tell me about it.
- Did you see or read any English or Czech newspapers or magazines during your journey or when you arrived in England? (Czech or English)? Could you please describe what you can remember about war newspapers/ magazines? How important were they to you then?

Life in Great Britain:
LIFE ------> LANGUAGE -------> RELATIONSHIPS -------> FREE TIME -----> MEDIA

- Could you please tell me about your life in England? (Where did you settle? How did you live your everyday life? People around you? And more specifically life in the actual RAF?)
- How was your English language after some time living in England?
- Could you please describe the relationships between the airmen (Czechs and English)?
- How did you spend your free time (cinema, radio, newspapers)?
- Did you read newspapers? Which ones, how often, why? Were there any local English or Czech newspapers/newsletters you can remember?

National identity:
CZECH MINORITY ----------> OTHER CZECHS IN BRITAIN ---------> CZECHS & ENGLISH

- How would you describe the Czech minority living in England during the Second World War? (Features, cohesion, did they feel like migrants or emigrants? Did you know how many were there? What were your sources of info? How aware were you that you were a minority in a foreign country?)
- Did you know much about other Czech groups settled in England/UK? (Czech Embassy in London? Producers of Czech newspapers? Did you try to get in touch with anybody?)
- How quickly did you establish your position as Czechs within the English RAF? (Where do you think you were you in terms of English class system?
How do you think the Czechs were taken/appreciated by the English majority?)

Information:
INFORMATION ----> PROPAGANDA ----> REPRESENTATION IN NEWSPAPERS ----> IDEOLOGY

- How much did you know about the Czech exile government in London and the outside world? (How much did you know about your home country and everyday life there?)
- What would you say about the British propaganda during the WW2? (How much do you think you were influenced by it then? Do you think it influenced the representation of yourselves in the newspapers or films?)
- Do you know how accurately the Czech airmen's achievements were reported in the newspapers? (Which newspapers do you think were reporting most accurately? How would you compare the representation of the Czech and British soldiers in the war media?)
- Did you know or read any Czech newspapers? (*The Czechoslovak*) Could you tell me more about them? Do you find them influenced by any ideology? Why do you think the Czech minority produced them? What do you think about the articles? What could you tell me about the representation of the Czech pilots in them?)

End of war:

- Could you please tell me what happened when the war finished? (Where did you go? What job did you do? Did you get married?)
- Is there anything else you would like to mention?
- Also, have you got any photographs or documents from the war period that I could photocopy and send back to you?