HISTORICA

REVUE PRO HISTORII A PŘÍBUZNÉ VĚDY

ROČNÍK 15

2024/2

OSTRAVSKÁ UNIVERZITA

HISTORICA

REVUE PRO HISTORII A PŘÍBUZNÉ VĚDY • ROČNÍK 15

REDAKČNÍ RADA

Prof. PhDr. Aleš Zářický, Ph.D. *(vědecký redaktor, Ostravská univerzita)*
Mgr. Petr Kadlec, Ph.D. *(výkonný redaktor, Ostravská univerzita)*
Doc. Mgr. Robert Antonín, Ph.D. *(Ostravská univerzita)*
Dr. Christiane Brenner *(Collegium Carolinum e. V., München, USA)*
Prof. Gary B. Cohen *(University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, USA)*
Prof. dr. sc. Marija Mogorović Crljenko *(Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli, Chorvatsko)*
Doc. PhDr. Daniel Drápala, Ph.D. *(Masarykova univerzita, Brno)*
Prof. Mgr. Lukáš Fasora, Ph.D. *(Masarykova univerzita, Brno)*
Prof. PhDr. Martin Holý, Ph.D. *(Historický ústav AV ČR, v. v. i.)*
Prof. PhDr. Eduard Kubů, CSc. *(Univerzita Karlova v Praze)*
Doc. Mgr. Denisa Nečasová, Ph.D. *(Masarykova univerzita, Brno)*
Viktor Pál, PhD *(University of Helsinky, Finsko)*
Prof. PaedDr. Martin Pekár, PhD. *(Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafaríka v Košiciach, Slovensko)*
Doc. PhDr. Petr Popelka, Ph.D. *(Ostravská univerzita)*
Doc. PhDr. Daniela Rywiková, Ph.D. *(Ostravská univerzita)*
Prof. dr hab. UŚ Janusz Spyra *(Akademia im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie, Polsko)*
Mag. Dr. Maria Gabriele Theisen *(Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Rakousko)*
Prof. Dr. Thomas Wünsch *(Universität Passau, Německo)*

ČLÁNKY A STUDIE

ANDRZEJ KOZIEŁ
111 Historismus v rokokovém malířství ve střední Evropě. Případ Slezska

PETRA KAVREČIČ BOŽEGLAV
130 Tourism as an "Engine" of Modernization in Venezia Giulia during the First Years of the Italian Administration

ANTON HRUBOŇ – KATARÍNA RISTVEYOVÁ
149 An Exclusively Urban Phenomenon? Radical Agrarianism in Political Practice of Interwar Fascism : A Case Study of Slovakia

KAZEEM OMOTOLA SERIKI – ABOSEDE OLUWASEUN ODEDIJI
162 Environment, Epidemics and State Response in Ibadan, Western Nigeria, 1918–1939

PETER MIČKO – ZUZANA MIČKOVÁ
176 Pitfalls of the Industrialization of Selected Regions of Central Slovakia in the First Four Decades of the 20th Century

LITERATURA

199 SPYRA, Janusz: Pieniądz w służbie społeczeństwa : Towarzystwo Oszczędności i Zaliczek i inne polskie instytucje bankowości spółdzielczej na Śląsku Cieszyńskim : 150 lat Banku Spółdzielczego w Cieszynie 1873–2023. Cieszyn: Bank Spółdzielczy 2023, 395 [4] pp. ISBN 978-83-910627-1-5. (Wojciech Święs)

201 KUBŮ, Eduard – SOBOTKOVÁ, Jitka – ŠOUŠA, Jiří (edd.): Antonín Švehla : Český sedlák, politik a státník. Praha: Národní zemědělské muzeum 2023, 319 s. ISBN 978-80-88270-41-6. (Michaela Závodná)

202 MARCUS, Steven: Jiní viktoriáni : studie o sexualitě a pornografii v Anglii v polovině 19. století. Praha: Academia 2022, 236 s. ISBN 978-80-200-3392-5. (Klára Fabiánová)

205 KRONIKA

This work is licenced under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license for non-commercial purposes.

MK ČR E 18625 ISSN 1803-7550 (Print); ISSN 2695-060X (Online)

ČLÁNKY A STUDIE 149-161

An Exclusively Urban Phenomenon?

Radical Agrarianism in Political Practice of Interwar Fascism : A Case Study of Slovakia*

ANTON HRUBOŇ – KATARÍNA RISTVEYOVÁ

Hruboň, Anton – Ristveyová, Katarína: An Exclusively Urban Phenomenon? Radical Agrarianism in Political Practice of Interwar Fascism: A Case Study of Slovakia

Fascism is frequently considered to be a political movement associated with cities. The article attempts to contest this idea through a case study, which illustrates the agrarian-focused drive of fascism by profiling two fascist organisations in interwar Slovakia. It stresses agrarianism as a core factor of their political practice. The case study is based on an analysis of Rodobrana (1923–1929), a paramilitary organisation of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, which became a significant pioneering fascist movement in Slovakia, and the National Fascist Community (1926–1938), the most notable political party representing nationwide Czechoslovak fascism. Even though both streams were written down in history as relatively unsuccessful cliques of cads, their palingenetic discourse, based on radicalised agrarian thought, helped create an atmosphere that resulted in the acceptance of the latter measures adopted by Hlinka's Slovak People's Party's regime (confiscation of properties belonging to the "political parvenus", Aryanisation of Jewish assets, agrarian reforms, and the programme of Slovak national socialism).

Key Words *Slovak Fascism; Rodobrana; National Fascist Community; Hlinka's Slovak People's Party; Countryside; Agrarianism*

Contact *Univerzita Mateja Bela v Banskej Bystrici; anton.hrubon@umb.sk – Múzeum Slovenského národného povstania v Banskej Bystrici; katarina.ristveyova@muzeumsnp.sk*

DOI – 10.15452/Historica.2024.15.0008

Introduction

The political practices of fascist movements may impart the general impression that historical fascism is a strongly urban phenomenon. All the "trigger" milestones referring to its revolutionary spirit and destructiveness are primarily associated with the city: Mussolini's "March on Rome", Hitler's failed Beer Hall Putsch attempt in Munich, the flamboyant NSDAP rallies at Nuremberg's Reichsparteitagsgelände, the symbolic "conquest of space" during the Kampfzeit street battles in the metropolis and minor cities, or the subsequent concentrated efforts of fascists to reshape urban public space as per their image.[1]

* This work was supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency under the contract no. APVV-19-0358 and the KEGA project no. 003UMB-4/2022.

1 For the history of the relation between fascism and cities, and the fascist utilisation of urban space see e.g.: GRIFFIN, Roger: Building the Visible Immortality of the Nation : The Centrality of 'Rooted Modernism' to the Third Reich's Architectural New Order. *Fascism* 7, 2018, no. 1, pp. 9–44; HAGEN, Joshua – OSTERGREN,

However, the transnational ideology of fascism, which crossed the boundaries of European countries, incorporated both, urban and rural environments, into its palingenetic vision of national revival. Such complexity must have objectively encountered a fundamental problem: traditional or newly formed political parties captured their electorate immediately after World War I and left the political array emptied for the "late-comers", as political scientist Juan J. Linz called fascists in his essay contributing to the early comparative discussions. The post-war reality pushed fascists, who appeared on the political stage of most European countries just after Mussolini's successful seizure of power, to struggle for supporters patiently and to seize them from far better-established parties to their side.[2] This posed a crucial challenge for the cross-class scope, as well as the ambitions of fascism to dominate and transform the entire mythicised national community.

This article contests the notion of fascism as an ultranationalist revolutionism whose zones of interest lay primarily in urban areas, most affected by fin de siècle modernisation. An example of two varieties of interwar fascism in Slovakia diverts attention from the perception of fascism as a mythical alternative for the economically settled middle class to that of the peasant roots of local fascism, expressed equally in the political programme, as well as in practice. For analytical purposes and to support the argument that a complex transformation of the countryside played a critical role in the fascist concept of a "new nation", the case study provides an analysis of two non-regime varieties of fascism, one of which underwent a transition from a minor avant-garde movement to a parliamentary party (the National Fascist Community), and the other never passed the cocoon stage (Rodobrana). The idea that the debated movements had been operating, to a significant extent, with an agrarian-focused emphasis in their political thinking and narratives was principally not new. What this article endeavours to accentuate, contrary to the dominant academic discourse, is that the core of all shades of fascism in Slovakia lay primarily in radical agrarianism. The article argues that this radicalised agrarian thought represented, first, an ultranationalist response to the underdeveloped Slovak countryside and, second, a manifestation of its disaffinity with a "decadent" urban milieu. Hand in hand with Sven Reichardt's concept of fascist praxeology, it does not view the ideology of the analysed minor fascisms in Slovakia as an intellectual construct, but a "mutable political practice" expressed by human action and communication.[3]

Robert C.: *Building Nazi Germany* : *Place, Space, Architecture and Ideology*. London 2020; LARGE, David Clay: *Where Ghosts Walked* : *Munich's Road to the Third Reich*. New York 1997; KALLIS, Aristotle: *The Third Rome, 1922–1943* : *The Making of the Fascist Capital*. New York 2014; CAPROTTI, Federico: *Mussolini's Cities* : *Internal Colonialism in Italy, 1930–1939*. Youngstown 2007; CIUCCI, Giorgio: *Gli Architetti e il Fascismo* : *Architettura e Città, 1922–1944*. Turin 2002; CORNI, Gustavo: Die Utopien des Faschismus: Ruralisierung und „neue Städte". In: HARDTWIG, Wolfgang (ed.): *Utopie und politische Herrschaft im Europa der Zwischenkriegszeit*. München 2003, pp. 97–117. For the Slovak aspects of the topic see: FOGELOVÁ, Patrícia – PEKÁR, Martin: *Disciplinované mesto* : *Zásahy politiky do verejného priestoru na Slovensku v rokoch 1938–1945*. Košice 2021; SZALAY, Peter – BOGÁR, Michal – HABERLANDOVÁ, Katarína – BARTOŠOVÁ, Nina – KRIŠTEKOVÁ, Laura: *Vojnová Bratislava 1939–1945*. Bratislava 2020; HRUBOŇ, Anton: Fascist-Axis Slovakia's Spiritual Polis Politicus : Transformation of Ružomberok to the 'Capital of the Movement' Under Hlinka's Slovak People's Party Rule (1938–1945). *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 25, 2024, no. 2, pp. 171–191.

2 LINZ, Juan J.: Political Space and Fascism as a Late-Comer : Conditions Conducive to the Success or Failure of Fascism as a Mass Movement in Inter-War Europe. In: LARSEN, Stein Ugelvik – HAGTVET, Bernt – MYKLEBUST, Jan Petter (eds.): *Who Were the Fascists?* : *Social Roots of European Fascism*. Bergen – Oslo – Tromsø 1980, p. 154.

3 REICHARDT, Sven: Fascist Communities of Action and Violence : A Praxeological Approach. In: IORDACHI, Constantin – KALLIS, Aristotle (eds.): *Beyond the Fascist Century. Essays in Honour of Roger Griffin*. Basingstoke 2020, p. 52.

Rodobrana as a Community of Rural Revolutionaries

The turn of the 19th and 20th centuries represented an era of extensive industrialisation and infrastructure modernisation in today's Slovakia, making it the most developed area of the Kingdom of Hungary. However, the situation changed notably after the monarchy's breakdown and the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in October 1918. Compared to the Czech lands, Slovakia was lagging economically. This created two negative narratives, shaping the Czech and Slovak nationalist discourses on Slovakia's appendix-like position within the country.

The Czech supremacist narrative considered Slovakia a backward agrarian region that burdened the state budget without adequate benefits. Conversely, Slovak nationalists, gathered mainly around the most influential Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana – HSĽS), blamed the "Prague Centre" for (i) a low investment volume favouring the Czech lands (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia) instead of the economic growth of the Slovak countryside, (ii) a paternalist perception of Slovakia, frequently depicting it as a land worth visiting, owing to its fascinating landscape, but lacking sufficient potential to rise to the level of the western parts of the Republic.

These emotional stances became a matter of intense confrontations under the auspices of HSĽS against the governmental elites. The supposed "pushing away" of Slovak economic interests and alleged "zero feedback" to their needs resulted in a long-time parliamentary and press quarrel. The "ľudáks"[4] convinced themselves that only territorial autonomy for Slovakia, within the Czechoslovak Republic, could resolve the frustrating stagnation issues. They called for dualism of the state, which included economic issues.[5]

The leaders of Christian-nationalist HSĽS adopted a conservative strategy of loud verbalisation of agrarian questions and an immediate need for sustainable solutions. Nevertheless, they abandoned the revolutionary forms of political engagement. This created an opportunity for its semi-military organisation, Rodobrana, the first significant fascist movement in Slovakia, founded on 30 January 1923. Although Rodobrana operated under cover of "guard squads" nominally subordinated to the party, its representatives soon created an ideological framework that diverged from the official ideology of HSĽS in many ways.

Vojtech Tuka, the spiritual guru of Rodobrana, developed an ideological manual on a Q & A basis that comprehensively responded to critical questions about the movement's mission. Alongside other sections, this 58-point handbook particularly emphasised explaining the questions raised in two parts—in *The Defence of a Genus* (*Obrana rodu*) and *The Spirit of Rodobrana* (*Duch Rodobrany*).

Tuka subliminally, but clearly, emphasises the role of the countryside in the *awakening of the nation* (fascist revolution) by mentioning what Rodobrana should signify and protect. He names Slovak peculiarities, traditions, manners, or bread – all elements associated with national collective consciousness in agrarian areas. Besides that, the *Catechism of Rodobrana* (Rodobranecký katechizmus), Tuka's manifesto published in 1928, explicitly identifies the reasons for *Slovak decay* in a mass migration to the West,

---

4 Ľudák was a designation for a member or supporter of HSĽS.

5 HALLON, Ľudovít: Príčiny, priebeh a dôsledky štrukturálnych zmien v hospodárstve medzivojnového Slovenska. In: ZEMKO, Milan – BYSTRICKÝ, Valerián (eds.): *Slovensko v Československu (1918–1939)*. Bratislava 2004, pp. 362–363.

caused by the *expansion of alien elements*, who expelled *brothers and sisters from their families, fields, and groves*. In an article titled *How to protect father's glebe?*, Tuka writes, *The fields belong to the Slovak people. We must demand a fair implementation of the land reform and possibly a revision of the current allocations so that those, the poorest, would be awarded the land, their livelihood* [...] *While even a single capable Slovak remains without bread, without work, and land, foreigners do not yet have the right to devour us. Our fathers' bread, work, and fields belong to us, our children, and no one else*.[6]

The fascination with the agrarian lifestyle, symbolising the traditional values, and contrasting with the "rotten" multicultural urban space, where HSĽS faced much stronger opposition, is also clear from the organisation's periodical, simply entitled *Rodobrana*. *Peasants are the cornerstone of our homeland, and we can say that the peasantry is also the backbone of Rodobrana*, stated one of the articles discussing the spirit of the movement.[7] Shortly after the parliamentary elections in November 1925, which ended in a convincing victory for HSĽS in Slovakia, with over 34 % of the votes, Rodobrana started acquiring new men devoted to the idea of a *new Slovakia*, thus expanding its membership base by social groups that were previously represented to a lesser extent within the movement. *Today or tomorrow, Rodobrana will be settled in every tiny village, in every single Slovak family fireplace. It already dominates the mood of peasants and labour masses; even the Slovak intelligentsia stands completely in favour of our reform movement*, Rodobrana's press bragged.[8]

Notwithstanding this quotation, peasants still played a central role in the activities and rhetoric of the organisation. From time to time, its periodical emphasised Rodobrana's peasant nature and, to solidify this agrarian identity, advocated essential corrections to post-1918 Czechoslovak land reform.[9] This argumentative discourse fully corresponded to Rodobrana's fascist character. It perceived a *reform of land reform* as a fair act that was *remedying the injustice*. It viewed the intended redistribution of land as part of the revolutionary purification of the Slovak economy, aimed against the *nation's foes*.

The rural orientation of the most potent Slovak fascist stream of that time was strengthened by a personal interconnection between Rodobrana and the HSĽS-dominated interest union named the Christian Peasant Association (Kresťanské roľnícke združenie – KRS). Alexander Mach, a latter Minister of the Interior of the wartime Slovak State, served as the executive secretary of these two organisations. A young journalist, Mach, edited the Rodobrana periodical and the KRS magazine *Roľník* (Peasant). The contents of *Roľník*, published on the title page with the sun rising to the horizon (a classic fascist symbol of a *new dawn*) and shining over the countryside, showed signs of a thematic fusion with the topics and political discourse proposed by Rodobrana. It included attacks against communists, freemasons, capitalists, Jews, and Czechs,[10] creating a conspiracy puzzle of an *alliance of invaders* against the Slovak

---

6 [TUKA, Vojtech]: *Rodobranecký katechizmus*. Bratislava 1928, unpaged.

7 Duch Rodobrany [Spirit of Rodobrana]. *Rodobrana*, 1. 8. 1926, p. 3.

8 Na roli Rodobrany [On the Field of Rodobrana]. Ibidem, 22. 8. 1926, p. 2.

9 [MACH, Šaňo]: Rodobranecká reforma pozemkovej reformy [Rodobrana's Reform of a Land Reform]. In: MACH, Šaňo: *Kurzívkovým tónom*. Trnava 1941, pp. 325–328.

10 Roľníci, chráňte sa a zbavte celý Národ červených pijavíc! [Peasants, Protect Yourself and Get Rid the Whole Nation of the Red Leeches!]. *Roľník*, June-August 1926, pp. 1–3.

peasantry. The aim of *Roľník's* rhetoric was, of course, to appeal to elderly peasants and to draft them for palingenetic visions of fascism.

Public gatherings and rituals also expressed Rodobrana's admiration for agrarianism. For these purposes, Rodobrana had always prioritised rural areas, often pilgrimage sites located in minor settlements (Marianka, Hronský Beňadik, Šaštín, Kúty). The ruralness of the sites, the *virgin purity* of the countryside outside the hustle and bustle of vibrating towns, deepened the emotional experience of ritual vow-making and *political masses* – special happenings combining political speeches with communal worship conducted by a Catholic priest.

Following the 1928/1929 "Tuka Affair", Rodobrana disintegrated spontaneously. After the Regional Court in Bratislava sentenced Tuka to 15 years in jail for high treason and the reputation of his close political fellow, Mach, was disastrously compromised (even though he was acquitted), the organisation lost its leaders. Anyway, as the future proved, Rodobrana's ideology, as well as the agrarian drive of Slovak fascism, did not cease to exist as such. Both persisted in the form of thought. They were later revived within the Hlinka Guard (Hlinkova garda), a renewed radical paramilitary organisation of HSĽS at the end of the 1930s.

"Islets of Black": Pyrrhic Triumphs of the National Fascist Community at the Rural Peripheries

Mussolini's triumphant "March on Rome" also aroused slumbering ultra-nationalism in the Czech lands. The radical nationalists, sympathising mainly with the governmental Czechoslovak National Democracy (Československá národní demokracie), founded the National Movement (Národní hnutí) in the early 1920s, which expanded its network to Slovakia. Another proto-fascist organisation, called the Red–Whites (Červenobílí), appealed primarily to intellectual circles. Both organisations advocated Czechoslovak patriotism (while recognising the uniqueness of the Slovak nation, contrary to the ideology of Czechoslovakism promoted by President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk and his close collaborators) and the pan-Slavic idea. They criticised democracy in Czechoslovakia after 1918, rejected any concessions to German and Hungarian minorities and their participation in state politics, promoted Europe as constituted by sovereign nation-states, and declared an open struggle on all fronts against international communism.[11]

At the same time, the Czechoslovak Fascists (Československí fašisté), a group that identified itself undeniably with the Italian squadrismo and Mussolini's blackshirts, appeared on the political stage. The radius of activity of the Czechoslovak Fascists was initially limited to the Czech lands. Their programme (or rather, essential ideological points) also stipulated a solution to the bubbling Slovak question. Unlike the National Movement or the Red–Whites, the Czechoslovak Fascists perceived the Slovaks as *brothers and sisters of the same blood*, with the Czechs unified within the Czechoslovak nation. However, contrary to Masaryk's circle, they did not understand the strengthening of Czechoslovak identity as a process of targeted linguistic and cultural rapprochement between Slovaks and Czechs. The Czechoslovak Fascists understood it as *defensive statism*, a platform for protecting the interests of the Slavs (Czechs, Slovaks,

[11] PEJČOCH, Ivo: *Fašismus v českých zemích* : *Fašistické a nacionálněsocialistické strany a hnutí v Čechách a na Moravě 1922–1945*. Praha 2011, pp. 23–40.

and Ruthenians) against the numerically strong Germans and Hungarians living in the Republic.[12] This stance was a limit on the expansion of the Czechoslovak Fascists in Slovakia. Despite the frustrating experiences with state-run Magyarisation in the Kingdom of Hungary before 1918, Slovak nationalists did not consider the *Hungarian threat* to be Slovakia's biggest challenge in the 1920s. Although the Horthy regime never gave up claims to revise the Treaty of Trianon, Slovak nationalists identified the grave peril to the Slovak national interest not in Hungarian revisionism, but in Prague centralism.

When the National Movement, the Red-Whites, and the Czechoslovak Fascists merged into the National Fascist Community (Národní obec fašistická; NOF) in March 1926 after a two-year rapprochement,[13] the already existing Slovak parties feared the potential of this new political project. But yet the first months showed Slovakia would not be a "fertile ground" for NOF.

NOF faced several fundamental problems ever since its inception in Slovakia. First, because of its roots, it carried the label of a "Czech import". Second, HSĽS, as well as the minor Slovak National Party (Slovenská národná strana; SNS), perceived the Czechoslovak fascists as direct competitors fighting for typologically similar voters, and therefore, no one cooperated with them. After the above-mentioned parliamentary elections held in November 1925, they had no reason to do so: HSĽS masterfully dominated the polls, and conservative nationalist SNS got scared that possible collaboration with ultra-radical NOF would lure away even the few supporters the party still had left. Moreover, NOF did not support the territorial autonomy programme for Slovakia, which contradicted the long-standing vision of its nationalist counterparts.

Because of these factors, NOF failed to attract a notable base of supporters. In the first phase of activities in Slovakia, the party's influence did not expand beyond Bratislava's frontiers. Police reports estimated approximately 5,000 members and sympathisers across Slovakia (3,000 out of this number in the capital).[14] At first glance, these data refute the argument outlined in the introduction and support the theory highlighting the popularity of fascism especially in urban environments. However, in the case of NOF, in addition to the obstacles to expansion outlined, two factors must be considered.

1) The beginnings of the movement, until its early decline at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s, were characterised by a low degree of decentralisation and a lack of will to expand to rural regions. Even though the NOF leadership in Slovakia had been motivating fascist activists to establish unions (jednoty) of the party across the country, members of the board were worried about possible competition. They maintained a policy of centralism, undermining their intentions to enhance the popularity of NOF even in rural peripheries.

---

[12] PEJČOCH, I.: Fašismus v českých zemích, p. 37.

[13] The merger process that resulted in the foundation of NOF is discussed in detail in the article: BALOUN, Pavel: Vznik českého fašismu (1921–1926). *Historie – otázky – problémy* 2, 2010, no. 1, pp. 63–83.

[14] Slovenský národný archív (Slovak National Archives/SNA) Bratislava, fund (f.) Policajné riaditeľstvo (Police Directorate/PR) Bratislava, box 236, 213-382-1. Report on the fascist movement in Slovakia, 30 August 1926; Národní archiv (National Archives/NA) Praha, f. Prezidium Ministerstva vnitra (Presidium of the Ministry of the Interior), 225-1024-2. Report on NOF's situation in Slovakia, 12 February 1927.

2) The initial NOF programme was too complicated and incomprehensible for peasants. Radola Gajda, who wrote a book entitled *Stavovská demokracie národního státu* (Estates Democracy of the Nation State), considered the "opus magnum" of Czechoslovak fascism, did not respond to the real problems of that time. Instead, he focused on theoretical and axiological critiques of liberalism and proposed a complex vision of the groundbreaking reconstruction of the political system and ministries. Even though Gajda identified the agrarian sector as *the main pillar of the state*, his chapter on the rural aspects of the economy included ridiculous and empty phrases that were distant from the practical problems of the peasants.[15] That also applied to the earlier published contributions to the ideology of Czechoslovak fascism by Zdeněk Zástěra, Otakar Lebloch, and Jan Scheinost, as well as various anonymous leaflets and pamphlets.[16]

A disastrous setback in the 1929 parliamentary elections forced NOF to re-evaluate its strategy. A coalition with the Radical Party, led by "a Man of 28 October,"[17] Jiří Stříbrný, earned as little as 0.96 %: in numbers, 71,656 votes, out of which only 1,817 were obtained in the Slovak electoral districts.[18]

A paradigm turn in NOF's strategy was associated with Ján Ivák, a former member of the Agrarian Party (Agrární strana).[19] Ivák criticised the Slovak leadership of NOF, but simultaneously adored Gajda, calling him *the modern-day Hercules who will clean the Augean stables of this weeds*.[20] Thanks to his loyalty, he was appointed chair of the Land Council of the National Fascist Community in Slovakia. This meant nothing but a promotion to the position of Gajda's informal deputy for Slovak issues.

Ivák was aware of the specifics of the Slovak political scene. He immediately identified two core areas where the politics of the state-wide Czechoslovak fascist party was impotent: the resonating Slovak question and underdeveloped rural regions. On Ivák's initiative, NOF unprecedentedly switched its rhetoric. This chameleon-like shift ushered in the party's strategic turn, from uncompromising rigidity to pragmatism. NOF not only started supporting the programme of territorial autonomy for Slovakia, based on the Pittsburgh Agreement, as HSĽS did, but also essentially changed the rhetoric about the German and Hungarian minorities living in Czechoslovakia.[21]

---

15 GAJDA, Radola: *Stavovská demokracie Národního státu*. Praha 1934, pp. 82–87.

16 DRÁBIK, Jakub: The History of Czech Fascism : A Reappraisal. In: IORDACHI, C. – KALLIS, A. (eds.): Beyond the Fascist Century, pp. 182–185.

17 A symbolic epithet for five politicians (Antonín Švehla, František Soukup, Alois Rašín, Jiří Stříbrný, Vavro Šrobár) who were elected to the board of the Czechoslovak National Committee (Národní výbor československý) – a revolutionary body which declared the independence of Czechoslovakia on 28 October 1918.

18 *Stráž říše,* 7. 11. 1929, p. 2.

19 Officially, The Republican Party of Farmers and Peasants was a centre-right party representing business and agricultural interests. The party was one of the most influential parties in the era of interwar Czechoslovakia as well as in its Slovak part, where the "agrarians" finished as a runner-up in three out of four parliamentary elections behind HSĽS (1925, 1929, 1935).

20 Archiv Kanceláře prezidenta republiky (The Archive of the President's Office) Praha, f. Kancelář prezidenta republiky – protokol T (Office of the President of the Republic – Protocol T), box 122, T – 636/22. Ján Ivák's letter to the Directorate of the National Fascist Community, 29 March 1932.

21 In a special Slovak edition of the NOF newspaper, Ján Ivák commented that "the Christian minorities must not feel that they are outcasts of this fatherland, and when they help us destroy Jewish Marxism, when they help us drive to hell today's devourers of the state and the nation, their situation will improve as well". IVÁK, Ján: Bratia, pozor! [Brothers, Watch Out!]. *Fašistické listy*, 1. 11. 1934, p. 1.

Even though peasant voters remained loyal to HSĽS or the Agrarian Party, some began looking for alternatives in the early 1930s.[22] The fascists' concentrated verbal assault against the "governmental" Agrarian Party and "incapable" Hlinka's Slovak People's Party intensified mainly before the 1935 parliamentary elections. Blaming them for their almost two-decade-long inability to enforce autonomy and protect the population from the devastating economic effects of the Great Depression[23] proved to be effective.

In addition to disappointing the Slovaks, the charm of NOF's pragmatic approach caught the attention of ethnic minorities living in Slovakia. After 1918, the Carpathian Germans (Karpathendeutsche) were a geographically dispersed mass without a unified identity. They lost their privileged status and could not cope with being on the sidelines.[24] After the official ban on the Nazi party in Czechoslovakia (Deutsche nationalsozialistiche Arbeiterpartei – DNSAP), many searched for a typologically similar political force. This gap led the Czechoslovak fascists to an idea of establishing a special ethnic section of NOF for minorities – the so-called Aryan Front (Árijská fronta/Árijský front). Contrary to the establishment of Konrad Henlein's Front of the Sudeten German Homeland (Sudetendeutsche Heimatfront), a predecessor of the Sudeten German Party (Sudetendeutsche Partei),[25] Hitler's rise to power on 30 January 1933, as well as the newly founded Aryan Front, received minimal recognition within the Volksgruppe, which inhabited three Slovak regions: Bratislava and its surroundings, Upper and Lower Spiš, and the mountainous Central Slovak Hauerland.

Unfortunately for NOF, the Carpathian Germans, as the 1935 parliamentary elections proved, displayed almost no interest in the offer of the Czechoslovak fascists.[26] The results exhibited the dominance of the Zipser German Party (Zipser deutsche Partei), as well as the growing influence of the united Carpathian German Party (Karpathendeusche Partei),[27] a sister branch of the Sudeten German Party, which had gradually been leaning toward national socialism.

---

22 DRÁBIK, Jakub: *Fašizmus*. Bratislava 2019, p. 444.

23 One of the fascist leaflets stated: *On the election day, 19 May 1935, vote against your oppressors, against capitalism, socialism, and Bolshevism, also settle accounts with Hlinka's autonomists, who have done nothing for making autonomy a reality for 17 years. Only Radola Gajda and the National Fascist Community can free you from this servitude to the political parties of the past, which perhaps unknowingly – or even knowingly – serve only Jewish-Masonic capitalism*. SNA Bratislava, f. PR Bratislava, box 237, 237-381-8. Leaflet of NOF, 1935.

24 SCHVARC, Michal: Nemecká menšina na Slovensku. Spoločenské premeny v prostredí malej „ostrovnej" menšiny. In: KOVÁČ, Dušan – HANULA, Matej et al.: *Z monarchie do republiky a z demokracie do totality* : *Spoločnosť na Slovensku od konca 19. storočia do roku 1945*. Bratislava 2022, p. 319.

25 SCHVARC, M.: Nemecká menšina na Slovensku, p. 323.

26 KRIVÝ, Vladimír: *Výsledky parlamentných volieb od roku 1929 za všetky obce Slovenska*. Online, cit. 30. 3. 2024. Accessible at: https://sasd.sav.sk/sk/data_katalog_abs.php?id=sasd_2010001.

27 The Zipser German Party was supported mainly by the German minority living in the Spiš region. It took the newly established Carpathian German Party several years to convince the "Zipsers" and to get them to its side, with a combination of intense agitation and pressure. In the last Czechoslovak parliamentary elections, the German nationalists led by Franz Karmasin got a disappointing 1.7 % in Slovakia (27,561 votes) compared to 14.19 % (230,917 votes) for the coalition of the "Zipsers" with Hungarian ethnic parties. ŠUCHOVÁ, Xénia: Prílohy II – Politický systém. In: ZEMKO, Milan – BYSTRICKÝ, Valerián (eds.): *Slovensko v Československu (1918–1939)*. Bratislava 2004, p. 570.

Appealing to minority voters was successful in regions with numerous Hungarian communities.[28] Except for traditional rural strongholds in Western Slovakia bordering Moravia, where the idea of Czech-Slovak reciprocity was historically rooted and statist pan-Czechoslovak fascism had optimal conditions to penetrate the minds of the population, the Aryan Front, as a minority section of NOF, started gaining followers mainly within the Hungarian-speaking agrarian areas of southwestern Slovakia. By November 1936, the fascists founded 201 unions of the Aryan Front, accounting for more than 36 % of all fascist organisations falling under NOF in Slovakia.[29] Thanks to diligent agitation in the regions, for example in the Nové Zámky electoral region, covering the core Hungarian settlement in Slovakia, NOF's support crossed the threshold of all-Slovak gain (3.64 % compared to 2.04 %) in 11 of the 19 political districts. Alongside the traditional "fascist fortress" in the Malacky district (17.82 %), NOF emerged as a non-marginal force in districts with solid Hungarian communities, where the Aryan Front unions had been conducting targeted agitation before the 1935 elections for several months (Nitra 6.31 %, Stará Ďala/Hurbanovo 6.22 %, Nové Zámky 4.87 %, Želiezovce 4.33 %, etc.).[30]

The agricultural region of southwestern Slovakia, known for its fertile land, suffered from the crisis that had already occurred in 1928 (even before the Great Depression hit the Slovak economy heavily) and lasted until 1933. Producers could not fulfil their tax obligations towards the state, and all sectors of the economy suffered losses.[31] Like in the Czech lands, small farmers, middle peasants, and large landowners lost trust in traditional political parties that had sheltered their interests before (mainly the Agrarian Party and Hlinka's Slovak People's Party). This trend, while noticeable in the municipal elections in the Czech lands as early as 1931/1932, was fully manifested in Slovakia in the second half of the 1930s.[32]

Yet, during the campaign before the 1935 parliamentary elections, NOF promoted a surprising new motto: *Every Christian is a fascist, every fascist is a Christian*. It also called for heroes *like Jánošík*,[33] *who punished injustices and helped the poor*.[34] This shift from original fascist anticlericalism to religiously wrapped conservatism, combined with palingenetic revolutionism, signalled a crucial change in the movement's shift towards an agrarian focus, anchored in its political communication in the following years.

After Ján Ivák was elected one of the six MPs of NOF in 1935, the party invested massively in propaganda, envisioning a continuous rise in Slovakia. Newly founded *Slovenské fašistické noviny* (*The Slovak Fascist Newspaper*), the first issue of which was published symbolically on the 18th anniversary of the Republic (28 October 1936), confidently declared

---

28 SNA Bratislava, f. PR Bratislava, box 237, 213-383-1. Police report on the fascist movement in Slovakia, 30 November 1934.

29 Archiv bezpečnostních složek (Security Service Archive) Praha, f. Zemský odbor bezpečnosti (State Department of Security) II., 315-213-1. Report on the session of the Central Executive Committee of NOF in Prague, 28–29 November 1936.

30 Volby do poslanecké sněmovny v květnu 1935. Československá statistika, 134. Serie I/5. Praha 1936, pp. 28–29.

31 HALLON, Ľ.: Príčiny, priebeh a dôsledky, pp. 324–325.

32 PASÁK, Tomáš: *Český fašismus 1922–1945 a kolaborace 1939–1945*. Praha 1999, pp. 113, 115.

33 Juraj Jánošík (1688–1713) was a Slovak outlaw sentenced for his crimes to be hanged by a rib. In the collective memory, he later became a symbol of the fight against feudalism and wrongdoing. Literature and political mythology often used him as an allegorical figure who *took from the rich and gave to the poor*, although in reality, Jánošík and his gang robbed everyone without distinction.

34 SNA Bratislava, f. PR Bratislava, box 236, 213-381-8. Leaflet of NOF, 1935.

that *only fascism is a guarantee of a better future for the Czechoslovak labour, peasants, tradesmen, small intelligentsia, and all working classes in the nation*, and that no one but fascists was capable of crushing *Bolshevism, Marxism, capitalism, and Jewish Freemasonry, along with all their lackeys and helpers, among whom, unfortunately, are also many so-called patriots*.[35] Looking optimistically at the advance of fascism, NOF was expected to soon gain power and conquer one of the last islands of democracy in Europe. One of the party's key strategies was to criticise the governmental parties and HSĽS for political incompetence in solving the troublesome questions of the national economy.

At the end of 1936, the periodical Slovenské fašistické noviny published a series of articles discussing Slovakia's agricultural problems. It announced a ruthless fight against cartels, syndicates, and trusts, combined with the traditional anti-Semitic narratives that had recently flooded the discourse of the most popular Hlinka's Party. For example, an article by L. Langer warned *the peasants to finally realise that the Jewish monopoly would not save us, but only righteous fascism can do so*.[36] The anti-Semitic rhetoric of NOF accused the Jews of ruling over monopolies, which *serves just to enrich all kinds of crook-nosed and curly-haired assholes to profit*.[37]

To convince supporters of the seriousness of NOF's agrarian focus, Radola Gajda, as an MP, co-prepared an agricultural act to modernise the agrarian sector. Gajda promised the peasants to nationalise the ill-received wealth from the rich and distribute it to small farmers; modernise agriculture with new technologies, irrigation, and drainage systems; electrify the countryside; execute land reclamation; cultivate land and machine parks with generous state aid; and protect plants and animals.[38] NOF's leading newspaper, *Fašistické listy* (*The Fascist Newspaper*), also introduced a regular section for peasants and farmers organised in NOF, focusing on critiques of democracy as a system and proposing fascist visions of agricultural reforms.

Also, renegades of the movement adopted NOF's strategic turn from urban places to the agrarian countryside. For example, Jozef Hamšík, who got into conflict with the Slovak followers of Gajda, founded a movement called The Civic Party of Christian Peasants and Workers (Občianska strana kresťanských roľníkov a robotníkov).[39] Even though, according to police findings, the party was only *an insignificant faction, which, under the guise of a political party, is supposed to serve the material benefit of its founders*,[40] the agrarian accent of the Slovak fascists is indisputable and, as their actions demonstrated, it co-formed one of the dominating features of the fascist rhetoric in the 1930s. NOF did not get a chance to implement its vision in practice because it remained in opposition throughout the electoral period, and following the autumn of 1938, the party ceased to exist.[41]

---

35 Desať rokov nášho hnutia [Ten Years of Our Movement]. *Slovenské fašistické noviny*, 6. 11. 1936, p. 3.

36 LANGER, L.: Fašizmus a zemedelstvo [Fascism and Agriculture]. Ibidem, 11. 12. 1936, p. 2.

37 Jano z Doliny: Jak pomáha monopol roľníkom? [How Does the Monopoly Help the Peasants?] Ibidem, 18. 12. 1936, p. 2.

38 Zemedelský program Nár. obce Fašistickej. [Agricultural Programme of the National Fascist Community] Ibidem, 18. 12. 1936, p. 3.

39 SNA Bratislava, f. Krajinský úrad (Country Office/KÚ), box 244, no. 3919/38.

40 Ibidem. Police report on The Civic Party of Christian Peasants and Workers, 21 May 1937.

41 After the Czechoslovak government accepted the Munich Agreement, HSĽS escalated its demands for immediate approval of territorial autonomy for Slovakia. Under the threat of total disintegration of the state, the central government in Prague did not oppose. In autonomous Slovakia, HSĽS began to build an authoritarian regime and absorb all existing political parties. NOF merged with HSĽS on 5 November 1938. Národná obec fašistická na

Conclusions

My father observed, with displeasure, the decline of small farmers, the enrichment of the new agrarian nobility, the greed of capitalism, and the unemployment, commented Milan Ivák, the son of the prominent interwar fascist leader, on the query as to why his father entered politics in the 1930s and joined the fascists.[42]

After disappointments with established parties across the political spectrum, fascism provided new hope in the interwar period for tens of thousands of frustrated Slovaks looking for a new "firm ground". A dominantly agrarian society, passing through the phase of modernisation, usually preferred non-revolutionary options. Still, the fascist programme, based on the paradigm of purification and the non-Marxist perception of "social justice", became an attractive alternative to changing one's living conditions.

After the initial search for a "free field", both relevant fascist movements in interwar Slovakia – Rodobrana and the National Fascist Community – discovered the mobilisation potential in the agrarian thought and the underdevelopment of the Slovak countryside. It can be concluded that, without the supporters of a radical agrarian transformation of the countryside, Rodobrana's superordinate HSĽS would probably have appealed to a smaller percentage of voters, and NOF would not have crossed the 2 % threshold for entry into the parliament in 1935.

Although both movements were dissolved before the dramatic events of March 1939, their radical agrarianism, emphasising land parcelisation, state-regulated changes in land and real estate ownership, and the overall modernisation of the countryside, did not disappear from public discourse. The HSĽS regime of the fascist-Axis Slovak State (1939–1945) implemented many of the demands into practice. Confiscation of properties belonging to the "political parvenus", Aryanisation of Jewish assets, as well as the agrarian and countryside-focused programme of Slovak national socialism from the early 1940s were, primarily, practical expressions of exploded radicalism accumulated within Slovak society during the interwar period, which the fascists helped stimulate.

Bibliography

Archival sources

Archiv bezpečnostních složek Praha, fund Zemský odbor bezpečnosti II
Archiv Kanceláře prezidenta republiky Praha, fund Kancelář prezidenta republiky – protokol T
Národní archiv Praha, fund Prezidium Ministerstva vnitra
Národný biografický ústav Slovenskej národnej knižnice Martin, Biographical questionnaire „Ján Ivák" (author Milan Ivák)
Slovenský národný archív Bratislava, fund Krajinský úrad,
Slovenský národný archív Bratislava, fund Policajné riaditeľstvo Bratislava

Printed sources

Fašistické listy, 1934
Rodobrana, 1926

Slovensku sa rozišla [The National Fascist Community in Slovakia dissolved]. *Slovák*, 6. 11. 1938, p. 2.

[42] Národný biografický ústav Slovenskej národnej knižnice (National Biographical Institute of the Slovak National Library) Martin, Biographical questionnaire „Ján Ivák" (author Milan Ivák).

Roľník, 1926
Slovák, 1938
Slovenské fašistické noviny, 1936
Stráž říše, 1929

Literature

BALOUN, Pavel: Vznik českého fašismu (1921–1926). *Historie – otázky – problémy* 2, 2010, no. 1, pp. 63–83.
CAPROTTI, Federico: *Mussolini's Cities* : *Internal Colonialism in Italy, 1930–1939*. Youngstown 2007.
CIUCCI, Giorgio: *Gli Architetti e il Fascismo* : *Architettura e Città, 1922–1944*. Turin 2002.
CORNI, Gustavo: Die Utopien des Faschismus: Ruralisierung und „neue Städte". In: HARDTWIG, Wolfgang (ed.): *Utopie und politische Herrschaft im Europa der Zwischenkriegszeit*. München 2003, pp. 97–117.
DRÁBIK, Jakub: *Fašizmus*. Bratislava 2019.
DRÁBIK, Jakub: The History of Czech Fascism : A Reappraisal. In: IORDACHI, Constantin – KALLIS, Aristotle (eds.): *Beyond the Fascist Century* : *Essays in Honour of Roger Griffin*. Basingstoke 2020, pp. 177–194.
FOGELOVÁ, Patrícia – PEKÁR, Martin: *Disciplinované mesto* : *Zásahy politiky do verejného priestoru na Slovensku v rokoch 1938–1945*. Košice 2021.
GAJDA, Radola: *Stavovská demokracie Národního státu*. Praha 1934.
GRIFFIN, Roger: Building the Visible Immortality of the Nation : The Centrality of 'Rooted Modernism' to the Third Reich's Architectural New Order. *Fascism* 7, 2018, no. 1, pp. 9–44.
HAGEN, Joshua – OSTERGREN, Robert C.: *Building Nazi Germany* : *Place, Space, Architecture and Ideology*. London 2020.
HALLON, Ľudovít: Príčiny, priebeh a dôsledky štrukturálnych zmien v hospodárstve medzivojnového Slovenska. In: ZEMKO, Milan – BYSTRICKÝ, Valerián (eds.): *Slovensko v Československu (1918–1939)*. Bratislava 2004, pp. 293–364.
HRUBOŇ, Anton: Fascist-Axis Slovakia's Spiritual Polis Politicus: Transformation of Ružomberok to the 'Capital of the Movement' Under Hlinka's Slovak People's Party Rule (1938–1945). *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 25, 2024, no. 2, pp. 171–191.
KALLIS, Aristotle: *The Third Rome, 1922–1943* : *The Making of the Fascist Capital*. New York 2014.
KRIVÝ, Vladimír: *Výsledky parlamentných volieb od roku 1929 za všetky obce Slovenska*. Online, cit. 30. 3. 2024. Accessible at: https://sasd.sav.sk/sk/data_katalog_abs.php?id=sasd_2010001.
LARGE, David Clay: *Where Ghosts Walked* : *Munich's Road to the Third Reich*. New York 1997.
LINZ, Juan J.: Political Space and Fascism as a Late-Comer : Conditions Conducive to the Success or Failure of Fascism as a Mass Movement in Inter-War Europe. In: LARSEN, Stein Ugelvik – HAGTVET, Bernt – MYKLEBUST, Jan Petter (eds.): *Who Were the Fascists?* : *Social Roots of European Fascism*. Bergen – Oslo – Tromsø 1980, pp. 153–189.
MACH, Šaňo: *Kurzívkovým tónom*. Trnava 1941.
PASÁK, Tomáš: *Český fašismus 1922–1945 a kolaborace 1939–1945*. Praha 1999.
PEJČOCH, Ivo: *Fašismus v českých zemích* : *Fašistické a nacionálněsocialistické strany a hnutí v Čechách a na Moravě 1922–1945*. Praha 2011.
REICHARDT, Sven: Fascist Communities of Action and Violence: A Praxeological Approach. In: IORDACHI, Constantin, KALLIS, Aristotle (eds.): *Beyond the Fascist Century. Essays in Honour of Roger Griffin*. Basingstoke 2020, pp. 51–71.
SCHVARC, Michal: Nemecká menšina na Slovensku. Spoločenské premeny v prostredí malej „ostrovnej" menšiny. In: KOVÁČ, Dušan – HANULA, Matej et al.: *Z monarchie do republiky a z demokracie do totality* : *Spoločnosť na Slovensku od konca 19. storočia do roku 1945*. Bratislava 2022, pp. 317–324.
SZALAY, Peter – BOGÁR, Michal – HABERLANDOVÁ, Katarína – BARTOŠOVÁ, Nina – KRIŠTEKOVÁ, Laura: *Vojnová Bratislava 1939–1945*. Bratislava 2020.
ŠUCHOVÁ, Xénia: Prílohy II – Politický systém. In: ZEMKO, Milan – BYSTRICKÝ, Valerián (eds.): *Slovensko v Československu (1918–1939)*. Bratislava 2004, pp. 545–616.
TUKA, Vojtech: *Rodobranecký katechizmus*. Bratislava 1928.
Volby do poslanecké sněmovny v květnu 1935. Československá statistika, 134. Serie I/5. Praha 1936.

Summary

An Exclusively Urban Phenomenon? Radical Agrarianism in Political Practice of Interwar Fascism: A Case Study of Slovakia

The present article aims to challenge the frequently asserted notion that fascism was predominantly an urban-framed phenomenon by analysing the political practices of two fascist groups in Slovakia during the interwar period (1918–1939). Specifically, the case study examines Rodobrana, a paramilitary organisation of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, and the National Fascist Community, the most notable political party representing nationwide Czechoslovak fascism.

The article argues that these groups were centred on the ideology of radical agrarianism, which played a central role in their political programme and thinking. It posits that the radical agrarianism and countryside-focused narratives of these movements were a core factor in their political practice and later contributed to the acceptance of measures taken by Hlinka's Slovak People's Party's regime, including confiscation of properties belonging to the "political parvenus", Aryanisation of Jewish assets, agrarian reforms, and the rural programme of Slovak national socialism in the early 1940s.

STUDIES

ANDRZEJ KOZIEŁ
111 Historicism in Rococo Painting in Central Europe : A Case of Silesia

PETRA KAVREČIČ BOŽEGLAV
130 Tourism as an "Engine" of Modernization in Venezia Giulia during the First Years of the Italian Administration

ANTON HRUBOŇ – KATARÍNA RISTVEYOVÁ
149 An Exclusively Urban Phenomenon? Radical Agrarianism in Political Practice of Interwar Fascism : A Case Study of Slovakia

KAZEEM OMOTOLA SERIKI – ABOSEDE OLUWASEUN ODEDIJI
162 Environment, Epidemics and State Response in Ibadan, Western Nigeria, 1918–1939

PETER MIČKO – ZUZANA MIČKOVÁ
176 Pitfalls of the Industrialization of Selected Regions of Central Slovakia in the First Four Decades of the 20th Century

199 LITERATURE

205 CHRONICLE

HISTORICA REVUE PRO HISTORII A PŘÍBUZNÉ VĚDY

Vychází dvakrát ročně.
Cena 100 Kč + poštovné
Vydává Ostravská univerzita, Dvořákova 7, 701 03 Ostrava, CZ, IČ: 61988987
Adresa redakce: Katedra historie, Filozofická fakulta, Ostravská univerzita, Havlíčkovo nábřeží 3120, Ostrava, CZ
Kontaktní e-mail: *historica.redakce@osu.cz*
Webové stránky časopisu s požadavky na formální úpravů textů: *http://historica.osu.cz*
Vědecký redaktor: Aleš Zářický
Výkonný redaktor: Petr Kadlec
Grafický návrh: Kazimierz Gajdzica
Technická redakce: Gabriela Škorníková
Sazba: Daniela Šimáčková
Na titulní straně: Anton Kaps, Smrt sv. Josefa, 1808, olejomalba na plátně, farní kostel sv. Vavřince, Hlucholazy. Foto: Andrzej Kozieł.
Jazyková korektura: Kristina Hellerová
Anglickojazyčné překlady a korektury: Barbara Lišková
Distribuce: Univerzitní obchod a knihkupectví, Mlýnská 5, 701 03 Ostrava
e-mail: *oushop@osu.cz*
Informace o nabídce titulů vydaných Ostravskou univerzitou jsou k dispozici na webu
Univerzitního obchodu a knihkupectví: *http://oushop.osu.cz*

Časopis je evidován v rámci databází European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ERIH Plus), DOAJ a Scopus.