

PRESS REGULATION BETWEEN 1939 AND 1945: ANALYSIS OF PROTECTORATE PRESS MEETINGS¹

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ABSTRACT

The article deals with press regulation in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia from 1939 to 1945. It provides a brief introduction to the mechanisms used to influence the content and formal aspects of press communication so that they matched the interests and needs of the occupying power. The main part of the paper presents the results of a quantitative analysis of minutes from press meetings, regularly organized for journalists by the Press Department of the Council of Ministers. At these meetings members of the Press Department and the Cultural and Political Department of the Reich Protector evaluated media performance during the previous period and gave instructions to the representatives of the periodicals about the content and style of their writing. These meetings thus represented one of the most important instruments of control over Protectorate press. Our analysis presents their formal structure and demonstrates, using examples of specific speeches, that the efforts to influence media communication flows were not solely repressive but also clearly manipulative.

KEYWORDS

media – press regulation – press meetings – Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia – 1939 to 1945 – quantitative content analysis – thematic agenda – Czech press – censorship – totalitarian media system

1 This study forms part of long-term research on Protectorate media at the Centre for Media Studies, Faculty of Social Science, Charles University, Prague and the Department of Media Studies at the same faculty. The study uses data processed at the Media and Society seminar taught by Jan Cebe and Jakub Končelík and forms part of a larger research project at the Faculty of Social Science MSM0021620841 (constituent project *Status of Media in the Czech Republic and the EU*) and the project *Czech Press under the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia between 1939 and 1945* (GAČR 409/06/0303). We acknowledge the help of Adéla Kalousková, Hana Kovaříková, Jitka Kryšpínová, Vlastimil Nečas, Michaela Novotná, Tomáš Sachr, Veronika Štruncová and Václav Zeman.

“The main role of the press is to loyally serve the supreme interest i.e. the interest of the Czech nation, incorporated into the lebensraum of the German Reich... The definite order that all spiritual, moral and physical strength must concentrate on the sole goal of successfully countering enemy assaults holds true. All other interests and considerations, including the financial side of journals, must be completely abandoned in favour of this major goal. The exceptional circumstances under which we live demand sacrifices from all, and not even press publishers and journalists can be exempted from this duty...”

(Meeting of 20 September 1939, Hofman)

Introduction

The Nazi command of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (further also Protectorate) was “a brutal political dictatorship of the totalitarian type that Czechs never experienced before” (Křen 2006: 486). One of the ways in which Hitler’s Germany attempted to strengthen and deepen its control over the occupied territory of Bohemia and Moravia was to completely dominate Czech public life. The detailed control over media production and audience – which involved cinemas, regional press, radio consumption at home as well as public libraries – played an important part in this effort, however, the main means was to ensure positive media representations of Protectorate and Reich politics. In order to achieve this goal Nazis applied a range of mechanisms of media regulation (administrative interference in publishing activities, persecution of media staff) overarched by a hierarchical system of media regulation. Instructions and directives from representatives of the occupying power directed at journalists form the subject of this article.

1. Literature review

Our study can be characterized as an interdisciplinary one and that both in terms of its academic field as well as its methodology. Its thematic framing is historiographic and forms part of the historical study of life in the Protectorate, at the same time we aim to identify mechanisms of media regulation (“manufacturing consent”) which form an important aspect of the study of mass communication.

a) In the last few years historiography has paid significant attention to the Protectorate yet mechanisms of media regulation as a means of a manipulative construction of public life in non-democratic regimes often remain outside the mainstream of Czech academic research. Rather, it was related topics that tended to be explored mainly in foreign historiography, above all German and Austrian.² Among Czech authors Tomáš Pasák (see Pasák 1975, 1980) has explored these questions, his work remains a key contribution to the study of media in the Protectorate. Although other historians have paid limited attention to media in their studies, these are not of central importance for their exploration as such studies are concerned with actual life (i.e. that outside of media) in the Protectorate and they tend to use media as sources. The approach developed by Pavel Večeřa (2003) combines elements of historical and media studies research.

b) On the contrary, media studies (as a field dealing among others with the role of media in societies) deal with the role of media in democratic as well as non-democratic regimes,

2 Cf. Abel 1969; Boelcke 1966; Duchkowsch – Hausjell – Semrad 2004; Hagemann 1970; Hausjell 1989, 1993; Kohlmann-Viand 1991; Sündermann 1973; Zimmermann 2007; or the 7-part volume of edited daily press instructions, ed. Hans Bohrmann and Gabriele Toepser-Zeigert (1984–2000).

they analyze manipulative practices and model mass communication as a factor in propaganda yet mechanisms of media regulation in occupied territories during WWII are only of marginal interest to such studies.

It is nonetheless evident that media regulation and the possible role of journalists in the spread of Nazi ideology and supervision over the public certainly deserve more detailed analysis. Protectorate media were important devices in the service of the occupying power, they played a key role in the implementation of dominant ideology and served as a propaganda tool. The influence of the Protectorate power structures on the media was coercive, repressive, constant and involved not only open threats but also and perhaps mainly mastering media content so that it constructed an image supporting the interests of those in power.

As we have already suggested at the time apart from censorship and a range of mechanisms of personal as well as economic nature regular “press meetings” (further also “meetings”) were organized for journalists. At these the agenda to which newspapers and journals should/should not, had to/did not have to devote themselves was clearly formulated. Orders as well as advice were also given on how to construct the desired media image of the Protectorate, the Reich, its allies but also its enemies.

Little is known about these meetings. Stenographic minutes taken by Antonín Finger at Protectorate press meetings between 1939 and 1941 were only partly edited and published (Končelík – Köpplová – Kryšpínová 2002). Mechanisms of regulation and influence over journalistic production have thus far neither been explored in detail nor analyzed. Our study does not make any claims to a comprehensive analysis, it merely attempts to explore the agenda of the meetings as a component of the system of regulation, supervision and functioning of Protectorate media institutions. We aim to characterize the formal and factual structure of the meetings and to explore their thematic agenda. Thus we can at least roughly identify the distribution and the substance of the instructions and directives that the official Czech periodicals published under the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia were given as “guidelines” for their conduct as well as that of their publishers and these also governed their operational context.

2. Regulation of Protectorate media

The structure of the regulation of Protectorate media in essence copied the double structure of the Protectorate state administration. The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia had an autonomous Czech government and offices subject to it yet in practice the majority of these offices had a superior German counterpart. And this “double-tracking” was naturally also reflected in the system of media regulation.

In the first weeks press regulation was in the hands of Konrad Henlein, who acted as the temporary head of civil administration at the Protectorate headquarters of Wehrmacht. Henlein’s office also supervised the temporary Prague branch of the Reich’s Press Department which was to carry out actual supervision over the press (Pasák 1980: 48–50).

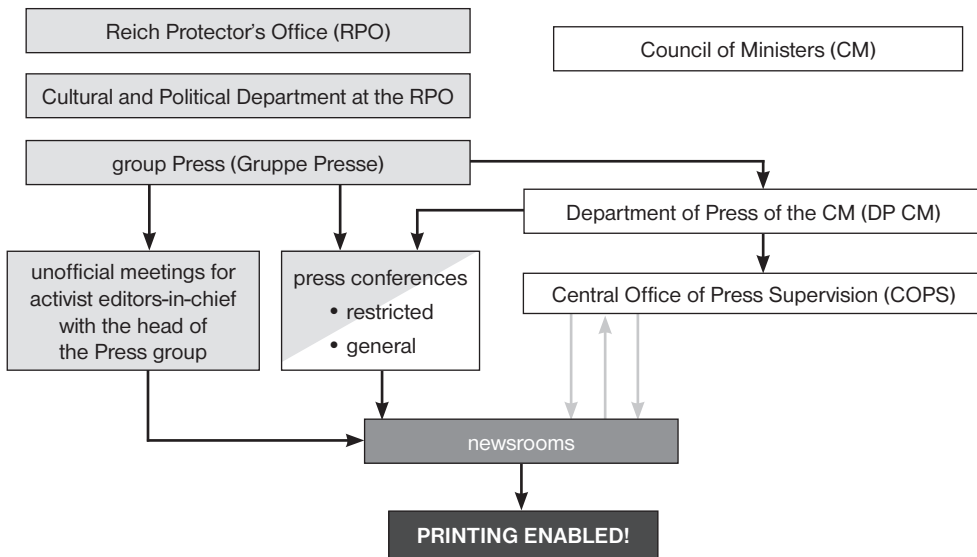
When the military administration ended and Protectorate offices were established the official agenda related to media was assigned to the newly established Cultural and Political Department at the Reich Protector’s Office (RPO) headed by Karl von Gregory.³ A group called Press (Gruppe Presse) was established at RPO and led by Wolfgang

3 Gregory, Karl Alex von, dr. (* 1899, † 1944), SS-Obersturmbannführer. Until 1938 press attaché at the German Embassy in Prague. 1939 to 1942 head of the Cultural and Political Department at RPO.

Wolfram von Wolmar.⁴ In 1942 and 1943 personnel changes occurred in the department and since then the organization of meetings was undertaken by Martin Paul Wolf.⁵

Within the Czech state administration media supervision was assigned to the Department of Press of the Council of Ministers (DP CM).⁶ The decision making powers of the department were, however, very limited, in fact they amounted only to the dissemination of the instructions of the Press group. The relationships among the various offices are illustrated in *diagram 1*.

diagram 1: Press regulation in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (1939–1945)



During the existence of the Protectorate four people took turns as heads of DP CM – Zdeněk Schmoranz⁷ (executed for participation in the resistance movement), Arnošt Bareš⁸ (arrested by Gestapo and sentenced to life imprisonment), František Hofman⁹ (died in Auschwitz) and Ctibor Melč.¹⁰ The fact that at the beginning of the Protectorate’s

4 Wolmar, Wolfgang Wolfram von (* 9. 6. 1910 Vienna, † 2. 12. 1987), SS-Hauptsturmführer, member of SD. Between 1939 and 1943 chair of the Press group at the Cultural and Political Department at RPO. In the autumn of 1943 transferred to special SS operations. After the war he lived in Germany and worked as a journalist.

5 Wolf, Martin Paul (* 22. 5. 1908 Arnoldsgrün, Oelsnitz, † unidentified), SS-Sturmbannführer. From 1942 head of the Political Department at the German State Minister for Bohemia and Moravia. In 1943 he took over the leadership of the Press group at the Cultural and Political Department at RPO.

6 Following an administrative reform in 1942 the Department of Press became part of the newly created Ministry of Education and Popular Enlightenment.

7 Schmoranz, Zdeněk (* 27. 7. 1896 Chrudim, † 18. 8. 1942 Berlin, Ploetzensee), from December 1938 till August 1939 head of PD CM. He founded an illegal news organization within the non-communist resistance movement. Arrested in August 1939.

8 Bareš, Arnošt (* 22. 12. 1898 Sezemice, district Pardubice, † unidentified), from 1938 to 1939 head of the political news department at the Czech Press Office. For a short period he replaced Schmoranz in PD CM, arrested in September 1939 and in November 1941 sentenced for assisting in the set-up of Schmoranz’s group. Released from prison in 1945.

9 Hofman, František, JUDr. (* 23. 11. 1891 Plzeň-Lobze, † 23. 5. 1942 Auschwitz), secretary of the Syndicate of Czechoslovak Journalists. From September 1939 editor-in-chief at PD CM, arrested in May 1941, interned in the Auschwitz concentration camp where he died following torture.

10 Melč, Ctibor (* 7. 12. 1892 Mutějovice, † 1978), since September 1939 deputy, since May 1941 editor-in-chief PD

existence three of the four representatives of the Department of Press were sentenced as enemies of the new regime demonstrates that the occupiers did not have an easy task when regulating media because even in the Protectorate press we can identify a phenomenon which Tomáš Pasák termed “retardation” (“retardace”) i.e. co-operation with the occupiers in order to gain influence on the administration of the Protectorate and use it to counter as much as possible the anti-Czech and totalitarian Nazi repression (cf. e.g. Eliášová – Pasák 2002: 183–187). Nevertheless, journalists’ status became gradually more complex and a number of journalists opted for other jobs.¹¹ From September 1941 “when articles had to be signed it was impossible to leave the press and those who tried to do so would be prosecuted” (Hrabánek: 6).

PD CM implemented supervision and regulation of the media on three levels.

a) For the actual execution of censorship the Central Office of Press Supervision (COPS)¹² was created at PD CM with headquarters in Prague and regional offices in Plzeň, Brno, Olomouc and Moravská Ostrava, COPS every day disseminated instructions to censors working directly in individual newsrooms. The Central Office of Press Supervision worked 24 hours a day. Censorship applied to all articles, photographs and adverts, thus to all content. The initial check was made by the newsroom censor who was together with the editor-in-chief responsible for the implementation of censor’s instructions. Afterwards the copy was sent for approval to COPS.¹³ Only after that could newspapers go to print.¹⁴ When doubts arose the article was also discussed with officials of the Press group at RPO. The censors did not only cross out “faulty passages” they sometimes even re-wrote some of them. The crossed out passages always had to be substituted with an approved text, no “white sections” could appear in the paper as these would indicate censorship. Some articles were prepared by the Press group and papers had to print them as they were.

b) Apart from censorship DP CM also published so-called Information for editors-in-chief in which it instructed newsrooms in what to write about and how and, in contrast, what not to write about. In addition, DP CM published special correspondence for use by regional press. Articles that regional papers re-printed from this correspondence had to be designated as those by the newsroom staff so that the reader would not know that they were merely re-printed. Apart from these a set of instructions was published daily, on politically more complex days (e.g. when the USSR was attacked) even a number of sets a day.

CM. 1942 to 1945 head of the 2nd department of the Ministry of Education and Popular Enlightenment (editing service and press supervisory service). After the war prosecuted for collaboration, in April 1947 prosecution dropped.

11 The “atmosphere at work” was described by the editor-in-chief Antonín Finger in the following way: “Even among people in the same newsroom distrust was gradually growing, it limited the degree of co-operation to small circles. This was evidently also caused by German intrigues, Germans were able to evoke doubts about individuals via their channels of whispered propaganda. Mutual trust was also undermined because articles were signed yet nobody really knew what was written by the author, what was added or taken out by the subservient editor-in-chief or maybe someone at the press department. It was an awful environment, on the one hand constant and continual German pressure, promises and threats, arrests and executions of closest friends and colleagues, constant feeling of danger from informers and editors-in-chief, decreasing trust in colleagues in the newsroom, and on the other hand, a sense of duty, it is necessary to work harder when the number of employees is constantly decreasing” (Končelík – Köpplová – Kryšpinová 2002: 21).

12 On 17 March 1939 by a decree on a new organization of the press service.

13 For easier comprehension the censors used pencils of different colours (newsroom censors used blue and to denote military articles purple, COPS censors used brown, army censors red and green etc.) (cf. Pasák 1980: 60).

14 Censorship had three stages, the manuscript, proof copy and the advance copy were all checked and censors paid attention not only to the content but also to the position of the articles.

c) The third mechanism of press regulation was the already mentioned press conferences. It is precisely these meetings that are analyzed in the following sections of our paper. The conferences usually took place once a day¹⁵ and officially they were organized by DP CM. However, apart from representatives of the Department of Press journalists were also regularly addressed by representatives of the Press group from RPO. At these meetings journalists were not only instructed in what to inform about and how but their work in the preceding period was also assessed. The meetings were modelled like the Reich ones¹⁶ and were confidential.¹⁷ The meetings had two forms – more general ones were intended for editors-in-chief or political or economic editors¹⁸ while the more restricted ones were attended only by editors-in-chief of daily papers.

After the conferences as a rule an unofficial meeting was held for a group of leading activist editors-in-chief with the head of the Press group.¹⁹

3. Methodological framework

In the following we present an analysis of meetings using traditional quantitative content analysis according to methodological rules as defined by Bernard Berelson²⁰ in the 1950s and consequently developed in Europe at a number of schools of communication as well as by individual academics, among them, for example, Winfried Schulz (Schulz – Reifová – Končelík 2004).

In the following we discuss three basic research questions:

O1: Which regions did utterances at the analyzed meetings concern?

O2: Which speakers spoke at them?

O3: Which themes attracted attention?

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- 15 Exactly half of them (34 meetings) figured in the minutes as “weekly”, 23 were not described in detail (characterized as e.g. “a meeting of press editors-in-chief”) although these were most likely also among the regular weekly meetings. Five meetings were “extraordinary,” three were “general” and the headings of three of them contained no information.
- 16 Sängner described the situation in the Reich in a way that would apply fully also to the Protectorate meetings: “Those attending the press conferences of the Reich government were – under serious threats – literally and hierarchically bound by directives to complete confidentiality about classified information from these ‘conferences’ which thus were no conferences whatsoever. If journalists provided anyone else but their editor-in-chief with information from the press conference they would risk prosecution for treason. Many press conference participants were persecuted, some were punished with imprisonment and internment in concentration camps. Some of them never returned. [...] Representatives of the government treated journalists essentially in a friendly manner. They always stressed that they expressed ‘wishes’ and they were careful not to mention ‘orders’ [...] However, from the very start journalists knew what would happen if they did not grant them their ‘wish’” (Sängner 1975: 28–29).
- 17 In our sample 56 meetings (i.e. more than 80 %) were classified “confidential”, only three “secret” and in nine cases the minutes did not refer to a classification.
- 18 Meetings for representatives of journals were also held usually once a month.
- 19 In the Protectorate the term activists denoted a group of intellectuals who were opposed to passive resistance and on the contrary attempted to actively co-operate with the occupying power. Apart from artists this group also included the editors-in-chief of major Czech Protectorate print media. They included, for example, Vladimír Krychtálek, Václav Crha, Karel Werner, Emanuel Vajtauer, Karel Lažnovský, Jaroslav Křemen, Vladimír Ryba, Jan Scheinost and František Prokop.
- 20 Bernard Berelson introduced his method in *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1952). Czechoslovak specialists took up the method gradually, among the first ones to introduce it to this community was Jiří V. Musil at the beginning of the 1970s who repeated Berelson’s perhaps most frequently quoted definition: “Content analysis is a research method used for an objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of a message” (Musil 1972: 215).

In this article we present our findings based on the analysis of a few selected variables²¹: *Speaker*,²² *Length of utterance*,²³ *Medium*,²⁴ *Location of the main theme*,²⁵ *Journalists' assessment*²⁶ and *Theme*.²⁷

When selecting the sample for analysis we were guided by the content of all conferences that we know about and were able to locate. The sample was constructed so that it covered the period from September 1939 when the first conference was held to April 1945 when the last one was held.

We analyzed one conference held each month of the year and that such a conference (1) whose minutes were available to us in Czech and (2) which was held roughly in mid-month.²⁸ In three cases (January 1940, July 1941 and December 1941) we were unable to find the Czech minutes and thus we analyze the German ones, in one case (December 1939) we have no record of a conference (neither in Czech nor in German). We analyzed minutes of 68 conferences amounting to the total of ca. 470 standard pages.²⁹ The basic (coded) unit of analysis was the utterance – a thematic unit defined as a paragraph (checked by the project leader) of the official minutes of the meeting.³⁰ On average a unit has 954 characters.³¹ The sample thus consists of 1,093 units – thematic units from 189 utterances made by individual speakers.³²

4. Findings

In order to analyze the share of individual statements (further also utterances) in the sum of all analyzed meetings we chose the indicator of the number of characters in the transcript.³³ The occurrence of speakers or themes in themselves are not universally valid, a comparison of absolute frequencies would overlook the fact that when supervising

21 Other than identificatory variables: *Meeting type* (cf. note 15), *Degree of confidentiality* (cf. note 17) and *Date*.

22 The variable identified who made the coded utterance.

23 Number of characters in an utterance (without spaces).

24 Medium about which (to which) a speaker makes an utterance. Each utterance is assigned only to one medium (in case of a dispute the longer one) – cf. note 35.

25 The state (political) unit in which the event (the subject of the utterance) took place – 51 categories in 6 higher entities *Protectorate*, *Reich*, *Allies*, *Occupied territories and puppet states*, *Neutral states*, *Enemies*.

26 In contrast with usual media contents at meetings speakers manifestly signalled their “bias” and thus it would be possible to construct a variable identifying how speakers assess journalists. In the code book defined as: “We are only interested in an assessment of (aimed at) journalistic activities of Czech journalists not the evaluation of military events, London radio etc. [...]” Categories cf. *table 4*.

27 With 52 categories in 8 higher units *Politics*, *State administration*, *Economy*, *Problems*, *War*, *Media*, *Ideology*, *Other*. Each utterance was assigned a main theme (in case of a dispute the longer one), other themes were ignored.

28 We adhered to this rule only loosely – in many cases another meeting was not held and thus we had to analyze meetings held at the end or the beginning of the month.

29 703,855 characters without spaces.

30 Although the format of the minutes defines the unit, which is helpful for us, in Berelson's original understanding we got as close to the unit of content defined thematically as possible – when taking the official minutes the clerks divided it into paragraphs according to themes.

31 The shortest analyzed unit had 50 characters without spaces, the longest one 3,628 characters without spaces.

32 On average almost three speakers talked at a meeting, at most it was nine speakers and in contrast 11 meetings had only one speaker (in particular towards the end of the war only Wolf used to talk at the meetings).

33 I.e. weighting the results with the variable *Length of utterance* in the number of characters without spaces. We work with frequencies only in some cases and we clearly indicate when this happens.

a medium the official selects and orders “texts” not only in absolute but also in relative terms, by assigning space (the space that he devotes to them).³⁴

We intend our article as an introduction to the topic and we propose initial findings. We attempt to deal with the already mentioned three research questions that cover 1) the regional distribution of instructions (which regions were the subject of the meetings), 2) speakers (who was actively communicating during the meetings) and 3) the basic thematic structure. With each of these we first identify general characteristics and then, in the second round, move on to a more detailed analysis and examples that suggest its significant, determining or at least interesting relationship with another selected characteristic.

4.1. Regional distribution

In the first part devoted to the way officials at CM, RPO or other participants at meetings (speakers) reflected on the world and the Protectorate we offer a straightforward regional distribution of conference themes. The variable *Location* enabled the systematic analysis of contents according to individual states participating in WWII. *Map 1* provides the findings for individual sides of the conflict – war (allied) blocs (social, political and economic entities).

map 1: Attention devoted to war blocs



Legend: We use “heads” of various sizes to indicate the share of individual blocs which speakers referred to at the meetings – the cartogram grows jointly, the legend represents extreme values, the underlying map of political entities in warring Europe indicates the belonging of regions to blocs (generalized for the purposes of this study). Sample: 1,093 units – localized utterances.

34 Using this weighting in our analysis we, for example, assign Wolf’s longest monologue more than 70 times the importance of the shortest question made by a journalist.

Our main finding concerns the absolute dominance (almost 2/3 of all analyzed utterances) of domestic events (themes). The speakers also devoted more attention to the “enemy” (over 1/6) but in contrast our expectation that speakers will concentrate on events concerning the Reich and its allies was not confirmed (less than 6 %). Occupied territories, neutral states and the rest of the world were on the margins of interest (3 % and less).

The fact that the content of the press conferences concentrated mainly on events relating to the state of affairs in the Protectorate can be explained at two levels:

a) When informing about foreign affairs Protectorate print worked almost exclusively with materials prepared by Reich and Protectorate offices and in this respect it did not need further instructions.

b) The aim of officials responsible for media regulation was to divert the attention of Protectorate journalists away from war events and world politics with the help of a goal-oriented selection of events and thus to limit the reader’s contact with abroad and also to curb the reader’s vain hopes for a change of the regime.

The finding is in line with the dominant historiographic view that the Protectorate’s administrative organs aimed to encourage the public (and thus via the journalists their readers) to develop “peace for work” and strengthen the sense of the perpetuation of the current state of affairs (that is why speakers prefer Protectorate themes). This strategy was, among others, necessary to keep the population of an economically significant base of the Reich in a state that would not interfere with its productivity (cf. Tesař 1964: 347ad).

The relatively significant amount of attention devoted to events related to enemies of the Reich, in particular Great Britain, USA and the Soviet Union, reflects the need to provide the inhabitants of the Protectorate with an interpretation of events at the front-line, to explain the “delusions” of the enemies’ foreign policy and also to alert to “treacherous” activities of Czechoslovak immigration and thus neutralize the propagandistic effects of the London and Moscow radios.

At the press meetings reports on regions of the world were often closely linked to actual media contents. That is why we chose to analyze the relationship between a region and a direct reference to media in more detail.

Table 1 describes how speakers referred to individual media in their utterances.

table 1: Media

Type of medium the speaker refers to	Protectorate	The Reich, its allies and occupied states	Enemies of the Reich	Rest of the world	Total
All domestic press	55,9 %	25,7 %	25,3 %	25,0 %	45,1 %
Medium unidentified	23,4 %	33,9 %	36,7 %	49,7 %	28,2 %
Unidentified newsroom	8,3 %	1,5 %	4,2 %	1,1 %	6,4 %
Identified domestic newsroom	6,1 %	4,8 %	6,3 %	0,0 %	5,7 %
Foreign press – enemies	0,0 %	9,5 %	15,5 %	4,0 %	4,2 %
Foreign press – allies	1,7 %	7,5 %	6,4 %	0,0 %	3,3 %
Any agency	1,9 %	3,4 %	4,0 %	10,7 %	2,8 %
Reich and pro-Reich foreign press	1,0 %	10,9 %	0,8 %	9,5 %	2,7 %
Other	1,7 %	2,8 %	0,8 %	0,0 %	1,6 %
Total	100,0 %	100,0 %	100,0 %	100,0 %	100,0 %

Sample: 1,093 units

Other than print media were surprisingly little mentioned at the meetings, press completely dominated the meetings.³⁵

a) Utterances referring to other than Protectorate themes most frequently (more than a third) dealt with a specific medium (or were addressed to it). Speakers made frequent references to the foreign press of the enemies of the Reich and that when talking about the Reich and its allies³⁶ or about the world of the enemies.³⁷ Speakers referred to Reich press mainly in connection with themes concerning the Reich and its allies.³⁸ In a third of the cases the speakers ignored media completely and a quarter of the utterances referred to the press in general.

b) In the case of Protectorate related themes speakers in more than half of the cases talked about the press in general (or addressed the present journalists in general), in less than a quarter of the cases they did not refer to media at all and only in one fifth of the cases they dealt with specific media.³⁹ When a speaker addressed (or referred to) a specific but unnamed newsroom⁴⁰ while analyzing a domestic, Protectorate related theme in the large majority of cases he rebuked the journalists.⁴¹ Table 2 provides the thematic range of rebukes addressed at unnamed newsrooms.

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- 35 In the sample Protectorate radio was mentioned in 2 cases, Moscow radio also in 2 cases while the London one in 5 cases. Any cinematography in 7 cases, Reich agencies in 2, Central European Press Service (in press under the abbreviation Centropres(s) and Ceps.) also in 2 cases. ČTK (Czech Press Office) appeared more frequently – 11 times. Cf., for example the meeting of 2 March 1944, Melč: “ČTK will today publish a synopsis of the article of the Reich Minister Dr Goebbels published in the last issue of the journal ‘Das Reich’. I would like to draw your attention to the article ‘Assessing the air war’ ” Cf. also note 57.
- 36 Meeting 22. 9. 1944, Wolf: “Regarding Finland if we refer to the fact that the Swedish and Swiss print is very surprised about how strict the conditions given to Finland are [...]. At the same time it is necessary to stress how deeply the Anglo-Americans lie on the ground in front of Stalin and how limited their options are to protect a state in the east of Europe which used to enjoy their special attention and which has a certain place even in the public opinion in these countries.”
- 37 Meeting 20. 6. 1941, Wolmar: “The London morning press deals with the German Turkish agreement and says that Turkey should not be reproached because it signed the agreement. [...] Official circles are convinced that the British-Turkish relationship did not suffer due to this. /On this point we can note that Germany has not, neither before the war nor in its course, entered into a pact with a partner who was previously somehow connected with England. Who is with England is against Germany. [...] /Turkey’s offensive potential ceased to be a factor for France which it had to take into account, however, the defensive potential remains untouched with the pact./This is one of Reuter’s famous phrases intended to throw sand in the eyes of the very disappointed English nation./”
- 38 Meeting 22. 4. 1943, Wolmar: “In this respect we can also use the news published in the journal ‘Abend’ on 22. 4. from Shanghai according to which Japanese sailors sailing in the sea got under the fire of American pilots and were herded to crocodiles as the American reporter of INS himself describes.”
- 39 Meeting 12. 9. 1941, Wolmar: “I very much welcome that [...] the Noon Paper [Polední list] [...] condemned the fact that Anna Sedláčková re-introduced Karel Čapek’s play ‘Highwayman’ [‘Loupežník’] in her repertory. The voice of this paper is however a rare bird [...] The majority of other papers, in contrast, published a very pretty, short piece of news about this play while they [...] in a very cunning move avoided naming the author. It must thus be noted as a curiosity that theatre reviewers of these papers wrote reviews of the play without alluding to the author’s name because the name Karel Čapek is undesirable.”
- 40 Of the 65 utterances to (or about) an unnamed newsroom the vast majority is about the Protectorate – 55.
- 41 The speakers’ reaction to journalistic texts was measured with the variable *Journalists’ assessment* which we will get back to in this text – in the case of utterances to (about) an unnamed newsroom the speakers’ assessment is negative in almost 85 %. Cf., for example, the meeting of 18. 4. 1941, Schubert: “Today an article was already prepared for a certain major paper which [...] included only the Führer’s curriculum vitae and only at its very end was there a short sentence stating that the Czech nation sees the Führer as the creator of a new Europe in which the Czech nation also wants to take the place that it deserves. Articles on the Führer’s birthday should not have this form, they should find closer parallels between current events and the future. Detailed data, for example, about a school visit, political developments until 1933 etc. are unnecessary and out of date. The request is that newsrooms in their articles refer mainly to Führer’s creative activities in his role of a politician and a soldier.”

table 2: Rebukes addressed at an unnamed newsroom

Theme	% of the total length of utterances
Censorship	37 %
Other problems	11 %
Role of the press	10 %
Unions	7 %
Media regulation	6 %
Religion	4 %
Crime	4 %
Other	21 %
Total	100 %

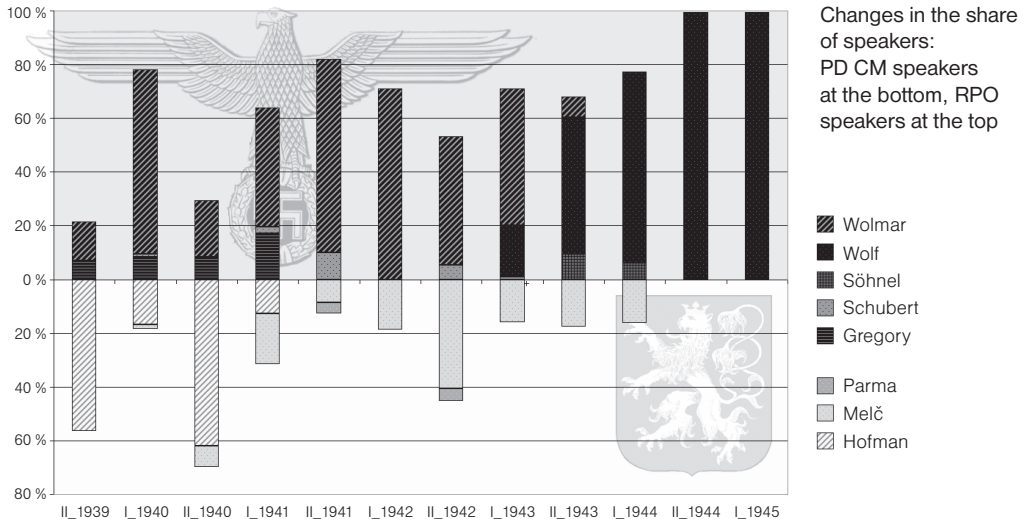
Sample: 55 units – utterances with a Protectorate theme directed at an actual unidentified newsroom.

This type of rebukes is intended as a warning to erring journalists, the speaker did not name them yet he clearly expressed his dislike. The fact that this was a universal procedure is demonstrated also by its exceptional thematic range. We deal with the category of *Censorship* which had a share of more than a third in the third part entitled Theme.

4.2. Speakers

In order to further explore the structure of the meetings we selected another overarching item, the share of individual speakers. This part of the analysis includes only speakers representing the Reich Protector’s Office (RPO) and the Press Department of the Council of Ministers (PD CM). We ignored all other speakers.⁴²

graph 1: Changes in the share of speakers at meetings



Legend: The X axis represents half a year (e.g. 2nd half of 1941 is described as II_1941), the Y axis represents the share of individual speakers at the analyzed conferences during the given six months. Speakers from PD CM are represented at the bottom while speakers representing the Press group (Wolmar and Wolf) and other sections of RPO are represented at the top.

Sample: 1,002 units. 91 units – other speakers not taken into account.

42 We ignore 91 utterances which represent less than 6 % of the length of all utterances at meetings.

One of our significant findings is that during the war the share of PD officials significantly decreased (respectively the share of the representatives of RPO increased). While before the end of 1940 the ratio of the utterances made by officials from PD CM slightly exceeds 50% (56 % : 44 %), from the beginning of 1944 they hardly spoke at the conferences (5 % : 95 %). Another important finding is the actual monologic character of the meetings, they were almost always dominated by one speaker. When František Hofman was arrested he was substituted by Ctibor Melč, when Wolfgang Wolfram von Wolmar was transferred Martin Paul Wolf took over his role. All the other speakers played a secondary role at the meetings, they were responsible only for 1/8 of the length of utterances at the meetings. The group of speakers in *graph 1* includes short utterances by Czech journalists which can be characterized as questions or expressions of approval, further utterances made by one-off official guests at the meetings who gave papers on a given problem.

Share of individual speakers cf. *table 3* (the speakers who were not included in *graph 1* are in categories *Other speakers* and *Not recorded*).

graph 1: Changes in the share of speakers at meetings

Speakers	% share	% cumulative
Wolf	36,1 %	36,1 %
Wolmar	28,5 %	64,6 %
Melč	11,8 %	76,4 %
Hofman	11,2 %	87,6 %
Gregory	2,9 %	90,5 %
Schubert	1,6 %	92,1 %
Söhnel	1,3 %	93,4 %
Parma	0,7 %	94,1 %
Other speakers	4,7 %	98,8 %
Not recorded	1,2 %	100,0 %
Total	100,0 %	

Sample: 1,093 units

Graph 1 shows that the meetings (apart from the initial period when the system of conferences was being constituted and the German and Czech sides were getting used to each other) were conducted dominantly by German officials. It is thus clear that the official status of the Department of Press as the supreme body responsible for the regulation of the Czech press was not largely reflected in the course of the meetings with journalists. Moreover, the Department of Press in this case played basically the role of the organizer while the agenda of the meetings was determined mainly by officials from the Cultural and Political Department of RPO. This trend became dominant in the last period of the occupation with increased problems faced by Nazi Germany on the eastern and later also the western fronts there was a growing need for propagandistic influence on the more and more anxious inhabitants of the Protectorate which at the time constituted one of the last relatively well functioning production bases of the Reich and as such had to be kept stable as long as possible.

In order to provide an insight into the interaction between speakers and their audiences we explore whether and how the speakers assessed journalists' work. We chose the two

most active speakers from CM and RPO, tested the comparability of their utterances⁴³ and compared them using the variable *Journalists' assessment* – table 4:

table 4: *Journalists' assessment*

Speaker	Speaker does not evaluate	Speaker praises	Speaker rebukes	Mixed assessment	Total	**
Hofman	91,3 %	2,1 %	1,5 %	5,1 %	100,0 %	11,2 %
Melč	61,3 %	10,1 %	26,9 %	1,7 %	100,0 %	11,8 %
Wolf	85,2 %	6,1 %	4,4 %	4,3 %	100,0 %	36,1 %
Wolmar	62,0 %	7,7 %	25,5 %	4,8 %	100,0 %	28,5 %
Others	79,4 %	8,5 %	9,2 %	2,9 %	100,0 %	12,4 %
Total	75,8 %	6,9 %	13,3 %	4,0 %	100,0 %	

** speaker's share in the total length of utterances (cf. table 3); Sample: 1,093 units

It applies to all speakers that the assessment of journalists' work was not a core part of their utterances, more than half of their utterances did not refer to the assessment of journalists' work, in general Hofman and Wolf made rare assessments, Melč and Wolfram assessed more frequently. In addition, negative assessments dominated in the utterances of the two latter ones, they tended to alert journalists to past mistakes and misjudgements (approximately in a quarter of their utterances) rather than remind journalists of examples of "correctly" written articles (a tenth of Melč's utterances and a thirteenth of Wolmar's).⁴⁴ From both couples we selected the speaker who made more assessments and we explore the thematic agenda of the utterances in which he rebuked the journalists. Table 5 summarizes the themes that Melč and Wolmar talked about when they negatively assessed journalists' work.

table 5: *Themes of journalists' negative assessment*

Theme	Melč	Theme	Wolmar
Censorship	40 %	Censorship	33 %
Role of the press	12 %	Role of the press	18 %
Unions	12 %	Rumours	6 %
Crime	11 %	Other	43 %
Media regulation	10 %	Total	100 %
Other	15 %		
Total	100 %		

Sample: 114 units – utterances in which the analyzed speakers negatively assessed journalists' work (29 utterances Melč, 85 utterances Wolmar)

43 In the case of speakers from CM the utterances were comparable in terms of frequencies as well as length (141 utterances with the average length of 557 characters in Hofman's case and 130 utterances with the length of 639 characters in Melč's case), in the case of speakers from RPO the ratio is less balanced – Wolmar spoke more frequently and also more briefly (357 utterances with the length of 562 characters in Wolmar's case compared with 291 utterances with the average length of 873 characters in Wolf's case). In comparison with the totals of other speakers Wolf's tendency to monothematic utterances is worth mentioning.

44 Meeting 28. 3. 1941, Wolmar: „[Newspaper A-Zet] deserves praise [for] the article entitled 'Where prices are high the Jew is not far away.' This is a truly excellent and valuable article.”

We found that when negatively assessing journalists' work the speaker refers to the system and institutions of media control (censorship), this is not surprising as it follows from the operational needs of media control. Wolmar often selected examples of journalists' misjudgements from reports on censors' interventions just prepared by censors and answered journalists' questions about censorship procedures etc.,⁴⁵ in comparison, Melč tended to inform journalists about specific censorship instructions and their interpretation.⁴⁶ Similarly also the variable *Roles of the press* applies in the context of assessing utterances to situations when the speaker explained how to write "differently"⁴⁷ using specific examples from the press. However, in other respects the attention of both analyzed speakers differs: while Wolmar had – apart from comments on so-called whispered propaganda (he repeatedly rebuked journalists for succumbing to it)⁴⁸ – a very broad sweep and rebuked journalists in many contexts, Melč concentrated only on operational issues – he rebuked journalists, for example, for the poor representation of the journalistic profession⁴⁹ or mistakes in the obituary section.⁵⁰

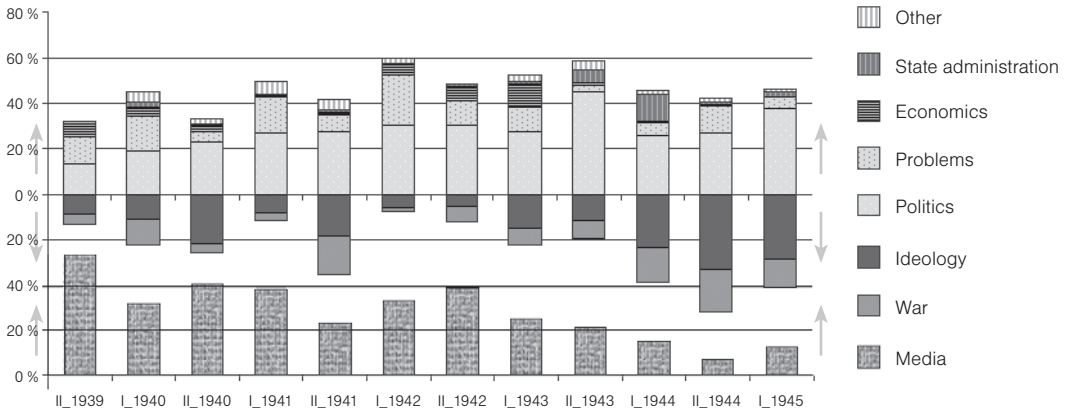
4.3. Theme

One of the key aims of the analysis was to uncover and map the thematic agenda of the meetings. That is why we structured the variable *Theme* in a relatively complex

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- 45 Meeting 8. 6. 1940: "K. Kut /National Union [further NU]/ claims that the government respectively its individual members report on their activities in various committees of NU and that their reports are also disseminated by the NU press service yet censors often do not allow their publication. [...] Wolfram [...] refuses Kut's criticism of censorship, censors did not cross out anything that should be published in the public interest. However, it is not appropriate to publish everything in the daily press that was intended for a more limited circle of colleagues."
- 46 Meeting 24. 9. 1942, Melč: "Do you know that the Department of Press published a so-called list of undesirable authors, we are discouraged from mentioning their names at their anniversaries, no references should be made to their books etc. The officials of the supervisory service explicitly bound those editors-in-chief who were given this list by confidentiality. However, the results were very weak. In three days the news about the list spread throughout Prague and I don't know due to what reason I was called about five times by people who had nothing to do with the press or literature and who asked me to supply them with a similar list. This is an utterly unacceptable phenomenon. Should this situation re-occur such issues should be only available to those responsible for censorship."
- 47 Meeting 18. 2. 1943, Wolmar: "A major Czech paper recently published news about accommodation for Czech workers on the territory of the Reich. They painted a rosy picture of the situation and thus provided an excuse to some young workers who wrote a letter to the paper saying: 'Czech boys laugh at your jokes, we send greetings to the editor.' This makes it clear that the depiction is completely laughable if it is not prepared seriously. It does not help at all if you paint rosy flowers on the pages of the paper, you must write about things as they are and refrain from using your imagination. It will not serve the trustworthiness of a paper, on the contrary it will diminish its trustworthiness."
- 48 Meeting 22. 11. 1940, Wolmar: "At the press meetings there is often talk about whispered propaganda and Czech journalists' main task, to neutralize it. However, the situation is that even journalistic circles fall prey to such propaganda. In journalistic circles in Plzeň the news spread: In Plzeň there was much excitement that in Melantrich they received the order to fire a number of editors. A simple question at the Department of Press would have immediately halted the spread of such nonsense."
- 49 Meeting 2. 3. 1944, Melč: "There were cases which suggest that individual editors and members of the Journalists' union are not always mature enough to exercise good influence on their environment and they do not always demonstrate model behaviour not only at work but also in their private lives. [...] There was a case [...] when in an editor's flat they found an illegal distillery of plum brandy. In a different town editors [...] spent the morning and the afternoon in the pub instead of devoting themselves to their editorial mission."
- 50 Meeting 22. 4. 1943, Melč: "A major Prague paper published [the news] that of two robbers one was caught and the other one, whose name is published, managed to escape. [...] It was repeatedly said here that similar news from own sources are utterly unacceptable because they provide a warning to the prosecuted person and thus jeopardize the work of security forces."

manner (in the code book we defined 52 categories/themes).⁵¹ *Graph 2* provides a basic insight into themes, it summarizes the temporal development of eight thematic groups in three units, the first one being Protectorate “operational” themes dealing mainly with Protectorate politics, state administration, economics etc., the second unit includes themes devoted to war events and (not only) their ideological interpretation, the third unit then includes all themes dealing directly with media.

graph 2: Development of the thematic agenda of meetings



Legend: The X axis represents half a year (e.g. 2nd half of 1941 is described as II_1941), the Y axis represents the share of thematic groups at the meetings held in the given six months. Protectorate “operational” themes are represented at the top while the war agenda is at the bottom, the lower part, and the “media” agenda is again represented at the top.

Sample: 1,093 units.

In the case of the agenda devoted to “war” themes we should mention the increasing stress on the ideological interpretation of events (since 1944 constantly over 20 % of the length of all utterances). In the case of operational themes we should also refer to the clear and constant interest in the interpretation of domestic political events. In contrast, the relative disinterest in economic questions is rather surprising.

Another significant finding is the relatively high but constantly decreasing attention paid to Protectorate media. The temporal axis suggests that most attention was devoted to them in the first years of the occupation when the system of control was being constituted and developed and journalists were informed about what the “new era” actually demanded of them, also at the time they had not yet committed a number of systemic mistakes that had to be explained at press conferences. A certain enlargement of the agenda also occurs in 1942 when the administrative reform of the Protectorate also involved the regulation of media. The assassination of the Deputy Reich Protector Heydrich and the consequent martial law and resulted in the increased need to provide the press with adequate instructions. However, otherwise the theme of media at the conferences decreases gradually till the end of the war. This can be explained by the fact that in the Protectorate the system of press regulation was well established and stable, the established rules were broken only to a lesser degree and thus further explanations became unnecessary.

⁵¹ However, only 48 of them were associated with at least one occurrence.

We analyzed the *Media* thematic group in more detail in the second round of our analysis of the thematic agenda of the meetings – the variable *Media* included utterances about the role of media, their regulation, management and the conduct of the meetings. We used four categories of the variable *Theme*⁵² to explore the media thematic agenda expressed by speakers at meetings – *table 6* indicates their share in the thematic group *Media*.

table 6: *Media*

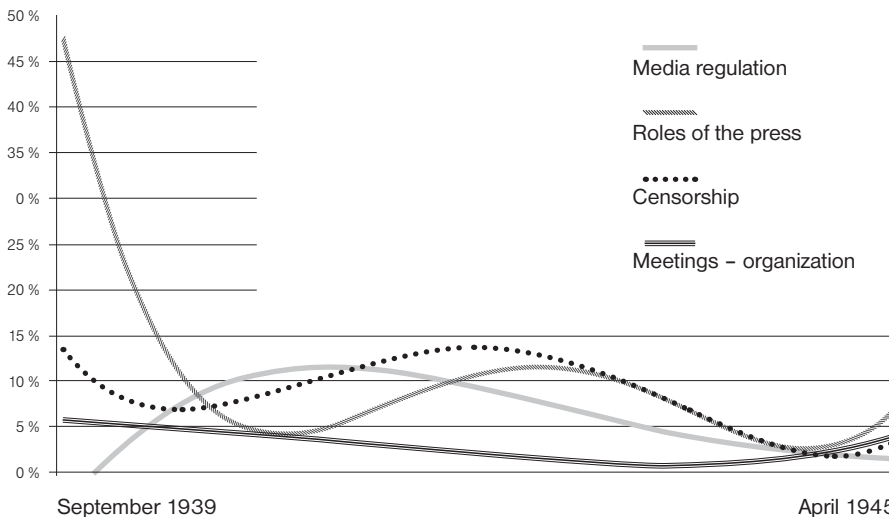
Theme	Length
Roles of the press	45,7 %
Censorship	27,3 %
Media regulation	19,4 %
Meetings – organization	7,6 %
Total	100,0 %

Sample: 364 units – utterances with the theme *Media*.

The speakers dealt with the general definition of media roles in the Protectorate⁵³ most frequently and at most length, in contrast, they talked least frequently and most briefly about organizational matters relating to meetings.

Graph 3 provides more insight into the temporal development of the thematic structure of utterances about media.

graph 3: *Development of utterances about media*



Legend: The X axis denotes the period of time from September 1939 to April 1945, the Y axis captures the development of the share of the constituent theme of agenda devoted to media at the meetings in all themes at the given period.

Sample: 364 units – utterances within the thematic area *Media*.

52 *Role of the press (media) in general, Operational issues of media control (censorship), Operational issues of press regulation (media) and Organizational (technical) issues of press meetings.*

53 Utterances with this theme were most frequent (145 utterances) and on average also longer than other utterances about media.

The autumn of 1939 was characterized by an agenda devoted to the definition of the journalists' tasks in a new political environment, in their new social role.⁵⁴ With time the necessity of such an explanation constantly decreases, the only exception in this respect is the period of administrative reform in 1942 when Emanuel Moravec⁵⁵ enters the communication and his wishes were expressed at the meetings.⁵⁶

The definition of the roles of media went hand in hand with the theme of their regulation which strengthened only in the course of 1940 when journalists understood their social role and thus more attention was devoted to operational aspects of media regulation.⁵⁷ This shift in the communication is illustrated by the increasingly more confident utterances made by activists.⁵⁸ A frequent type of utterances involved instructions on the circulation, price, number of pages etc.,⁵⁹ very often they involved invitations to various events.⁶⁰

54 This initial introduction of journalists to officials of RPO (and DP CM) and their views on the role of media in the new circumstances can be illustrated e.g. with reference to the meeting of 27. 10. 1939, Hofman: "I know [...] that in the current situation it is very difficult for journalists to work independently, to comment on events and to make judgements. [...] These difficulties are not due to offices or persons but to the exceptional circumstances in which we live. However difficulties are there to be overcome. [...] Each Czech journalist should pride himself on proving that he can overcome these difficulties and in these extraordinary times fulfil his exceptional mission. In any case no nation ever achieved anything by inaction and passive expectation. We cannot stand overwhelmed and watch with our mouths open the great events that are happening around us and to us. It was also proposed here that the Czech journalist would misunderstand his mission if he were afraid of public opinion instead of leading it which would be his utter failure."

55 Moravec Emanuel (* 17. 4. 1893 Prague, † 5. 5. 1945 Prague), from January 1942 Minister of Education. At the same time head of the Office of Popular Enlightenment. This office later became an independent ministry and the former Department of Press CM became part of it. After the May uprising Moravec committed suicide.

56 Meeting 13. 2. 1942, Melč: "I would add a few of Moravec's words [...] on the general characteristic of the press [...]: As far as press is concerned, namely political press, everything is all right with it, everything works, it is perfect like in a hotel. But what is missing is a bit of our own strength, a bit of our own soul, fiery energy." Meeting 19. 11. 1942, Parma: "The regular Friday radio speech [...] by Moravec on the situation, it will be as usual given to the papers in time as a resume in the ČTK [Czech Press Office] documents. It goes without saying that the speech has to be published in a nice form and in significant places. [...] Moravec would like to see [...] if you paid attention also to the very delicate question, usury with arts."

57 Meeting 13. 5. 1942, Kraus: "At the end of next week the Czech press will have the task of co-operating for the benefit of the German Red Cross. The Department of Press will send a supplement of about 50 slogans to newsrooms which will be [...] placed in the papers. [...] Those editors-in-chief who have not taken part in yesterday's extraordinary meeting at [...] Wolmar's, should ask for material with information after the conference, this will be useful for the commentary on Churchill's Sunday speech."

58 Cf., for example, the meeting of 13. 1. 1941, when Lažňovský (sic) stated "that definitive directives should be published whether it is at all possible to criticize some members of the National Union or not. [...] Melč: As far as I am aware no instruction, as the editor-in-chief Lážňovský said, has been published in this respect. He also asked us to provide specific information. The editor-in-chief Kožíšek joins Lážňovský in his suggestion because in Brno an identical procedure is in place, he says that if they want to criticize something in Brno they have to turn to the gentlemen at the press supervisory service who were assigned by German officials. He reminds us that in Brno they were not allowed to write critically when the Youth National Union organized a dance afternoon which opened with a polonaise. Evening dress was compulsory. The speaker considers that inappropriate."

59 On this issue cf. e.g. the meeting of 24. 1. 1941 devoted to the central modification of the volume and price of periodicals. This topic recurs at the meetings. Cf. e.g. meeting of 19. 11. 1942, Wolmar: "I further ask that in your own and my interest you temporarily completely abandon the submission of applications for increased circulation or enlarged volume of a paper. [...] It is useless to submit such applications or attempt interventions in this respect as there simply is a shortage of paper."

60 Meeting 28. 3. 1941, Melč: "Complimentary tickets to the exhibition will be sent [...] to editors-in-chief at the newsroom's name. Do not abuse them. A visitor must use the ticket in conjunction with a press identity card." Meeting 10. 7. 1942, Melč: "Every member of the National Union of the Journalists was already invited [to the assembly of workers in culture]. Should there still be cultural editors or other colleagues in newsrooms who would like to attend the speech the newsroom should contact [...] the press department which still has a few available tickets."

The theme of media control (censorship) represents constantly about 10 % of all utterances during the war with the exception of the last period when since 1944 its share constantly decreases. In the first years it is again the definition of the mutual field of influence⁶¹ and the frame within which the journalists should move,⁶² in further years they tended to involve operational aspects of control over media contents.⁶³

The organizational issues linked to the meetings involve short comments in the agenda connected with the organization of the meetings.⁶⁴

4.4. Summary

We intend *table 7* as a summary of the above, it represents the intersection of the generalized findings of the analysis of speakers (column), regional distribution (thus the dichotomy of domestic/foreign (rows)) and thematic groups. In each intersection of a group of speakers and the identification of the domestic/foreign origin of the theme we provide three thematic groups most frequent for this intersection. Our aim was to visualize the individual relationships, the visualization of the answer to our research question: Who talked about what in relation to which region? *Table 7* does not provide

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- 61 Meeting 26. 1. 1940, Wolmar: "Privately some journalists [...] complained to Wolfram that it is difficult to publish papers these days because Reich officials trust the Czech Press very little etc. That is why at today's meeting I would like to demonstrate that 1.) censorship is necessary and that 2.) despite the introduction of censorship writing in papers continues to suggest that some editors do not understand the current state of affairs and the new situation that came into being after 15 March and 3 September. As an example of this way of writing he refers to a Catholic paper that published an essay on New Year's Day claiming that the year 1940 will be a year of economic changes and a serious test of the strength of the resistance of our economic life. ... It is necessary to ask what or whom it will resist." Meeting 16. 2. 1940, Gregory: "A sense of responsibility lies in the fact that the journalist can always use national interest and the interest of the Reich to justify what they did. No organization [...] can deprive the journalist of this responsibility or take it over. Obviously the editor-in-chief takes upon himself responsibility for the editors. [...] The Czech journalist is sometimes exposed to pressure from the publisher, which is actually common in economic life. Whatever the case decisions must be made by the politically responsible editor and he should and must have the last word. This is where the journalist's responsibility lies and not in the art of writing in such a manner that his lines are not altered by the censors. Nobody plans to turn censorship into suprajournalism."
- 62 Meeting 13. 4. 1940, Wolmar: "At the end of September some Czech journalists attempted with the help of foreign correspondents from Berlin to transport a set of then published censorship directives [of 17. IX. 1939] abroad. These directives were made available to them only in order to make their work easier. Recently another such attempt was made and the whole content of the last but one daily press meeting was made public abroad. [...] In terms of the Reich's press policy these cases are completely meaningless. Yet von Wolfram was accredited by the Reich Protector and the Secretary of State to say that should anything from press conferences or any of the instructions of the press department again be given away abroad editors-in-chief will no longer be given any instructions. Every journalist will be able to work as they wish but censorship will work fully. Due to lack of time 30-40 % of the texts will disappear in the process because censorship is an office. [...] In similar cases in the Reich the paragraph on high treason applies."
- 63 Meeting 24. 9. 1943: "The editor-in-chief Paulus alerted in relation to the Curatorium to the fact that district officials too frequently send extremely long articles to newsrooms which should be published in full. He said that newsrooms could not accommodate this wish due to lack of space. Melč alerted to the circular sent by the president of the Curatorium in January or February 1943 which instructed district officials to send articles intended for publication only through the Prague headquarters of the Curatorium. Thus according to the circular similar articles can be published only if they are approved by the headquarters. One of the reasons why the headquarters got involved was that the quality of these articles was not appropriate. However, articles approved by the headquarters can be further edited."
- 64 Meeting 28. 3. 1941, Melč: "After this conference there will be a more restricted meeting at [...] like the last time." Meeting 13. 3. 1945, Wolf: "I further intend to move the meetings to a different time because I have the feeling that 12 noon is a time of tiredness and that this also contributes to the fact that the meetings do not produce required results. I want to set the time for the meetings at 4pm because I believe that it is the most appropriate time. [...] You can reach me personally any time of the night or day."

any new information, it only (as we hope) comprehensively summarizes the findings presented above.

table 7: Summary of the findings on the agenda of press meetings between 1939 and 1945

	Speakers from RPO (70,4 %)	DP CM speakers (23,7 %)	Other speakers (5,9 %)
Protectorate (64,7 %)	Media = 14,4 % Politics = 9,0 % Ideology = 5,7 % Other = 8,7 %	Media = 8,5 % Politics = 5,8 % Problems = 2,0 % Other = 4,8 %	Politics = 2,3 % Media = 1,7 % State admin. = 0,8 % Other = 1,0 %
Rest of the world (35,3 %)	Ideology = 10,1 % Politics = 9,7 % War = 8,6 % Other = 4,2 %	Media = 0,9 % Ideology = 0,8 % Politics = 0,7 % Other = 0,2 %	All themes < 0,2 %

Legend: In the intersection of each row and column we give the three most frequent themes with their share (in %) in the total of all utterances. Example 1: Items “politics 9.0 %” in the row Protectorate and the column speakers from RPO thus means that almost a tenth of all meetings were characterized by utterances made by officials from RPO (column) on political issues of the Protectorate (row).

Sample: 1,093 units.

We were surprised that in all relationships much attention was devoted to media – a significant exception in this sense are utterances by officials from RPO on the world outside the Protectorate (and this is also the only relationship in which the thematic area of “war” had a strong place).⁶⁵ In contrast, our expectations were confirmed in the finding that officials from ORP stressed ideological issues while other speakers concentrated more on operational issues. Political themes characterized all relationships to a large degree. Utterances oriented at the Protectorate were essentially concerned with “media” and “politics”.

An interesting finding concerns the complete dominance of speakers from the Office of the Reich Protector in the area of foreign themes, the representation of the world beyond the borders of the Protectorate which the legal Czech press presented to its readers and which was thus to a decisive degree based on information and instructions from German officials.

5. Conclusion

Although our analysis of minutes of meetings with editors-in-chief and editors at print media officially published in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia held in the years between 1939 and 1945 does not provide a comprehensive understanding of the contemporary regulation of media it can be at least considered an introduction to this topic. The study reminds us of the status of press meetings in the Protectorate’s media system, it explores their formal structure and with the help of quantitative analysis also their content. The article described the meetings as a) monologic utterances by German officials

⁶⁵ Utterances of officials from RPO about the world outside the Protectorate are exceptionally homogeneous – the three most frequent thematic groups prevail.

devoted mostly to b1) domestic (i.e. Protectorate) political themes, b2) ideological context of the status of the Protectorate at the side of the Third Reich's war effort and b3) the operational aspects of the control and management of Protectorate press. We used examples of specific utterances to demonstrate that the efforts to influence media communication flows were not solely repressive but also clearly manipulative. The "desirable image of the situation" which Protectorate journalists were supposed to create in the press according to instructions from the meetings thus came to the forefront.

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