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MILITARY THOUGHT AND ITS TRANSFORMATION IN THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES OF EUROPE IN 1918–1940

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Military Thought and its Transformation
in the Newly Independent States of Europe in 1918–1940

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Military attachés and officers from allied countries are observing the Polish cavalry manoeuvres near Brody in Volhynia. In the centre are Estonian Cavalry Inspector Colonel Arthur von Buxhoeveden (with binoculars) and Chief of Staff of Estonian Armed Forces Major General Juhan Tõrvand. August 1925. Photo by Stefan Plater-Zyberk. National Archives of Estonia, RA, ERA.1131.1.149

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Introduction

Mari-Leen Tammela

Yearbook No. 13 (19) of the Estonian War Museum – General Laidoner Museum includes articles on the development and transformation of military thought between the two world wars, and on military thinkers of the European countries that became independent during or after World War I. This theme was the in the focus at the 14th Annual Baltic Military History Conference, *Military Thought and its Transformation in the Newly Independent States of Europe in 1918–1940*, held in the autumn of 2023 in Tartu. The conference was organised by the Estonian War Museum, the Baltic Defence College, and the Estonian Military Academy.

World War I resulted in a profound transformation of previous concepts of warfare. While military thinking still lingered in the 19th century, rapid technological advances had brought entirely new challenges to the battlefield, such as positional warfare and the industrial-scale destructiveness of total war. As the great powers faced the urgent need to reconsider existing principles of warfare, the newly independent countries, born amidst the cannon fire of the world war, did not have the luxury of revising their armies or military thinking – these had to be built from scratch. The challenges were similar for the Second Polish Republic, which had restored its independence, as well as for the newly independent Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Czechoslovakia. The creation of armed forces was expensive, placing these young and, for the most part, small nations before difficult choices, further complicated by the continual rapid development of military technology. The war machines and aircraft acquired by these small states at the end of World War I and in early 1920s had become hopelessly obsolete by the 1930s. At the same time, economic limitations hindered their ability to keep pace with latest technological innovations.

How did theoretical military thought develop in the newly independent countries between the two world wars? What were their role models, and what challenges to development were posed by the absence or prolonged interruption of their own national military science? How did military theory keep pace with technological advancements, and how was this reflected, for instance, in ideas of developing separate service branches and types of weaponry? How did societal processes, including political and economic changes, influence military theory and the development of military thought? How receptive were military personnel in these young states to new ideas, and what influenced them, or what were the factors shaping military theorists in the interwar period? These were only some of the topics that were discussed at the 2023 conference, now explored in this collected volume.

This yearbook publishes six studies on the evolution and transformation of military thought, based on presentations at the 14th Annual Baltic Military History Conference.

Michal Cáp, researcher in the Historical and Documentation Department of the Military History Institute, Prague, outlines in his article the broader institutional framework in which Czechoslovak officers published their military-theoretical texts. He demonstrates how officer-authored writings, despite undergoing censorship by military authorities, contributed both to advancing military readiness and significantly shaping national identity, indicating that military-theoretical debates were part of nation-building.

Markus Wahlstein, senior lecturer at the Finnish National Defence University, analyses in his article how threat assessments regarding the Red Army influenced the development of Finland's defence system and related military thought in the 1920s. He concludes that the outlines of the tactical-defensive foundation established in this period are still traceable in Finland's contemporary defence system.

Assistant Professor Tomasz Gajownik from the Institute of History at the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn, provides an overview of the factors that shaped military theoretical positions

in interwar Poland, with Marshal Józef Piłsudski as the central figure. The article analyses the enduring impact Piłsudski and his authority had on the development of Poland's military potential, and explains the state of affairs at the end of the 1930s.

Following up on the same theme in the Estonian context, Colonel (ret.) Aarne Ermus, lecturer at the Estonian Military Academy, focuses on the Republic of Estonia's defence capabilities in the second half of the 1930s as exemplified by the character and activity of General Johan Laidoner. Colonel Ermus examines the extent to which Laidoner's views on national defence, sometimes articulated as an 'active defence' doctrine, were reflected in the State Defence Modernisation Plan approved by the National Defence Council in 1938. Being the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces in the authoritarian period following the 1934 coup, Laidoner possessed great authority and, presumably, his views would have been particularly influential, especially considering his experience. How did he utilise this power for the advancement of national defence?

The increasing threat to national security posed by two totalitarian major powers – Germany and the Soviet Union – was perceptible even to those who did not live in a *cordon sanitaire* country. Using the writings of one of the most prominent Dutch military theorists of his time, Michal Calmeyer, Professor Wim Klinkert of the Netherlands Defence Academy in Breda explores the experience of a small state regarding theoretical discussions on reinforcement of national security. His paper also reveals an intriguing discourse on how state neutrality framed and restricted public debates concerning alternatives to neutrality and the search for potential allies.

Visions of future warfare are discussed, to a greater or lesser extent, in almost all of the contributions. However, this is the central theme of the essay by Assistant Professor Peter Mitchell of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and Major Tanel Tatsi of the Estonian Defence Forces. Analysing Estonia's military preparedness in the interwar period, they also direct the reader's attention towards the future, attempting to formulate lessons the Estonian Defence Forces might learn from past shortcomings and highlight the important

aspects for the development of a defence strategy, given that Estonia's geographic conditions and the historical adversary have not changed over the past century.

Headed by Lead Research Fellow Dr Igor Kopõtin, the Estonian Military Academy launched the research project "Estonian Military Thought 1920–1940" in 2021, aiming to map the history, origins, and influencers of Estonian military thought. This project has now yielded initial results, with the publication of five collected volumes or brief monographs focusing on military theorists such as Lieutenant General Aleksei Baiov and General Johan Laidoner, or on specific fields such as naval and aerial warfare and moto-mechanisation. Toomas Hiio, Research Director of the Estonian War Museum, provides a thorough scientific review of two brief monographs published in this project – one addressing the development of naval military thought and related individuals, the other examining the role and influence of professor and former Imperial Russian Army Lieutenant General Aleksei Baiov on development of Estonian national military thought.

MILITARY THOUGHT AND ITS TRANSFORMATION IN THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES OF EUROPE IN 1918–1940

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The Challenges of Our Defence: Military Knowledge and Officers' Writings in Interwar Czechoslovakia

Michal Cáp

A central focus of this study is the process of knowledge creation and circulation of military texts in interwar Czechoslovakia and the role of professional officers in it. Their writings were circulated through books, professional journals and the daily press, but their ability to publish was managed by the military administration. At first, these publications provided a platform for the articulation of the role of the Czechoslovak military in an often antimilitary-minded society. Later, they functioned especially as instruments of military preparedness propaganda. This article aims to demonstrate both the societal context and the control over officers' writings, not only in discussing military thought but also in bolstering society's resolve, thereby contributing to the military culture of fledgling Czechoslovakia in the interwar period.

Introduction: Enter Emanuel Moravec, officer, writer and knowledge actor

In 1937, under the shadow of a military threat to the Czechoslovak Republic from Nazi Germany, the seventh edition (in less than a year) of the book *Úkoly naší obrany* (The Challenges of Our Defence) was published. It was written under the pseudonym Stanislav Yester by Colonel Emanuel Moravec, who would later become infamous as one of the most prominent collaborators with the Nazi regime. In the 1930s, however, he was known as the most prolific Czechoslovak

commentator and writer on military issues, a lecturer at the War College, and a promoter of military preparedness.[1] The book itself was published by the Association of the Czechoslovak Officers (Svaz československeho důstojnictva), a corporate group closely aligned with the Ministry of National Defence and official state policy.

Aimed at the wider public, it contained chapters on the future of war, military theory, strategy in a wider societal context, the roles of politics and policy, and military history. Its opening, though, dealt with the interrelation of the army[2] and the various types of print media – including the press – and described the perceived two-way road on which the knowledge must pass back and forth in a democratic state.

> The army proper does not need uncritical admiration, nor does it need the flat-out defiance of the unthinking. Our army needs to have a healthy and rational understanding of its purpose and meaning, to be what it is, the blood of the people – A citizen who loves his country must honour the task of the army, and the army, in turn, must understand the feelings and aspirations of the citizen and value his convictions.[3]

The Challenges of Our Defence, from which this article borrows its title, illustrates specifics of interwar Czechoslovak military culture and its relationship with a civilian society in an era of total wars. As was the case in other interwar states,[4] Czechoslovakia's intellectual

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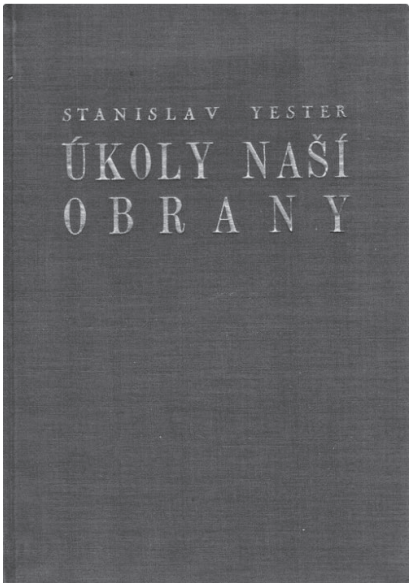
[1] Jiří Pernes, *Až na dno zrady* (Praha: Themis, 1997), 93–118, on his publication activities see Michal Cáp "Konštrukcia profesionálneho dôstojníka v dielach Emanuela Moravca", *Vita trans historiam,* edited by Mária Molnárová and Viktória Rigová (Nitra: Filozofická Fakulta Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre, 2022), 172–173.

[2] The official name in use was *Československá branná moc*, meaning Czechoslovak armed forces, which included ground and air forces (the small Danube flotilla was operated by the engineer battalion), as well as support services. However, it was used interchangeably even in official documents with *Československé vojsko/Československá armáda*, meaning Czechoslovak army, understood to consist of all the above, even the air force.

[3] Stanislav Yester, *Úkoly naší obrany* (Praha: Svaz čs. důstojnictva, 1937), 11.

[4] See Azar Gat, *Fascist and Liberal Visions of War: Fuller, Liddell Hart, Douhet, and Other Modernists* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) and *Military Innovation in the Interwar Period,* edited by Williamson Murray and Allan R. Millet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). On the debates in smaller European states, see Wim Klinkert, *Dutch Military Thought, 1919–1939. A Small Neutral State's Visions of Modern War* (Leiden: Brill, 2022).



Úkoly naší obrany *(The Challenges of Our Defence), written by Emanuel Moravec under the pseudonym Stanislav Yester, was one of the most popular books published by the Association of Czechoslovak Officers concerning military thinking and especially military preparedness in the interwar era. The edition pictured here was the seventh in less than a year after its first publication in 1937. Source: Author's Archive*

officers of the time wrote not only about narrow military themes and not only in technical and professional journals, but also reached outwards, towards civilian society. This paper describes the sociocultural and institutional basis of the production of these texts and therefore aims not to describe the contents of interwar Czechoslovak military thought,[5] but to illuminate the process of circulating specific military knowledge. It is inspired by the approaches of the history of knowledge, with "knowledge" being a programmatically nebulous term that combines the approaches of the history of science with cultural and intellectual history.[6] This attempts to delineate the various forms military knowledge could take, how it

[5] The main themes of Czechoslovak military thought are covered in Stanislav Polnar, *Vývoj a proměny československého strategického myšlení* (Brno: Univerzita obrany, 2023), 20–32.

[6] *Forms of Knowledge: Developing the History of Knowledge,* edited by Johan Östling et al. (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2020), 9–11, 14–16, also cf. *Circulation of Knowledge Explorations in the History of Knowledge,* edited by Johan Östling et al. (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2018) and *Knowledge Actors: Revisiting Agency in the History of Knowledge,* edited by Johan Östling et al. (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2023).

was produced and circulated, and who the knowledge-producing actors, both individuals and institutions, were. In this article, there is a focus on the infrastructure supporting the process.[7] The text thus aims to describe the publishing platforms available to Czechoslovak officers, institutional processes of text production and the role of the military administration, generally understood to be the Ministry of National Defence itself.

In the Czechoslovak context, Moravec is often seen as an archetype of officer-intellectual, in part due to his fame and later notoriety, but also thanks to his sheer output. He authored several books and brochures, published numerous articles in a variety of military-affiliated journals, and was a resident military expert at influential civilian newspapers and magazines.[8] He was not alone, with other more notable examples such as Colonel Rudolf Smetánka,[9] Major Richard Wolf,[10] generals Vojtěch Vladimír Klecanda and Silvestr Bláha[11] and Major Jiří Letov.[12] But these were just a few better-known men from among the many officer-writers who answered the call to produce military texts to improve Czechoslovak military knowledge.[13] They exemplified a trend of officers in European armies engaging intellectually in military affairs – a result of the professionalisation of the officer corps in the late 19th century.[14]

Until the second half of the 20th century, the officers were dominant in producing writings on military topics. Dramatic change after

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7 *Forms of Knowledge*, 16.

8 Cáp, "Konštrukcia profesionálneho dôstojníka" 175–176.

9 Prokop Tomek, "Rudolf Smetánka", *Kalendárium VHÚ*, 18 May 2018, https://www.vhu.cz/rudolf-smetanka/, 15 February 2024.

10 Michal Cáp, *Vojenská história v medzivojnovom Československu* (theses defended at Praha: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, 2019), 65.

11 Polnar, *Vývoj a proměny*, 20–21, 29–30.

12 Markus Pape, *Sólo Jiřího Letova* (Praha: Triáda, 2019), 31–65.

13 MNO Prezídium 1924–1927, Inv.č. 10560, Sign. 8/1/32, karton 626, *Podpora voj. písemnictví a odborné literature – pokyny náčelníka hl. štábu.*1–3, for distribution through official channels ZVV Košice, karton 1, *Čs. voj. písemnictví – výzva ke spolupráci*, 19 November 1926, 436.

14 Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge II: From the Encyclopaedia to Wikipedia* (Oxford: Polity, 2012), 221.

the totalisation of warfare during and in the aftermath of the First World War expanded interest in military matters. In central Europe, after the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire and the creation of successor states such as Czechoslovakia, officers wrote not only to discrete professional journals but also to a wider public. The officers, with their professional competence, were among the best prepared to play the role of military experts for the benefit of a whole society, aspiring to be teachers of the nation, as opposed to their Habsburg predecessors, who were cast as "latter-day knights".[15]

As the first president of Czechoslovakia, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk put it:

> True, the modern democratic officer must be a teacher, but therefore he must teach himself. A teacher who does not learn is worth nothing. But, as said, that is not enough. An officer is not only a teacher of knowledge, but an officer must also be a steady leader and a true model of military prowess, of military manhood, especially he must be a role model in danger, in war. Of course, also in a non-war, whenever there is a more difficult situation where strategic acumen and decision-making are needed.[16]

This was an aspirational rather than an accurate image of the new "democratic" officer. But Masaryk was serious about the need for the officer corps to undertake intellectual activity. For example, he personally instructed Moravec to write a scientific yet propagandistic book about Czechoslovakia's military and society.[17] This thinking illustrates the possibilities that became available to officers in a newly created mid-sized state like the Republic of Czechoslovakia.

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[15] Cf. István Deák, *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[16] *Cesta demokracie. I, Projevy, články, rozhovory 1918–1920,* edited by Vojtěch Fejlek and Richard Vašek (Praha: Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, 2003), 101.

[17] Pernes, *Až na dno*, 96–98. This intervention led to the publication of two books: Emanuel Moravec, *Vojáci a doba* (Praha: Svaz československého důstojnictva, 1934) and Emanuel Moravec, *Obrana státu* (Praha: Svaz československých důstojníků, 1935), from the same publisher as the later *Úkoly naší obrany.*

Colonel of the General Staff Emanuel Moravec, despite later gaining infamy as a notorious Nazi collaborator, was by far the most prolific and well-known military writer of interwar Czechoslovakia. Photo from 1935. Source: Wikimedia Commons

Much of the historiography on the interwar Czechoslovak officer corps has focused on personal biographies, memoirs and sometimes outright hagiographies of individual actors.[18] More analytical monographs generally deal with political and structural aspects of the military, such as nationalities policy, democratisation efforts and the influence of the Legionary narrative. They are usually only parts of broader monographs on warfare and society, chief among those being the works of Martin Zückert[19] and Ivan Šedivý.[20]

Michal Horejší's master's thesis on the Association of Czechoslovak Officer Corps provides a basic outline of its publishing practices and interactions with the Ministry of National Defence.[21] Karel Straka has

[18] Those concerning officer-writers such as Moravec (Pernes, *Až na dno),* or Letov (Papé, *Sólo*) offer some insights into their motivations to produce the military knowledge, but they often suffer from the typically Czechoslovak limitations of such biographies, focusing disproportionally on the subjects' experiences from the two world wars.

[19] Martin Zückert, *Zwischen Nationsidee und staatlicher Realität: Die tschechoslowakische Armee und ihre Nationalitätenpolitik 1918–1938* (Munich: Verlag Oldenbourg, 2006).

[20] Marie Koldinská and Ivan Šedivý, *Válka a armáda v českých dějinách* (Praha: NLN – Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2008).

[21] Michal Horejší, *Svaz československého důstojnictva, organizace, vývoj a činnost v letech 1920–1938* (thesis defended at Filozofická Fakulta Univerzita Karlova, 2003).

done important work on the organisation of interwar Czechoslovak military historical institutions and their cooperation with political actors.[22] Especially valuable is his research on the last years (1936–38) of the Military Scientific Institute and its plans to expand Czechoslovak military preparedness through systemic reform of its goals and organisation.[23] Czech "non-military" historiography of science and knowledge generally passes over the military press[24] and military scientific institutions, or mentions them only in general outlines, such as overviews of Czech scientific institutions and scholarly societies Bohemia docta.[25]

Czechoslovak state, society and military knowledge

Czechoslovak military *písemnictví* ("literature", "body of texts" or just "writings")[26] and the role of professional officers in it is, of course, part of the transnational discussion of military innovation and thoughts in the interwar era.[27] But the political, societal and cultural context is needed to grasp how this military knowledge was produced and distributed.

The Czechoslovak Republic emerged in 1918 out of the flames of the First World War, from the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Its independence was due to many factors, notably to the ability of its foreign resistance, headed by Masaryk, its first president, to gain recognition from the Entente powers. Their success was in

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[22] Karel Straka, "Památník osvobození (1929–1939) a jeho předchůdci", *Historie a vojenství: časopis Vojenského historického ústavu* 58, no 3 (2009): 32–64.

[23] Karel Straka, *Souvislosti vědy a výzkumu s obranou Československé republiky. Vojenský ústav vědecký v letech 1936–1938* (Praha: Ministerstvo obrany ČR, 2006).

[24] It is completely ignored in the otherwise seminal work, Barbora Osvaldová and Jana Čeňková. *Česká publicistika mezi dvěma světovými válkami* (Praha: Academia, 2017).

[25] *Bohemia Docta. The Historical Roots of Science and Scholarship in the Czech Lands,* edited by Alena Míšková et al. (Praha: Academia, 2018).

[26] Vojenské ústavy 1919–1939, č.j. 19., karton 1, *Patnáct let Vojenského ústav vědeckého*, 2–3, cf. ZVV Košice, karton 1, *Čs. Voj. Písemnictví – výzva ke spolupráci*, 19 November 1926, 436.

[27] Polnar, *Vývoj a proměny*, 20–31, cf. Gat. *Fascist and Liberal Visions,* Murray and Millet, *Military Innovation.*

significant part due to the Czechoslovak Legions, a sizeable volunteer armed force recruited mainly from the Czech and Slovak prisoners of war of the Austro-Hungarian army.[28] The so-called Legionaries became the main bearers of the republic's culture of victory,[29] and their rights as war veterans (unlike for those who served until the end in the Austro-Hungarian army) were almost exclusively recognised.[30] They became politically dominant in the new army.[31] It was not by chance that many of the officially supported military writers, such as Moravec and Bláha, came from their ranks.

From its founding until the surrender to the conditions of the Munich Agreement of 30 September 1938, Czechoslovakia was a parliamentary republic with strong presidential influence, due to the overwhelming presence of its founding father figure, Masaryk. This was facilitated by a cross-party (and informal) support group known as "the Castle" (a reference to the seat of the president in Prague Castle). It was also supported by society by the formation of a cult of personality centred on Masaryk as an enlightened "philosopher on a throne".[32] The Castle was able to mobilise the influence of powerful state and civic society institutions, journals and individuals to create what was described as the myth of Czechoslovakia as a progressive, liberal, tolerant and democratic state.[33]

This had its military dimension, in the idea of a so-called democratic army – not in the sense of the army not being a completely hierarchical institution, but as an ideology opposed to the old regime, dynastic army of the Habsburg Empire, from which Czechoslovakia

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[28] Andrea Orzoff, *Battle for the Castle: The Myth of Czechoslovakia in Europe, 1914–1948* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 37–56.

[29] James Krapfl, "Sites of memory, sites of rejoicing. The Great War in Czech and Slovak Cultural History", *Remembrance and Solidarity. Studies in 20th Century European History,* no 2 (2014): 109–146.

[30] Václav Šmidrkal, "The Defeated in a Victorious State: Veterans of the Austro-Hungarian Army in the Bohemian Lands and Their (Re)mobilization in the 1930s", *Zeitgeschichte* 47, no 1 (2020): 81–105.

[31] Zückert, *Zwischen Nationsidee und staatlicher Realität*, 80–95.

[32] Orzoff, *Battle for the Castle*, 53, 119–132.

[33] Ibid., 57–94.

and its army were born.[34] Many writers repeatedly elucidated this point and defended it against the possible misunderstanding that "democratic" meant "anarchic", or even "antimilitaristic".[35]

But the First Czechoslovak Republic was riven by vicious party politics, often opposed to the Castle. It had inherited from Austria-Hungary a political party system defined by class and nationality, along with a vibrant civil society associative culture,[36] and vast media ecosystem split along party lines. The idea of Austria-Hungary as a prison of the nations must, at least for its Austrian part, be relegated to the dustbin of historiographic and political interpretations. We must remember that, due to its multinational population, Czechoslovakia can be seen as a miniature Habsburg state in terms of nationality.[37] At the same time, it was considered a nation-state of Czechoslovaks"[38] by a Czech political elite and the country became firmly Czech-dominated.[39]

Czechoslovakia was a product and proponent of the Versailles system, to which it owed its existence because that system established it as a victor state of the Great War. Czechoslovak citizens who considered themselves Germans, Hungarians or Poles were limited by both democratic and less-than-ideally democratic mechanisms. The participation of Slovaks and Ruthenes was also problematic, as was their incorporation into the unified Czechoslovak narrative, which included the Legionary narrative and the idea of the Czechoslovak army.[40] By 1938, over 90% of professional officers were Czech,[41] and with a few exceptions, all the military writings, journals and books were published in Czech.

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[34] Koldinská and Šedivý, *Válka a armáda,* 145–146.

[35] Ibid., 281–284.

[36] Orzoff, *Battle for the Castle*, 83.

[37] Ibid., 16–17.

[38] Elisabeth Bakke, "Conceptions of Czechoslovakism among Czech politicians in government inauguration debates 1918–1938", edited by Adam Hudek et al, *Czechoslovakism* (London: Routledge, 2022), 149.

[39] This pertains to a military elite as well, see Zückert, *Zwischen Nationsidee*, 115.

[40] Zdenko Maršálek, "The failure of Czechoslovakism as a state-civic concept: national minorities in the army, 1918–1945", *Czechoslovakism*, 251–252, cf. Zückert, *Zwischen Nationsidee.*

[41] Zückert, *Zwischen Nationsidee*, 115.

Despite the reality of the new state often not living up to its self-created political myth of a democratic, liberal and progressive "golden age",[42] the Czechoslovak First Republic was indeed an era of expanded knowledge production. This was partly due to the newly independent state's need to create a network of scientific and cultural institutions.[43] But the free, democratic and until the mid-1930s[44] almost unrestricted publishing opportunities played a significant role. Newspapers, magazines, books and brochures were all booming.[45]

Czechoslovak society was often described as antimilitaristic, especially in the 1920s, and there is a kernel of truth in that.[46] "Antimilitaristic" did not mean uninterested in military matters. Those were monitored and reported on by both the national and the regional newspapers. The texts published ranged from informative to scandalmongering. It was in the interest of the armed forces to monitor these and to allow for their officers to contribute to and thus moderate this written production.

Military control over officers' publications

The military administration monitored the press's writings about the armed forces,[47] but it enforced localised censorship only rarely.[48] It was more strident in control of what its members published. Every professional soldier, both officer and warrant officer,[49] was liable for

[42] Orzoff, *Battle for the Castle*, 219–220, cf. Mary Heimann, *Czechoslovakia: The State That Failed* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2009).

[43] *Bohemia Docta*, 258, 270–271.

[44] Osvaldová and Čeňková, *Česká publicistika*, 13.

[45] Ibid., 17; Zdeněk Šimeček and Jiří Trávníček, *Knihy kupovati ... Dějiny knižního trhu v českých zemích* (Praha: Academia, 2013), 227–270.

[46] Koldinská a Šedivý, *Válka a armáda*, 281–284.

[47] "Reorganisace vojenské služby tiskové", *Věstník,* 14 February 1920, 6, 71.

[48] For example, MNO Prezídium 1924–1927, Inv.č. 8903, Sign. 28/9/1, karton 523. Various cases and ex post summaries sporadically appear throughout the whole interwar era.

[49] The Czechoslovak term *rotmistr* refers to the professional non-commissioned officer corps established in the new republic, and is best translated as warrant officer as opposed to non-commissioned officers, who were referred to as *poddůstojník*.