

Continuities and discontinuities. Educational program of The Planned Parenthood Association in Krakow (1957 – 1993)

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vol. 3, 2014, 1, pp. 81-92

The article presents the program of sexual education prepared and offered by Krakow Branch of the Planned Parenthood Association in the wider context of socio-political situation in Krakow (1956 – 1989). Since the beginning of the Association's existence, the special attention was paid to the development of educational program, which concerned the different aspects of „family life”. The article is going to answer the questions about its goals, the educational tools used to achieve them and its social targets. To accurately determine the position of the Association in the city's community I will analyse its foundation and activities in wider context of the pre-war traditions of the organisation and the activities regarding premarital counselling undertaken by the Krakow Catholic Church.

Key words: Kraków. People's Republic of Poland. The Planned Parenthood Association. Towarzystwo Świadomego Macierzyństwa. Communism. Family planning. Sexual education.

The Planned Parenthood Association (Towarzystwo Świadomego Macierzyństwa) was a unique institution among other organisations of the Communist-era Poland, although its history did not deviate from the history of other centrally – controlled associations that operated within the predetermined, censored public space of the post-war Poland. The uniqueness of the PPA was defined on the one hand by the issues around which it had focused its activities, i. e. birth control and / or promotion of knowledge of human sexuality, on the other hand – in my opinion – by an extremely uncomfortable situation of unwanted, embarrassing child of the socio-political system. The Association depended on the varying objectives of the pro-natalist policy of the state, to some extent, being its expression, and to some extent, paradoxically, struggling with its limitations.

The Planned Parenthood Association, whose traditions date back to the interwar period, appeared back in the public space after the 1956 „thaw”, as a completely new organisation, which, moreover, had to function under conditions extremely different from those shaping it twenty-five years earlier. The post-war Association brought together the most expressive representatives of the Polish sexology, who largely co-shaped the language used in the public debate on sexuality, birth control and – more broadly – carnality. While the language and concepts of the Polish sexology of that time (Lew Starowicz, Kazimierz Imieliński, Michalina Wiśłocka) were recently reconstructed by Agnieszka Kościańska in her book „Płeć, przyjemność i przemoc. Kształtowanie wiedzy eksperckiej o seksualności w Polsce”,¹ in this article, I will only try to reconstruct the practical actions for „sex education” of the Krakow branch of the Association and to assess their effectiveness at the local level. I will not deal here with the, otherwise important, question of whether the PPA was independent in its activities or it served as a passive tool of state policy (I will try to answer that question elsewhere).

1 KOŚCIAŃSKA, Agnieszka. *Płeć, przyjemność i przemoc. Kształtowanie wiedzy eksperckiej o seksualności w Polsce*. Warszawa : Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2014, 270 p.

This paper is primarily based on protocols and reports from the Regional Branch of the Planned Parenthood Association in Krakow (from 1971 to 1980 under the name of Association of Family Planning, from 1980 to 1993 – Association of Family Development). These materials can only to a small extent give us a taste of the real atmosphere of the Association of that time, however, the Krakow archives are one of the few that have survived to this day, or should I say – that we know of. The State Archive in Poznan possesses more archival materials from the Poznan branch of the Association. Some materials from National Councils can also be found, e. g. in the State Archive in Lodz.

I From the Planned Parenthood Association to the Association of Family Development.

A sketch of the history of the Krakow branch of the association

The Krakow branch of the Planned Parenthood Association, founded at the beginning of the „thaw“, was of a special nature. The Association developed from the Krakow Clinic of Planned Parenthood opened in April 1956. The medical practice of Dr. Beaupre was located in Nowa Huta, in A-1 residential area. In 1957, a similar practice was opened by Helena Szlapak in Clinic K at Batory Street.² It is worth noting that one of the archival materials from the PPA in Krakow states that the first practice of this type was opened by Dr. Helena Szlapak much earlier at Św. Ducha Square; the documents, however, do not provide any information about the period of its operation and its specific tasks. We only learn that Dr. Szlapak's practice was closed after two years by the Department of Health. This decision must have been influenced – according to the policy-makers of that time – by the misunderstanding of the concept of planned parenthood. This concept was equated with anti-natalist ideas; the planned parenthood activists were suspected „(...) of a hostile and unpatriotic attitude to the Communist Poland and were accused of holding a desire to depopulate Poland“.³ Most likely then, the Szlapak clinic was established in the first half of the fifties.

The original name „Specialist Clinic of the Planned Parenthood Association“ was changed in 1970 to „Specialist Clinic of the Association of Family Planning“, and in 1973 to – „Specialist Medical Clinic of the Association of Family Planning“. The newly opened clinic „provided advice on pregnancy prevention, premarital and marital counselling, sexual disorders and infertility treatment for men and women“.⁴ The Association activists themselves admitted that at the beginning the clinic had been empty. It was mostly visited by girls and women who were sent there to terminate pregnancy or to select an appropriate contraceptive. The increase in interest over the next decades was attributed

2 Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (The National Archives in Krakow, hereinafter ANK), fund (hereinafter f.) Towarzystwo Rozwoju Rodziny (Society for Family Development, hereinafter TRR) 29/1435/ 55 (14/9), Sprawozdanie z działalności Lekarskiej Przychodni Specjalistycznej Towarzystwa Rozwoju Rodziny w Krakowie z okazji trzydziestolecia Towarzystwa, 1988.

3 ANK, f. TRR (no catalogue numer), Towarzystwo Świadomego Macierzyństwa Oddział Wojewódzki w Krakowie. Tradycje-działalność-perspektywy (do użytku wewnętrznego), Kraków 1977. On pro-natalist policy in Stalinist Poland see: KLICH-KLUCZEWSKA, Barbara. Making up for the losses of war: Reproduction politics in Postwar Poland. In: LEISEROWITZ, Ruth – RÖGER, Maren (Eds.). *Women and Men at War : A Gender Perspective on World War II and its Aftermath in Central and Eastern Europe*. Osnabrück : Fibre, 2012, pp. 307-328.

4 ANK, f. TRR 14/9 29/1435/ 55 (14/9), M. Rogowska, Działalność przychodni specjalistycznej TPR, grudzień 1977.

to effective propaganda, good reputation of the clinic and „greater public awareness”.⁵ These changes resulted in a reduction in the number of requests to perform abortions. Paradoxically – the number of advice on contraception also dropped, which was considered, prematurely, a result of the above-mentioned educational processes. While in 1971, almost 2, 5 thousand people sought advice of the clinic’s doctors in this regard, five years later, the number stood at 1, 117. The number fell steadily from the beginning of the '70s (with the exception of 1974).

In the late '70s the clinic started to focus on infertility counselling. The ability to obtain advice of a specialist physician, psychologist or sex therapist, undergo basic surgery and laboratory tests (e. g., cytology), which were performed on the spot, in the „grey apartment building” and included, among others, Pap smears must have been quite convenient for the patients. Most patients in the clinic were in their 20s or 30s. In the mid-seventies, the Clinic (according to reports intended for external use) provided an average of 35 – 37 000 pieces of medical advice per year, much beyond the anticipated number (22 000), which forced the clinic to seek larger premises. The clinic carried out educational activities as well, in the form of lectures on contraception for midwives and doctors from outside Krakow, students of the Krakow School of Midwifery and the School for Social Workers in Nowa Huta. The clinic also began to play the role of a consulting and adjudicating body for Family Courts.

From 1971, the Clinic did not benefit from any subsidies, but the proceeds from examinations and tests exceeded maintenance costs, which allowed the institution to pay off its debts.⁶ The efficacy of intrauterine devices inserted in the clinic was also examined. It must have been difficult considering that throughout the period of its activities the Clinic had huge problems with their acquisition.⁷

II Socio-historical background to the activities of the Krakow branch of the Association

To accurately determine the position of the association in the city’s community after World War II one should be aware of the two main contexts of its foundation and activities. The first one relates to the pre-war traditions of the organisation, referred to repeatedly (at least in theory) in the official materials of the organisation.⁸ The second context relates to the activities regarding premarital counselling undertaken by the Krakow Curia, which were relatively stable (counselling also existed during the Stalinist period) and which underwent evolution over time, primarily due to the activities of Karol Wojtyła.

5 ANK, f. TRR 14/9 29/1435/ 55 (14/9), M. Rogowska, Działalność przychodni specjalistycznej TPR, grudzień 1977.

6 ANK, f. TRR 14/9 29/1435/ 55 (14/9), M. Rogowska, Działalność przychodni specjalistycznej TPR, grudzień 1977.

7 ANK, F. TRR 14/9 29/1435/ 55 (14/9), Analiza działalności Lekarskiej Przychodni Specjalistycznej TPR w Krakowie za okres 1974 – 1977.

8 On socio-political situation in post-war Krakow see: CHWAŁBA, Andrzej. *Dzieje Krakowa : Kraków w latach 1945 – 1989*. Kraków : Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2004, 622 p. BAR, Joanna. *Niełatwe dziesięciolecie : postawy społeczno-polityczne inteligencji krakowskiej w latach 1956 – 1980*. Kraków : Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego, 2009, 313 p. *Kraków w Polsce Ludowej : materiały sesji naukowej odbytej 27 maja 1995 roku*. Kraków : Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 1996, 121 p. KLICH-KLUCZEWSKA, Barbara. *Przez dziurkę od klucza. Życie prywatne w Krakowie (1945 – 1989)*. Warszawa : Wydawnictwo Trio, 2005, 238 p.

The Krakow branch of the Planned Parenthood Association had to define its place in the relatively complex grid of meanings and social influences.

Pre-war traditions

On the 14th of April 1975, the Association organised a symposium on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński. Lectures „Boy – writer and translator” presented by J. Lisowski and „Boy – doctor” by S. Sterkowski were accompanied by an exhibition dedicated to the man whom the PPA, after the war, considered its patron.⁹ Boy was, *inter alia*, hailed during celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the post-war association. J. Machlowski – a member of the branch and *Gazeta Krakowska* journalist – a newspaper cooperating with the PPA, published an anniversary article: „Boy-Żeleński – and parenthood planning”.¹⁰

Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński¹¹ whose name was reminded by the Association every few years, usually on special occasions, was primarily known as a writer and co – founder of the Green Balloon cabaret. As a doctor, he was a supporter of the idea of planned parenthood – which was to stop the progressive impoverishment of the poorest social classes – which he expressed in his articles in „Kurier Poranny” or „Wiadomości Literackie”. He is famous for, among other things, his initiative of 1933 to create the Warsaw League for Reform of Morals (a division of the World League for Sexual Reform, based in London). Due to problems Boy faced in the capital the Warsaw League merged with the Krakow Association for the Propagation of Planned Parenthood,¹² which a year earlier had been founded by a writer and journalist Ludwik Szczepański.¹³ In this way, not only the very idea of the League was saved, but also the first Krakow Clinic of Planned Parenthood was created that year. According to M. Gawin in 1933 – 1935 the clinic was visited by 1113 women (especially married women), which received advice primarily in the field of birth control. Sexology, premarital, eugenic or infertility counselling was not very popular.¹⁴

Outside Krakow, clinics that provided information on birth control only existed in a few cities in, among others, Lodz, Białystok and Warsaw.

Alternative Education: The Church of Krakow and family ministry

Educational plans of the Planned Parenthood Association in Krakow stood in opposition to the standards promoted by the Catholic Church, which in this case meant – the Krakow Curia. Of course, this did not apply to the entire project of popularisation of knowledge proposed by the PPA. It is hard to talk about competition in, for example, promotion of

9 ANK, f. TRR 29/1435/18 (9/2), Sprawozdanie Zarządu TPR od 1. I. do 31. XII. 1975.

10 ANK, f. TRR 29/1435/16 (1/4), Protokół z posiedzenia Prezydium Zarządu Oddziału Wojewódzkiego TŚM w Krakowie, 5. 01. 1967.

11 See more: ŻELEŃSKI (BOY), Tadeusz. *Dziwice konsystorskie : Piekło kobiet*. Warszawa : SAWW, 1992, 276 p. MAKOWIECKI, Andrzej Zdzisław. *Tadeusz Żeleński (Boy)*. Warszawa : Wiedza Powszechna, 1987, 313 p. HEN, Józef. *Błazen – wielki mąż*. Warszawa : W.A.B., 2008, 304 p. STERKOWICZ, Stanisław. *Człowiek-instytucja : kronika życia i twórczości Tadeusza Boya-Żeleńskiego*. Toruń : Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2006, 260 p.

12 Boy was accused of, *inter alia*, atheism, spreading pornography and performing illegal abortions, see: GAWIN, Magdalena. Planowanie rodziny – hasta i rzeczywistość. In: ŻARNOWSKA, Anna – SZWARC, Andrzej (Eds.). *Równe prawa i nierówne szanse. Kobiety w Polsce międzywojennej*. Warszawa : Wydawnictwo DiG, 2000, pp. 228-229.

13 Szczepański was the author of a few publications on sexual reforms and prostitution: SZCZEPAŃSKI, Ludwik. *Konieczność reformy seksualnej : zabijany od stu lat, nieśmiertelny Malthus!, neomaltuzjanizm : program reformy seksualne w Polsce*. Kraków : Spółka Wydawnicza „Plan”, 1946, 24 p. SZCZEPAŃSKI, Ludwik. *Życie płciowe w pętach i walka z niezgdem w Polsce*. Kraków : Spółka Wydawnicza „Plan”, 1946, 24 p.

14 GAWIN, M. *Planowanie rodziny...*, p. 230.

knowledge of obstetric or „childbirth classes“. However, the standards of sex education and dissemination of knowledge on birth control differed substantially from what was the basis for premarital church counselling.

The Church called for premarital chastity and return of the institution of engagement, understood as an extended period for the mutual understanding of two people. Karol Wojtyła, as Bohdan Cywiński recalls, frequently and freely talked about sexual matters (of course taking into account the cultural context of that time), and „*tried to instil strict moral principles in young people. No sex before marriage. We tried to question this. Many of us have had sex and confessed to it. However, he became our spiritual teacher. He presented the concept of sexual abstinence in an analogy to sports achievements. Everyone can do it. Asceticism, for us, was a normal, ordinary concept*“ (Wojtyła) reprimands students who ask what a married couple should do if they can not, due to illness for example, use natural methods of conception. „*This was not something you discussed with Wojtyła, you had to accept his point of view (...)*“.¹⁵

Incidentally, the premarital church counselling underwent under Wojtyła's leadership a kind of transformation. Previously it was customarily provided by Catholic associations; however, due to their liquidation by the authorities, the premarital catechesis inevitably had to move to the parishes, which – as emphasized by Katarzyna Jarkiewicz – had very little experience in this matter. At the turn of forties and fifties, in the face of difficulties and organisational crisis, the then Metropolitan of Krakow – Cardinal Sapieha entrusted the organisation of premarital courses for girls to an academic organizations: the Girls' Living Rosary. The association organised monthly courses until its final dissolution in 1953. This course can be regarded as a model one for the „pre-Wojtyła“ era. It was designed for girls and included both theoretical classes on marital ethics, psychology and pedagogy as well as lectures on infant care, cooking, sewing and running a household.¹⁶ This and other initiatives of the curia (prepared and implemented by the Department of Pastoral Care for Women) were of universal nature. They were designed for women and prepared them for the role of mother and housewife (mutual relations in the family, children, family budget), irrespective of whether the students planned to get married or not. The meetings were held every month, lasted eight hours and concluded with open discussions. Until 1953, meetings „for future fathers“ were organised by the Young Men's Catholic Association. The meetings were conducted by, among others, doctors.

The courses organised since 1950 by Wojtyła in the parish of St. Florian differed from this pattern. They were coeducational and designed for couples who planned to get married. Engaged couples and young married couples expecting a baby participated also in academic retreats. The number of such forms of educational support increased significantly after the crisis of 1953–1956, i.e. during the „thaw“. Since 1957, an already large and strong group of people committed to the dissemination of knowledge about Christian morality and family gathered around the Curia. It included a doctor and, later on, a long-time friend and collaborator of Wojtyła – Wanda Póttawska.¹⁷

All such activities were treated as competing with the educational initiatives undertaken under the auspices of the state and caused nervous reactions of local authorities. The

15 KLICH, Aleksandra. *Brat Karol, siostra Wanda: Opowieść o przyjaźni Karola Wojtyły i Wandy Póttawskiej*. Warszawa : Agora, 2009, p. 39.

16 JARKIEWICZ, Katarzyna. *Duszpasterstwa akademickie Krakowa po II wojnie światowej*. Kraków : WAM, 2004, p. 120.

17 JARKIEWICZ, K. *Duszpasterstwa akademickie Krakowa...*, pp. 121-122, 181-182.

surviving archival documents from the Krakow censorship office demonstrate that efforts were being made to restrict the flow of information on these issues within the Catholic Church in Malopolska.¹⁸ Lecturers in the clinics were intimidated and forced to explain to authorities.

Wojtyla, already a bishop, was stubborn, and since family matters were particularly close to him – in 1960 he even organised a meeting of all the parish priests of Krakow – he founded the Pastoral Office responsible for the organisation of premarital courses. After long discussions, a programme of premarital courses for all parishes in Krakow was adopted, and then a diocesan family counselling instructor was appointed. The parish and academic counselling system fully developed in the second half of the sixties, and the group of lay lecturers gathered around the clinic started to have too much, according to some, influence in the curia. The lectures in the field of preparation for marriage became a part of high school catechesis. Efforts were also being made, however unsuccessful, to open a diocesan gynaecologic cabinet.¹⁹

In the second half of the sixties and in the seventies, an atmosphere of a besieged fortress had started to grow among the people involved in the promotion of Catholic family morality, which stemmed from the conviction of the disappearance of traditional patterns of family life, either under the influence of western mass culture that permeated to Poland or, equally, activity and inactivity of the state, which was accused of promoting liberalisation of morals. Wojtyla prepared a programme to counter this, in his opinion, disturbing trend. Hence the initiative of separation of the Department of Pastoral Care for Families, which conducted prenuptial preparations (three meetings of couples with a priest and a mandatory course on ethical birth control), and the establishment of the Institute of Family at the Pontifical Faculty of Theology, which was to prepare specialists to serve as support for pastoral care.²⁰ Just as in the case of the PPA – these actions were primarily aimed at influencing doctors, midwives and nurses. A special role in this regard was played by Wanda Póttawska; she, however, failed to succeed. Despite the setback, she continued to develop the Kler-Med initiative, a group of senior students of medicine and theology, whom some people in Krakow maliciously called „Póttawska's soldiers”.²¹

III Educational programme of the Association and opportunities for action

The Planned Parenthood Association's „ideology”

Operational changes, staffing, and the debates that took place in a small circle of the Presidium of the Regional Branch, minutes of which I have access to, demonstrate the transformation that thinking about the role of the association and the purposes for which it was founded has undergone throughout these years. The educational programme, which the Association developed and implemented, with various result, is directly related to the above.

The breakthrough in the operations of the Krakow branch came in mid-sixties. The transformation coincided with the 10th anniversary of the organisation. The Association received a new headquarters and moved from Mikołajska Street to the grey apartment

18 See: KLUCZEWSKA, Barbara. *Przez dziurkę od klucza. Życie prywatne w Krakowie (1945 – 1989)*. Warszawa : Wydawnictwo Trio, 2005, 238 p.

19 JARKIEWICZ, K. *Duszpasterstwa akademickie Krakowa...*, pp. 183-184.

20 JARKIEWICZ, K. *Duszpasterstwa akademickie Krakowa...*, pp. 294-295.

21 KLICH, A. *Brat Karol...*, p. 73.

building at Main Square 6. There it occupied the 70 sq. meters premises of the Methodological Centre. The location was more prestigious and the rooms comfortable and extensive; however, it was much more expensive so the move increased the operating costs of the Association. Nevertheless, from then on the clinic, the regional branch office and a lecture hall, where meetings and conferences were held, were all located on the first floor of the building at the corner of Sienna Street and Main Square.²²

In the spring of next year, an internal conflict related to the transformation began. In Krakow, it was – among others – of personal nature. Jadwiga Beaupre, one of the founders of the Krakow branch, known and respected obstetrician gynaecologist who, thanks to her media presence, had become a symbol of the whole movement, officially withdrew from the cooperation with the Association. She was the first propagator and director of the Childbirth School in Krakow, and also a member of the Board of the Planned Parenthood Association.

Although the sources documenting the activities of the Association do not explicitly confirm this, yet looking at the long-term changes in the activities of the Association, it can be said that together with Dr. Jadwiga Beaupre, the Association was deprived of the concept of Planned Parenthood focused on childbirth and motherhood. The time had come for birth control and conscious conception. Jadwiga Beaupre, incidentally – the most recognisable member of the branch – was accused of too little involvement in the affairs of the branch and incompetent representation of the branch in the headquarters. In April 1966 Dr. Helena Szlapak spoke out on the resignation of Beaupre:

„I conclude that Dr. Beaupre repeatedly stated to me and other members of the Krakow Branch of the PPA that she did not want to be a member of the Board, because at each meeting of the Board in Warsaw she had heard unpleasant things because of the Krakow clinic. Dr. Beaupre, being almost entirely occupied with her „childbirth school“, especially since she rarely participated in the meetings of our presidium – knew little about the financial and personal matters and various troubles and difficulties which the clinic had to face, difficulties which she should be able to present in full light during meetings of the Board in Warsaw. Some time before the general meeting of the PPA, during a private conversation in the apartment of the General Secretary of the Board – Dr. Słomczyńska, suffering from a heart disease back then, I said that Dr. Beaupre did not want to „suffer for Krakow“, and therefore the interests of the clinic in the Board in Warsaw should be represented by someone else. From Dr. B, I learned that before the general meeting no one had talked to her, no one had asked about her co-operation with the Presidium of the Board. Thus, the absence of her name in the list of members of the Presidium was an unpleasant surprise for her, because she had been one of the founders of the Planned Parenthood Association. Embittered, she resigned from the board in Warsaw, from the Board of the Krakow Branch, and more recently from work at the PPA Clinic in Krakow. (...) In his letter, the President of the Board in Warsaw Mr. Kasprzak declared that the Board of Krakow Branch did not put forward Dr. Beaupre as a member of the Presidium of the Board. I declare that the Board of the Krakow Branch was not officially questioned in the above matter. I propose to accept the resignation of Dr. Beaupre from the Presidium of the Board of the Krakow Branch of the PPA.”²³

22 ANK, f. TRR 29/1435/16, Protokół z posiedzenia prezydium Oddziału Wojewódzkiego Towarzystwa Świadomego Macierzyństwa 14/65, 15 listopada 1965.

23 ANK, f. TRR 29/1435/16, Protokół z posiedzenia prezydium Oddziału Wojewódzkiego Towarzystwa Świadomego Macierzyństwa 6/66, 26 maja 1966 roku.

In a letter the Presidium sent a month later to the First Secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party it declared that „*the aim of our Association is to provide the citizens with sexual awareness, prepare them for family life, inform them of family planning and birth control measures necessary for social reasons. Our activities are aimed at increasing public awareness by propaganda means and through services provided in our clinic*”.²⁴

Thus, sexual awareness and dissemination of knowledge about birth control became once again the principal objective of the association, which, however, as emphasised, did not have sufficient funds to carry out its statutory duties.

„Our propaganda and organisational activities do not receive any external funding and propaganda materials are limited to a free monthly newspaper „Family Issues”, published by the Board in Warsaw. Lectures on awareness are provided by the Branch personnel, which does not exceed three people. These personnel have been working pro bono for several years. Action in the field is, in principle, merely statistical. It is based on the work of a paid instructor of the Provincial Board in Krakow, and the personnel on the ground, also working pro bono, which does not exceed 5 – 7 people.”²⁵

Requests for financial assistance, including assistance in organising the Krakow methodical and propaganda centre, provision of funding for the training of a group of 10 – 15 doctors, future Planned Parenthood Association lecturers, training for midwives on „contraception issues”, preparation of the necessary literature were, however, ignored by the Communist party.²⁶

The Provincial Committee’s assistance was limited to „propaganda and community” support. Any additional financial resources were not even discussed:

„*The Association in liaison with the relevant community organisations should conduct a broad propaganda campaign aimed at familiarising the public with the principles of planned parenthood, the social and health aspects of family planning: to combat all forms of backwardness, obscurantism and prudery in these matters. Therefore, the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party recommends that the following organisations support the Planned Parenthood Association in its activities: LK,²⁷ KW FJN,²⁸ KGW,²⁹ ZMW,³⁰ ZMS,³¹ PCK.³² These organisations are to discuss the issues related to family planning and promote the principles of planned parenthood among its members.*”³³

Vague recommendations concerned the development of propaganda activities with the use of radio, television and newspapers. Similar recommendations, irrelevant in the legal sense, concerned „*providing information on sexual awareness in secondary schools, vocational schools, dormitories – appropriate action was to be taken by the Departments of*

24 ANK, f. TRR 29/1435/16, Pismo do I sekretarza Komitetu Wojewódzkiego PZPR w Krakowie, 29 czerwca 1966.

25 ANK, f. TRR 29/1435/16, Pismo do I sekretarza Komitetu Wojewódzkiego PZPR w Krakowie, 29 czerwca 1966.

26 ANK, f. TRR 29/1435/16, Pismo do I sekretarza Komitetu Wojewódzkiego PZPR w Krakowie, 29 czerwca 1966.

27 Liga Kobiet – The League of Women.

28 Komitet Wojewódzki Frontu Jedności Narodowej – Provincial Committee of the National Unity Front.

29 Koło Gospodyń Wiejskich – The Village Women’s Association.

30 Związek Młodzieży Wiejskiej – The Union of Rural Youth.

31 Związek Młodzieży Socjalistycznej – The Union of Socialist Youth.

32 Polski Czerwony Krzyż – The Polish Red Cross.

33 ANK, f. TRR 29/1435/16, Wnioski (KW PZPR) w zakresie poszerzenia działalności TŚM w Krakowie, 4 lipca 1966.

Health and Social Welfare of the City Council in Krakow and the District Board of Education in cooperation with the Krakow Branch of the Planned Parenthood Association".³⁴

One can guess that such recommendations must have aroused laughter or annoyance in the Association. In connection with the claimed lack of teachers and training materials, it was to train new personnel, develop new materials and open up new clinics. All of these actions were to be financed by the Provincial and Krakow National Councils. In turn, the party was to delegate its members, mostly doctors to the PPA (they were to serve as lecturers). This way the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party placed the responsibility for dissemination of sex education on almost all organisations and institutions in the region, effectively eliminating the real responsibility for any of them.³⁵

The turn to birth control and limitation of the impact of pro-natalist ideas in the mid-sixties was evidenced not only by the dialogue with the Communist party, but also by concrete actions, e. g. those carried out in the summer of 1966 outside of Krakow, in the Locomotive Factory in Chrzanów. The instructor reported that as a result of his efforts the Fablok's executives: *„Want to organise 2 – 3 lectures on family planning for their employees. They would like a doctor from our Association to deliver them. They will ensure attendance, and cover the cost according to the applicable regulations. After such preparations they would like to establish an on-site branch of the PPA and invite a doctor – a gynaecologist from our clinic who would, for some time, see patients in their clinic, once a week in the morning or around noon. For their part, they will ensure a properly equipped cabinet with a nurse, which could be previously trained by the PPA. Female employees would be allowed to see the doctor during working hours. The Works Council would like to firstly take care of the women with many children (so it is mainly about advice on contraception or tests for the early detection of cancer). The on-site analytical laboratory can perform some basic tests. The Works Council can allocate some funds for this purpose (2 – 3 thousand zlotys)."*³⁶

Attempts of sex education: „family life education"

The PPA was the first organisation to speak loudly of the need for sex education and the need to develop specific pedagogical model necessary for its implementation. It was also responsible for the ethical dimension of this project. In 1963, the nationwide Planned Parenthood Association entered public schools for the first time; its activists began delivering lectures on sex education during biology and hygiene classes. These activities were carried out regularly in 11 branches, and the branches in Kielce, Lublin, Olsztyn, Rzeszow, Warsaw, Wrocław and Zielona Gora organised them occasionally. It was assumed that these lectures should not focus only on biology, but also, and perhaps above all, should be a conversation about emotional dimension of human sexual life. In 1967, Mikołaj Kozakiewicz stressed that this education was to, on one hand, break the „taboo" of sexuality, on the other hand, prevent „anarchy in sex life supposedly brought about by the sexual revolution".³⁷

Serious efforts aimed at regular classes in Poland began with a reflection on the place of sex education in schools (A. Majda „Sexual Issues in Schools"). In 1966, a textbook for biology teachers was issued (prepared with the participation of the Ministry of Education)

34 ANK, f. TRR 29/1435/16, Wnioski (KW PZPR) w zakresie poszerzenia działalności TŚM w Krakowie, 4 lipca 1966.

35 ANK, f. TRR 29/1435/16, Wnioski (KW PZPR) w zakresie poszerzenia działalności TŚM w Krakowie, 4 lipca 1966.

36 ANK, f. TRR 29/1435/16, Sprawozdanie z wyjazdu 24 VIII 1966 do Fabryki Lokomotyw w Chrzanowie.

37 FURMANOWSKA, Mirosława. Historia wychowania seksualnego w Polsce w latach 1945 – 2000. In: *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy*, 2001, no. 3-4, pp. 106-107.

and first courses for teachers were conducted during school holidays. In order to increase the number of specialists in the field of sex education the Minister of Health and Social Care was asked to introduce this subject into the curricula of higher medical schools.³⁸

From 1973 to 1989 the first stage of the development of sex education in Polish schools has been carried out. Its assumptions were published in 1972 in an official document by Mikołaj Kozakiewicz: *„Youth in the face of sex, marriage and family. The European perspective.”* Warsaw, 1985. Kozakiewicz wrote that the main purpose of sex education was to *„help a student avoid failures and sufferings of sexual, marital and family nature, to facilitate the development of his/her own personality, including its psychosocial component, to allow him/her a smooth and successful start in adult life, and thus in marital, and later, family life, in order to realise his/her sexual and life needs, without harming the essential social values and other people”* (p. 198).³⁹

In fact, a sex education lesson (as „Education for life in the socialist family”) appeared for the first time in Polish schools in 1973 as a result of a decision of the Ministry of Education. This was still an experimental lesson, conducted in selected schools within form periods. The curriculum was developed by the Institute for Curricula at the ministry.⁴⁰ As demonstrated by statistical survey conducted on behalf of the Association of Family Development, in practice, these classes did not take place even occasionally in 48% of primary schools in urban areas and 70% in rural areas with the exception of Lodz. Finally, in 1981, the Ministry removed this subject and included its scope in form periods.⁴¹

Since 1986, the subject was to become mandatory for each grades 4 – 8 elementary school student in Poland (within form periods, biology classes or other subjects) and high school student (two hours per month within form periods). Since 1987, teachers were able to use a textbook by Wiesław Sokoluk, which aroused great controversy, and – as emphasized by Jolanta Szymańczak – aroused the interest of the government, which appointed a special commission for its assessment. The textbook was first removed and then reinstated in the curriculum.⁴² The situation in the late eighties was, as it turned out, a result of enormous contradictions in views of the public, which, at the end of the decade, became ever sharper.

Educational practices in Krakow

The archive documents of the Krakow branch of PPA may be the very good example of practices of the Association at the local level, indicating its two basic characteristics at the same time. I would like to stress initially strictly „medical” nature of the Association. It gathered not only physicians, but generally speaking, was closely related to Krakow medical community. The medical knowledge was considered necessary to take the most important functions within the organization. The PPA was also searching for the new active members among young doctors.

A significant change took place in the seventies, when it was realized that the real contact with other professional groups should be established. In 1973 it was written that: *„it seems that (...) our objective has been achieved and the main burden of work, so far*

38 FURMANOWSKA, M. *Historia wychowania...*, p. 106.

39 SZYMAŃCZAK, Jolanta. Wychowanie seksualne w polskich szkołach. In: *Kancelaria Sejm. Biuro Studiów i Ekspertów. Dział Analiz Ekonomicznych i Społecznych. Informacja no. 922. Grudzień, 2002*, p. 1.

40 SZYMAŃCZAK, J. *Wychowanie seksualne...*, p. 3.

41 FURMANOWSKA, M. *Historia wychowania...*, p. 107.

42 SZYMAŃCZAK, J. *Wychowanie seksualne...*, p. 3.

*rests on physicians (especially gynecologist), was transferred also to psychologists, lawyers, teachers and social activists of other societies e.g. the Polish Red Cross, the Anti-alcoholic Committee etc. (...) There is no doubt (...) we still need a new staff, particularly: sexologists, psychologists, sociologists.*⁴³

Taking into account the basic areas of activity clearly defined at the beginning of the seventies, the PPA in Krakow was to focus on sex education, premarital counseling and family planning. It also seeks to (persistently although unsuccessfully) to revive the activities of branch offices in smaller towns in the region. This phenomenon confirmed strictly urban (here – Cracow) nature of the PPA. Finally, the research on the effectiveness of contraceptives should be added, but its range appears to be relatively small.

Creating an action program for the promotion of „sex education”, PPA have used mainly two committees operating within the organization. The first was the Committee on Sexual Education, which for some time was chaired by prof. Dr. Maria Susułowska, a prominent clinical psychologist. The second was called the Section of Lecturers at the Provincial Board and focused primarily on „*training and propaganda*”. It gathered around twenty people – young doctors and psychologists. They used mainly materials submitted by the Executive Board in Warsaw, including slides and ready-made comments. In 1972, one gets the impression that the knowledge of Sexology „is transmitted” from Warsaw. The situation changed in the mid-seventies thanks to the activity of Dr. Imieliński.⁴⁴

In the first half of the seventies, the educational practices of the Association was mainly based on good cooperation with youth organizations. Although activists hoped to cooperate with the League of Women and the Society for the Propagation of the Secular Culture as natural partners in their efforts but this cooperation started to disappear. Former partner seemed to be hot on its heels. According to the PPA „League of Women’s trainings and lectures in the field of sex education were not always conducted properly”.⁴⁵

The Association benefited from the fact that Krakow was a city of so-called students’ culture, which developed greatly especially during the seventies taking advantage from their own organizations (also Catholic), facilities (student clubs) and the media (e. g. journal „Student”). As a result of the cooperation with the Association of Polish Students the lecturers gave e.g. several dozen talks during semester breaks and winter camps. Thanks to an additional agreement between PPA and the Regional Council of the Federation of Socialist Youth Unions the PPA experts prepared program of lectures on family planning, sex education and venereal diseases.⁴⁶

Conclusions

Cooperation with the student community, despite competing with the Catholic Church, was probably the biggest educational success of the Society. The introduction of sexual education into schools proved much more difficult, although in 1972 the revival of cooperation with the Board of Trustees took place. In practice, the activists of PPA only held several consultative meetings with the Director of the Provincial Educational Affairs. It was decided that representatives of the Board of Trustees would be co-opted to the Committee on Sexual Education.

43 ANK, f. TRR 29/1435/16, Sprawozdanie z działalności OW TPR w Krakowie za I półrocze 1973.

44 Kazimierz Imieliński as the first doctor in Poland received the title of a sexologist. In 1973, he opened the Department of Sexology at the Medical Academy in Krakow.

45 ANK, f. TRR 29/1435/16, Sprawozdanie z działalności OW TPR w Krakowie za I półrocze 1973.

46 ANK, f. TRR 29/1435/16, Sprawozdanie z działalności OW TPR w Krakowie za I półrocze 1973.

In the decade of 1980s the introduction of „Education for life in the family” into the primary and secondary schools’ programs has grown into the leading goal of Krakow Branch. This was to be achieved through the cooperation with the Board of Trustees, community organizations and schools. But in reality the Association was struggling with the lack of adequate personnel and shortage of the simplest didactic materials. The development of sex education was not conducive to either economic situation or socio-political situation in Poland of so-called „late socialism”.

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