Regional assemblage in the postwar Czechoslovakia: Another piece to the puzzle of other geographical traditions?

Jan Daniel

Palacky University Olomouc, Faculty of Science, Department of Geography, 17. listopadu 12, 77146 Olomouc, Czech Republic

A B S T R A C T

The paper adds to the concept of other geographical traditions through linking the study of the history of geographical knowledge to the regional assemblage concept, and post-war Czechoslovakia is taken as the example. The paper expands discussion on the inclusiveness of the history of geography with the geographical traditions practised in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the second half of the 20th century during the period of state socialism. The analysis of regional assemblage allows me to reconstruct the process of conceptualisation and role of a 'good' region. I claim that a 'good' region was closely connected to the post-war project of transformation of the society on the discursive level, and that a region was considered a solely practical tool to serve this purpose. The most important part of the whole process of conceptualisation of the region was the map representation depicting the borders of the defined regions. The concept of assemblage enabled me to analyse the limits of the possible, that is, to analyse the way limits of geographical knowledge were set in concrete time and space. Thus, the concept of assemblage has a potential to add to, so far very fragmented, state of knowledge of the history of global geography.

1. Introduction

This paper adds to the current discussion on the global history of geography and tries to expand it by the history of the production of geographical knowledge[1] in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), which became the part of the East Bloc in the post-war period. The paper builds upon three grounds: (i) the concept of inclusiveness in the global history of geography (see e.g., Keighren, 2018, Ferretti, 2019a, 2019b, 2021a), (ii) the omission of the East Bloc from the global history of geography (see e.g., Stenning and Hörschelmann, 2008, Müller, 2020, *cf.* also Craggs, 2019, Craggs and Neate, 2020), and (iii) the concept of assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, see also Buchanan, 2015, 2017, 2021).

A major attention is paid in the paper to the use of the latter concept. Most texts dealing with the history of geography (see e.g., Ferretti, 2021c, 2021d, van Meeteren, 2022) is based on the study of the lives of geographers, that is, who produced geographical knowledge. In this paper, the concept of regional assemblage is used in contrast. Similarly as Foucault's *dispositif* or Latour's actor-network this concept points to

the fact that knowledge is not (solely) a product of individuals or institutions but a complex mutual influence of material and discourse practices. Thus, in this paper, I do not intend to describe in detail "who", but primarily to answer "how", which was the question that Deleuze and Guattari (1987) linked with the concept of assemblage. I am specifically inspired by the text by Buchanan (2015, 2017, 2021), whose approach is more closely connected with the original Deleuzoguattarian concept, unlike the most commonly used variants of the general concept in geography (see the next section).

As a subject matter, on which three above-mentioned grounds are documented, I have chosen the process of the conceptualisation of region in post-war Czechoslovakia[2] and I intend to show that the concept of reginal assemblage allows one to get new insights into regional conceptualisation in post-war Czechoslovakia. I will focus on three problems in the paper. First, the assemblage will allow me to map the condition of possibility, i.e., what was (and what was not) considered a 'good' region in post-war Czechoslovakia. The assemblage does not give one clear definition of a 'good' region, but it defines the limits within which the definition had to be. Second, I will seek the basis, on which the

borders of a 'good' region were defined. Third, I will seek what role was the post-war 'good' region assigned to.

In the following section, I explain how I conceptualise assemblage and how this concept is used in analysing the regional conceptualisation in post-war Czechoslovakia. In three following consecutive sections, I address the subject matter of this paper in three steps. First, I discuss the discursive practices which were closely connected with the project of building the new society. Second, I focus on the impact of the mutual influence of discursive and material practices on the production of knowledge in post-war Czechoslovakia (this section is further sub-divided as it forms a core of my argumentation). Third, I address the material practices where the focus will primarily be placed on how the materiality of regional conceptualisation influenced the reception of pre-war knowledge. In the concluding section I return to the three grounds from the beginning of this introduction.

2. Regional assemblage

The assemblage concept was introduced to geography approximately ten years ago (see e.g., Anderson et al., 2012) and is very popular at present. However, it is a relatively vaguely defined concept. The fact is that there is a number of not always fully compatible approaches under the umbrella of assemblage thinking. The variants, which are mostly used in geography and related disciplines, are usually significantly different from the original Deleuzoguattarian (Deleuze and Guattari, 1983, 1986, 1987) concept of *agencement* (to discuss, see Buchanan, 2017, Roberts, 2021).

This situation has been recently criticised by Ian Buchanan (2015, 2017, 2021). Criticism concerns, among others, that assemblage is commonly used to explain that 'things' are assembled from a large number of discursive and material entities due to inaccurate translation of the French word *agencement* (see Buchanan, 2017, Nail, 2017). Simplifiedly, the result of these attempts may be expressed by the statement that the described 'things' are complicated (cf. Buchanan, 2015). However, assemblage according to Buchanan (2017) does not serve to describe 'things', but to analyse them. Such an analysis is based on searching the answer to the question: what kind of assemblage would be required to produce specific situation? (see Buchanan, 2017, p. 473).

Assemblage is not a 'thing'. It means the relationship between material and discursive entities. In Deleuze and Guattari's (1987, p. 88) terminology, it concerns the relationship between two formalisations. The first one of formalisations creates a composition of non-discursive entities. Deleuze and Guattari call this dimension of assemblage the form of content or machinic assemblage of bodies. The second formalisation, which is called the form of expression or collective assemblage of enunciation, creates a composition of discursive entities. Regarding the fact that assemblage is the relationship of two independent formalisations, the analysis strives to answer two essential questions:

'on the one hand, it asks: what are the material elements – bodies in the broadest possible sense – that constitute this 'thing', how are they arranged, what relations do they entail, what new arrangements and relations might they facilitate? On the other hand, it also asks: how is this arrangement of things justified and more importantly legitimated, what makes it seem right and proper? In this way it points to different kinds of entities, non-discursive and discursive (or better yet, performative) that have been yoked together' (Buchanan, 2017, p. 473).

This statement is key in my application of the concept in the issue of production of knowledge of regions in the studied area. Generally, it can be stated the there is a potentially infinite number of regional concepts. It can also be stated that any particular area can be divided into potentially infinite number of various regions. In this respect, the significance of regional assemblage rests in setting the limits of the possible: limiting of what is acceptable as a 'good' region, which properties it should possess, and which properties are considered undesirable on the other hand.

Regional assemblage defines two types of limits: internal and external (Buchanan, 2017). The former defines the limits of what is and is not considered a 'good' region. In other words, conceptualisation of a 'good' region in an area had to be defined only by these internal limits. It is necessary to emphasise in this context that a region is not a 'thing', it is rather a complex state of affairs, a formation of power (*cf*. Buchanan, 2021, p. 67). The external limits to assemblage, connected with the discourse dimension of regional assemblage, reflect changes throughout history and are conditioned by a number of circumstances. They also define the limits of which region is considered 'good', however, unlike the internal limits, the inclusion and exclusion principle does not determine the 'appropriateness' of the region in the strict conceptual sense, but with respect to broader 'social' aims and expectations which are linked to a 'good' region. In our case, the 'appropriateness' of a region was connected to the project of building a new society, that is, a good region was the one which was useable for the purposes of this project according to the contemporaries.

Regional assemblage can be described as 'two constantly intersecting multiplicities, "discursive multiplicities" of expression and "non-discursive multiplicities" of content' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 67). The term multiplicities emphasises the fact that there is not a single correct regional conceptualisation. There are different variants of the conceptualisation of 'good' region, although they all appeared strictly within the boundaries of the defined internal and external limits. The possibilities of regional conceptualisation are then the result of a mutual relationships between the principle of inclusion and exclusion of content (internal limits) and the principle of inclusion and exclusion of expression (external limits).

Regarding this mutual relationship, it is possible to generalise that the 'expressive dimension always comes first' (Buchanan, 2021, pp. 77–79), that is, the discursive entities precedes material entities (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 85). However, this fact does not mean that the discursive dimension is put above the material dimension. In contrast, the relationship between the material dimension and the discourse dimension may be characterised as a 'reciprocal presupposition', as 'one implies and demands the other but does not cause or refer to it' (Buchanan, 2015, p. 390).

3. Mapping external limits of regional assemblage: building a new society

In this section, I will focus on the discourse elements of regional assemblage trying to reconstruct the manner in which the external limits of assemblage were produced, i.e. what ideas and expectations were connected with the use of regions in post-war Czechoslovakia. Traditionally, the interpretations of Czechoslovak post-war history used to connect the complex changes in the society with the period of the communist dictatorship (1948–1989). However, there is a wide range of studies (see e.g., Frommer, 2005, Brenner, 2009, Arburg and Staněk, 2010, Spurný, 2011, Zarecor, 2011), which point out the fact that a number of significant transformational processes originate in the previous periods, primarily during the Third republic (1945–1948). It is this short period lasting from the end of the World War Two until the communist coup of February 1948, which constitutes the main time frame of my analysis. This periodization is, of course, 'fuzzy' and in the relevant sections of the text, I will go beyond these limits where appropriate.

The restoration of the Czechoslovak Republic occurred in May 1945 following six years of Nazi occupation. This moment was perceived by its contemporaries in Czechoslovakia as a fundamental historical turning point. The key role in this imagination was played by the World War Two which was seen as a pivot in the history of humanity. They believed that the old world had died during the war. Therefore, it was necessary to build a new world, a better and radically different from the pre-war one (Brenner, 2009). The contemporary imagination was also ruled by the consensus that fulfilling a great historical task consequently required great sacrifices. The project of a new society was distinguished

by its high degree of selectivity, despite its declared collective and democratic character.

The new society was to be considerably exclusive; it was not just for every-one. The contemporary discourse constructed the subject of the proper citizen and excluded any 'improper' population from the fair society (Brenner, 2009). The boundaries of society were defined mostly based on nationalities (Arburg and Staněk, 2010). The most significant enemy of the 'new society' was the German-speaking population of the Bohemian lands due to the context of collective experience with the Nazi occupation. Other groups of persons who were to be excluded outside of the borders of the nation were the Hungarian-speaking population in Slovakia and other 'unreliable' groups of persons as traitors and Nazi-regime collaborators (Frommer, 2005). The victory of the so-called national revolution, i.e. the creation of a Slavic national state, was considered a necessary condition for the next step – the victory of the socialist revolution, i.e. the building of a new and better socialist society (Brenner, 2009).

Many interventions into the political, economic or social life of the Czechoslovak society was connected with the process of the national and social revolution, a few worth mentioning here. The political system was substantially simplified and restricted, e.g., 'defective' political parties were abolished, and legitimate parties formed a unified government under the heading National Front (Abrams, 2005, Brenner, 2009). The process of extended nationalisation commenced, and the application of planning in the management of the national economy for emphasised on the economic level (Balcar, 2014, Balcar and Kučera, 2016). An unprecedented national homogenisation took place when approximately 3 million German-speaking inhabitants were transferred from the borderlands (Arburg and Staněk, 2010).

The geopolitical imagination gave rise to the voices claiming that Czechoslovakia was the bridge between the West and the East, thus creating a system which would adopt the best both from the Soviet system and the system of the Western countries (Brenner, 2009). However, the status of the Soviet Union was greatly promoted. The Soviet Union influenced some essential international decision. An example could be the rejection of the Marshall Plan in 1947. Still, we can say that for example its direct influence on the development of domestic economic policy was rather limited at that time (Balcar and Kučera, 2010). This fact is vital from the point of the theme of the presented study as the work of regional assemblage was significantly influenced by the economic policy of the state.

In the field of thinking the space, there was a consensual rejection of the pre-war development and a requirement to create a new space corresponding to the conditions and requirements of a new society. It implies that the project of building the new society is closely connected with the project of transformation of the state space. This fact had a great impact on the self-presentation of those experts who addressed the issues of regions and regional planning. These experts adopted the role of the pivotal creators of the new society and new space. Their tasks were not considered 'ordinary' expert tasks but part of fulfilling the historical development:

'The old motor must be replaced with a new one, the old regime with a new regime, unless the humankind is to perish in spasms of crises and wars. In other words: the historical task of today is to facilitate the transition from capitalism to socialism.' (Frejka, 1947, p. 35).

Regional assemblage was based on the imagination of the existence of two different and antagonistic spatial organization of society, capitalist and socialist (see e.g., Hruška, 1948). The space then, which was considered an unfortunate legacy of previous regimes and the result of the workings of liberal capitalism, had to be replaced with new, that is, socialist space. The dichotomous division of space into the 'wrong' capitalist and the 'good' socialist ones followed primarily from the criticism of (un)even economic and social development of individual parts of Czechoslovakia (see e.g., Maiwald, 1945, Okrouhlý, 1947d, 1948).

In this respect, the injustice and individualism of capitalist space on the one hand, and the justice and collectivism of the socialist space on the other were emphasised. Functioning of liberal capitalism caused an uneven development of the individual parts of the state. The formation of underdeveloped regions was explained for example by reluctant investments into unattractive areas (Hušek, 1946a) or by keeping them underdeveloped intentionally in attempts to maintain cheap workforce for agricultural production on large farms (Okrouhlý, 1946).

It was the improvement of economic and social conditions in the underdeveloped regions in the post-war period, which was considered the most important goal in the production of the new just space. The justice and social sensitivity of the newly created society was emphasised in this context as opposed to the previous unjust political and economic regimes. For example, Kratochvil (1946, p. 892) pointed at the fact that 'the calls for justice from these regions went unheard for decades' and this fact was contrasted with the current situation: 'only the democracy of the liberated republic seeks full understanding of just requirements of these regions.'

Planning, i.e. 'management and control of social and economic events in space and time' (Okrouhlý, 1947c, p. 230) was considered the key method of creating a new fair spatial organisation of society. Planning was considered 'a scientific approach to achieving the socialist aims' (Mereda, 1948, p. 285). The idea of science and pure rationality made planning a method which was to overcome all deficiencies connected with the previous development. Planning was for this reason assessed as a key qualitative advantage distinguishing the post-war society from the pre-war period (Okrouhlý, 1948). The implied imagination of the absolute scientism of planning was generally spread and accepted which contributed to its establishment as a dominant form of considering the society and space.

4. Regional assemblage and the concept of a 'good' region

In this section, I will outline how the mutual relationship between discourse and non-discursive practices influenced the production of regional knowledge. The regional concept followed from the above-mentioned discursive practices, but its production was realised by many bodies in the broadest sense, whether be it the researchers themselves or the institutions and a number of material artefacts. It is also necessary to emphasise that not all these material entities had the same position and significance within regional assemblage.

During the analysis, I will point out two aspects which I find important. First, regional assemblage clearly structured the production of regional knowledge. The arrangement of discourse and non-discourse elements allowed the only formation of a certain type of regional knowledge. And this form was considered the only correct one. In contrast, the other forms of knowledge were marginalised as they were not considered beneficial to the projects of space transformation and building the new society. Second, regional assemblage did not exist on its own but had to adapt to circumstances and was structured by external forces. Expectations were related to regional assemblage, which, however, were part of a wider project of building the new society. Regarding this fact, other aspects of this wider post-war project were given priority in certain respect before regional assemblage.

4.1. Transformation of institutions and production of geographical knowledge

Planning (and specifically regional planning) took on a central part in regional assemblage. This fact played a pivotal role in the production of regional knowledge. A new network of institutions was created in the post-war period, which dealt with various aspects of the planning process. *Ústřední plánovací komise* (Central Planning Committee) was in the top position in the hierarchy of planning institutions, although the most important institution was *Státní úřad plánovací* (State Planning Office), crucial from both theoretical view and practical development of the planning process. These institutions represented the primary places of

production of relevant regional knowledge as well as being the places, where the spatial discourse was actively (re)produced. These two facts were very closely linked. The spatial discourse defined the external limits of regional assemblage, that is, it defined what was and what was not considered relevant in the regional knowledge.

It made a significant impact on the assessment of knowledge produced within geography as a discipline. While the knowledge produced by geographers represented the dominant regional knowledge in the pre-war period (Daniel, 2017), the significance of geography was marginalised after the war. The current geographical knowledge did not achieve any attention within the regional planning. For example, the most extended and complex study which summarised the issue of regional planning in the studied period (Okrouhlý, 1948) dealt with the relationship between regional planning and useful scientific disciplines. While the significance of economy, sociology and statistics in applications of regional planning in practice was described in detail, geography as a scientific discipline was completely ignored.

This was due to the fact the knowledge produced by geographers lay outside the external limits. Geography was seen as a descriptive discipline, which did not address any practical issues. Therefore, it was considered useless in the fully practical issues of regional planning. This marginal position of geography, however, was reflected by certain geographers, who tried to change the situation. For example, Miroslav Blažek (1948, p. 34) appealed to geographers with a request 'to abandon the existing role of descriptors' and to start participating in the planning of 'the future controlled development'.

Thus, the institutions involved with regional planning became dominant from the view of the production of 'good' regional knowledge. The situation was more complicated in terms of the status of regional planning within the structure of the post-war planning in Czechoslovakia. Regional planning was not accepted fully in the studied period at the practical level, and the application of theoretical knowledge in practice was accompanied with a number of questions. Generally, we can state that the planning in the post-war Czechoslovakia was created 'on the hoof'. Although the Soviet Union was considered the model on the general level, the Soviet planning model was not exactly expedient for the need of Czechoslovakia, i.e., an industrially developed state (Balcar and Kučera, 2010). Therefore, the simple adoption of the Soviet model did not occur in the studied period, but the planning theory and practice followed from a number of heterogeneous sources whether be it the domestic pre-war technocratic tradition or an inspiration in the Western planning practice (Schulze Wessel, 2010). Moreover, the planning was divided into the sectoral and the regional planning, which sometimes stood in direct opposition. Regarding the fact that the complex planning policy put more emphasis on the sectoral planning, the regional planning had to justify its position all the time (see e.g., Formánek, 1947, Okrouhlý, 1948).

4.2. In search of 'good' planning region

The theoretical discussion of issues, methods and aims of regional planning had, however, a key influence on the production of regional knowledge. This issue started gaining its final form mostly in the context of preparation and implementation of the two-year economic plan. The two-year economic plan (1947–1948) represented the first planning attempt in post-war Czechoslovakia and its main aim was to restore Czechoslovak economy after the end of the Second World War (Goldmann, 1947). Regional planning was not used for the entire area of the country. In accordance with the discourse on space, regional planning principles were applied only with regions labelled as economically underdeveloped. They were defined by the two-year economic plan, and direct industrial investments were allocated primarily to them. This concerned the whole Slovakia and also the so-called economically weak regions within the Bohemian lands.

The definition of economically weak regions can be considered the first significant project of regional planning from the perspective of

defining a region in the post-war period (see e.g., Hušek, 1947, Okrouhlý, 1947d). The example documents the basic characteristics, which were typical for regional planning (Okrouhlý, 1947d, 1947b). It concerned the technocratic top-down project, within which the essential socio-economic characteristics were processed quantitatively using statistical data. The development of such regions was to be secured by preferential placement of industrial investments. A miraculous panacea was seen in the location of industrial plants, which was supposed to ensure the economic development of the region (see e.g., Hušek, 1946b, 1946a, Okrouhlý, 1946, 1947a).

The preparation followed by the implementation of the two-year economic plan presented a stimulus for the discussion on theoretical and application issues of regional planning, despite its limited use. There was a vital question of which regions to use in the next long-term plan wherein the procedures of regional planning were to be applied in the whole Czechoslovakia (see e.g., Martin, 1946b, Okrouhlý, 1947e, Řípa, 1948). The existence of suitable planning areas presented a key condition in the sole existence of regional planning:

'It is as difficult to imagine regional planning without regions as it is difficult to imagine agriculture without land and industry without production means.' (Okrouhlý, 1948, p. 18).

The existing division of the state was considered inconvenient for regional planning. Therefore, a relatively large number of variants of state division emerged in the studied period (see Daniel, 2017). All the variants were strictly within the defined external limits. The purpose of these proposals was to create regions that could be used for the needs of regional planning. A region was then seen as a tool, which facilitated the planning to achieve its goals. In other words, a region became an active tool of planned and purposeful transformation of space and society.

These facts were identical in all the studied proposals. Individual designs differed, though, in the question, which regions were the most convenient ones with respect to meeting the objectives of regional planning, i.e., elimination of social and economic disproportions caused by the previous development. In this context – that is, from the perspective of internal limits of regional assemblage – two issues were being resolved. The first one was the size of the defined areas (see below). The second issue was the question of social and economic structure of the defined regions. In simple terms, two opposing views emerged. The first one favoured the opinion that it was necessary to create heterogeneous regions regarding the internal economic and social structure. The prospering and underdeveloped areas were to be included both within these regions. Their mutual interaction was to improve the situation in the underdeveloped areas. The opposing view emphasised the necessity to define internally homogeneous areas. The main argument was the belief that such region could be planned – and therefore also purposefully transform – as a whole (for detailed discussion, see Okrouhlý, 1948).

4.3. Relating planning and administrative regions

The issue of the definition of planning regions was followed by the issue of connecting planning regions and administrative regions. Regarding the imagination of the central importance of planning for the development of society and the transformation of space, in the 'new period' it was necessary to adapt the territorial administrative division to the requirements of regional planning (Martin, 1946a, Okrouhlý, 1947e). In this respect, we can consider the use of the so-called ÚRO (Ústřední rada odborů, Central Council of Trade Unions) proposal of administrative division as expert variant in the 1949 administrative reform to be the high point of regional planning in the period (Daniel, 2017).

This proposal for the administrative division resulted from the two-year economic plan (Martin, 1946b) and apart from the expert committee of ÚRO, other institutions were also involved, especially the State Planning Office (Okrouhlý, 1947e). The aim of the proposal was to

define the areas, which could be used for planning purposes. The question whether the defined regions were suitable for regional planning, i.e., whether the regions were within the defined internal limits of assemblage, was assessed in detail by Jaroslav Okrouhlý (1947c, 1947e, 1947f, 1947). The primary criterion of a well-defined region was its internal homogeneity, defined demographically, socially, and economically. Okrouhlý (1947e, 1947f) used a cartographic visualisation of selected statistical indicators to achieve the assessment (see Fig. 1). He stated that, based on his objective and strictly scientific approach, it was ascertained that the defined regions met the criteria of internal homogeneity, thus they were convenient for regional planning.

I claim that the ÚRO proposal met all the conditions of 'good' regions. Regarding the internal limits, the defined regions had a sufficient degree of homogeneity, therefore, they were suitable for regional planning. If the regions were suitable for regional planning, they were considered useful in the project of transformation of space and building a new society, i.e., they were within the defined external limits. Further development, however, brought about the changes in assemblage.

Even though final 1949 regions had their administrative function, and they were also supposed to play the role of planning regions, this plan had never been fully realised. The reason is the change in the external conditions, which impacted significantly on the transformation of regional assemblage. The above-presented regional assemblage worked in the second half of the 1940s. It was originally formed during the third republic in the context of building the new society. The communist coup of February 1948 did not have a great impact on its functioning. Proof of this statement could be the above-mentioned fact that the ÚRO proposal, which could be described as a product of this regional assemblage, became the base for the definition of administrative regions in 1949 (Daniel, 2017).

4.4. Deterritorialization and reterritorialization of regional assemblage

Significant transformation, that is, deterritorialization in Deleuze and Guatarri's (1987) term, occurred at the beginning of the 1950s. The transformation of aims of the Czechoslovak economy can mark its limit point. The new priority was to develop the heavy industry following the Soviet model. Although it resulted in the 'Sovietisation' of the Czechoslovak economy, it represented a rather complex and complicated process, which cannot be interpreted as a unilateral colonisation of Czechoslovakia. For example, Balcar and Kučera (2010) emphasise that the transformation was not primarily caused by the Soviet pressure. There was a number of autochthonous reasons connected with the functioning of the Czechoslovak economy after 1945 (see also Balcar

and Kučera, 2016). With respect to the analysed topic, it is important that due to the single orientation to heavy industry, less attention was paid to the regional planning. The primary focus was on allocations of industrial investments into the development of old industrial areas.

This situation, however, did not last long. The reterritorialization of regional assemblage occurred approximately in the mid-1950s. The reasons might be the broadly understood process of de-Stalinisation and attempts at resolving the economic crisis which was caused by the previous massive industrialisation of the Stalinist type, and which was, among others, connected to a drop in the living standards of the Czechoslovak population. These facts led to the recurrent interest in the issues of region and regional planning. Although the purpose of assemblage remained the same, i.e., building socialism, 'a reorganization of functions and a regrouping of forces' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 320) occurred during reterritorialization.

This brief outline helps document two facts important for further research. First is the complication of the matter of the changed political regime and its impact on geography. I do not mean to claim that the communist regime did not significantly transform the form and function of the production of geographical knowledge. However, I want to suggest that 'Sovietisation' of Czechoslovak geography and the regional concept did not present a mono-causal and straightforward process. It was not a unilateral Soviet colonisation, but this process emerged through the structuring of a number of discursive and material practices. It is the more detailed examination of this process, which is one of the many challenges facing the history of geography in CEE.

Second is drawing attention to one important aspect of the concept of assemblage, that is, assemblage is not static. In contrast, it allows us to analyse the transformation process while the continuity and change are understood as two ends of a singular continuum (Adkins, 2015). From this perspective, in my opinion, assemblage represents an appropriate concept for the study of the history of geography during state socialism. Descriptions of the post-war development using 'paradigm shifts' are typical for western geographies. They are linked to imagination through an absolute discontinuity with the previous development (on the critique of this approach, see van Meeteren, 2016). This model is not applicable in the case analysed by me. Even though regional assemblage went through processes of de- and re-territorialisation, which led to the significant change in the production of geographical knowledge, its aim was the same – to build and develop socialism. This fact was important from the point of the reception of knowledge arisen from other 'paradigms'. Emphasis on the practical use facilitated a relatively eclectic application of geographical knowledge, which originally arose in significantly different – often conflicting – 'paradigms'. This fact will be illustrated in the following section using the example of reception of pre-war knowledge.

5. Materialisation of the regional concept

Although there were various opinions on conceptualisation of a 'good' region, there was an accord that the vital feature of a 'good' region is its usability for the needs of regional planning. A 'good' region was thus a purely practical tool of regional planning, which was to serve a purposeful and controlled transformation of space and society. This fact had a significant impact on what characteristics were considered important and, in contrast, which one were (almost) ignored. It follows from the above-mentioned that the primary focus was on the practical aspects of a region, i.e., those features, which were important for the implementation of regional planning. On the other hand, 'theoretical' aspects of regional conceptualisation were side-lined.

The most important part of conceptualisation was the resulting map, which visualised the specific division of the state territory into individual regions. Therefore, we can cautiously state that the regional concept was simplified to 'lines' on a map which marked its boundaries. A 'good' region was the one which looked 'good' on a map, i.e., its cartographic representation showed features considered to be 'good'.
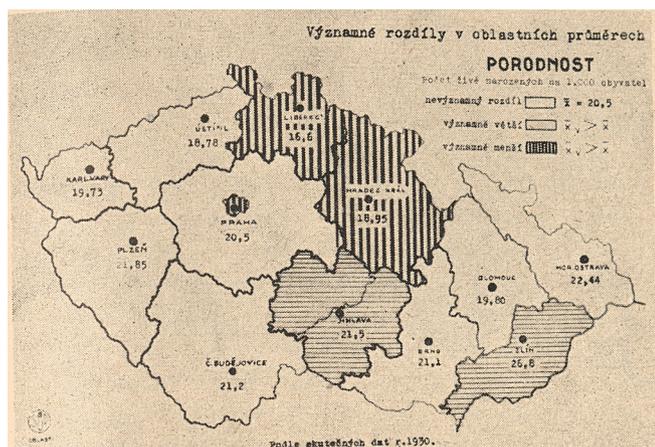

Fig. 1. Example of cartographic visualisation of evaluation of internal homogeneity of defined regions of the ÚRO proposal. Source: Okrouhlý, J., 1947e. Oblastní rozdělení českých zemí a jeho charakter I. Nové hospodářství 3, 107–112.

This concerned mainly the size of individual regions and characteristics of individual regions regarding the selected statistical indicators; or on a smaller scale, specific areas were discussed, which were to belong to a certain region due to various economic, social or cultural links. Three types of maps were created in this context. The first one depicted the boundaries of defined regions, the second type was a choropleth map depicting statistical indicators (see Fig. 1) and the third type was the cartographic comparison of individual variants of division of Czechoslovakia (see Fig. 2).

This materialisation of region influenced – among other consequences – the post-war concept of the pre-war geographical knowledge. To analyse this process, the concept of assemblage is useful as its properties might contribute to a more sensitive approach to the issue of continuity and change from the view of production of geographical knowledge. As has been mentioned above, the mutual relationship between the material dimension and discursive dimension of regional assemblage is autonomous: 'the principle of inclusion and exclusion for one dimension (content) can be, and often is, in conflict with the principle of inclusion and exclusion for the other dimension (expression)' (Buchanan, 2021, p. 132). In my opinion, this quality may be well documented using the example of the post-war reception of pre-war division of Czechoslovakia made by Jaromír Korčák (1934), one of the most significant Czechoslovak geographers (cf. Imre and Novotný, 2016).

Korčák considered a region to be an exclusively theoretical concept and he followed from his theory of nation in its conceptualisation (Korčák, 1931). He saw a region as an area with a long-lasting development – lasting for several thousands of years – leading to the creation of a specific type of population:

'… we want to see in it an individualised unit, i.e. area, which has formed its specific type of life…. Such a unit is represented – at higher order – for example by Bohemia. Bohemia has formed its type of life, visible in any social class. A peasant, a miner or a teacher; a worker, a factory owner or a student; a catholic or a protestant; a man from the mountains or from the lowlands; Czech or German by nationality; each of them differs from other species in such ways that

he can be attributed as bohemicus. An analogical type of lower order, which is relevant to our division – would be, for example, the South Bohemian type' (Korčák, 1934, p. 424).

This historical and deterministic approach was completely at odds with the post-war conceptualisation focused on the future, i.e., transformation of society. As has been mentioned above, the pre-war development was strictly rejected in the discourse dimension of regional assemblage, thus Korčáks regions were found both on the theoretical and the contextual level completely outside of the external limit of regional assemblage.

And still, Korčáks concept received a relatively great attention from the point of the material dimension of regional assemblage. Given the practical focus of regional planning, it can be stated that Korčáks regions were completely 'deconceptualised' and 'decontextualized'. Only a material cartographic representation with lines depicting defined regions remains from Korčák's concept of the region. It was evaluated in terms of (un)suitability for the needs of regional planning in this manner in the post-war period. Any theoretical points of Korčák's conceptualization in this evaluation were left behind and the focus was solely placed on the size of the defined regions (see e.g., Martin, 1946a, Řípa, 1948). The excessive size of Korčák's region was the most common target of the post-war criticism. This issue was connected with the character of the political regime, in which this regionalisation originated:

'Korčák rightly counted on the arrangement of economic matters liberally in the First Republic. Therefore, his inference is in accord with the practices of the western powers. His inference is valid in capitalist states even today. In liberalism in full bloom the state was more or less just the night watchman, it only had certain tasks …. Today we fight a battle to fulfil the Two-Year Economic Plan …. This work could not have been done in large regions. Areal units with 650,000 inhabitants will be sufficient' (Martin, 1946a, p. 3).

For this reason, the proposals of the planning regions, which were inspired by Korčák's conceptualisation, often divided his region into smaller units (see e.g., Okrouhlý, 1947e).

Korčák's regionalisation became a relatively important part of the post-war regional assemblage, however not in its original pre-war form,

Fig. 2. Comparison of the delimitation of boarders of the ÚRO proposal, Korčák regions and electoral regions Source: Řípa, J., 1948. Zakotvení hospodářského plánování v ústavě. Plánované hospodářství 1, 31–40.

but it went through a process of deterritorialization: it was – as mentioned above – completely 'deconceptualised' and 'decontextualized' into 'lines on the map'. It became part of post-war knowledge only as a materialised cartographic representation depicting a defined region, and therefore it could be used in significantly antagonistic conceptualizations. In this form, for example, it became one of the inspirations for the aforementioned ÚRO proposal (Okrouhlý, 1947e).

6. Conclusions

The analysis of regional assemblage, that is, the mutual relationship between discourse and material entities allowed me to reconstruct the process of conceptualisation of the 'good' region in post-war Czechoslovakia. On the discourse level, the 'good' region was closely connected to the post-war project of transformation of the society. The 'good' region was the one, which allowed rational and controlled transformation of the society and space according to the contemporary imagination. For this reason, only the suitability of the region for regional planning purposes was primarily addressed in the process of regional conceptualisation. Thus, the region was understood as a solely practical tool using which the most important post-war aim was to be achieved – the formation of the socialist society. This entirely practical conceptualisation led to the materialisation of geographical knowledge. The regional concept was simplified into a map depicting the division of Czechoslovakia into individual regions. The reason was the fact that such a cartographic representation of the region was crucial in the needs of regional planning.

In this context, the concept of regional assemblage enables me to add to understanding of the transformation of geography as a result of change of the political regime. The example of post-war Czechoslovak geography can help explore the problem pointed out by Paiva and de Oliveira (2020). These authors point to the fact that the history of geography has been studied mainly in countries with relatively stable regimes and that we know little about developments in countries with unstable political situations. From this perspective, research on CEE states, given their turbulent political history, can contribute to a better understanding of the mutual relationship between political regime change and geography change.

In the history of the geography of the states of Central Eastern Europe, the beginning of the period of state socialism is traditionally considered a fundamental turning point in the development of geography (see, for example, Jeleček, 2004, Győri and Gyuris, 2013, for critique see Ginelli 2018, Daniel, 2022). The concept of regional assemblage enables me to challenge this simplistic and essentialist the Cold War discourse that understands state-socialist countries as spatio-temporal containers (see e.g., Stenning and Hörschelmann, 2008). From the temporal view, regional assemblage demonstrates, among others, that turning to practice had not commence with the change of the regime in 1948 but it had been rooted the in previous period. The transformation of geography into a purely practical science is generally considered one of the most significant features of socialist geography (Timár, 2020), which has a significant impact on the functioning of post-socialist geographies even today (see e.g. Timár, 2006, Qian and Zhang, 2022). By this, I do not mean in any way to say that the communist regime had no influence on the transformation, but that there is no simple direct causality between the communist coup and the transformation of geographical knowledge. On the contrary, the whole process was more complex and multi-layered.

Finally, the research into the post-war history of geography in the CEE countries also introduces the matter of the relationship of this topic to the global history of geography. Due to its marginal position from the perspective of the geopolitics of knowledge production and due to its origin outside the Anglosphere, it is possible to include this topic in the dynamically expanding Other geographical traditions (OGT) research. The OGT concept was created by Federico Ferretti (2019b) and can be considered one of the most important impetuses leading to the development of inclusive geography. It follows from Ferretti's (2019b) paper that the project of OGT concerns mostly the 'good guys' in the history of geography who have been mostly neglected in comparison to 'the "obscure" sides of geography's pasts' (Ferretti, 2021b). This fact complicates the inclusion of the Czech geographical tradition in OGT, because the history of the production of geographical knowledge in post-war Czechoslovakia does not provide a simple black-and-white story where good guys and bad guys can be clearly and unambiguously identified. Even though this simple dichotomous vision is blurred in the Ferretti's (2019b) text itself by several examples and it deliberately defines OGT very loosely, the inclusion of Czechoslovak geography in OGT may seem problematic.

Given the broad definition of OGT, in could probably be overcome by a more sensitive conceptualisation considering the specifics of CEE. However, there is one more issue connected with the inclusion of the post-war history of geography in the CEE states among the OGT. Regarding its loose definition, this label might cover most global geographical knowledge. An example is an application of this term in the context of Nordic geography (Jakobsen et al., 2022). This fact alone is not conflicted, but it is linked to a threat that the original emancipation project may be emptied and OGT may become a mere empty and meaningless label. For this reason, one of the vital questions for the future is how to theorise and conceptualise the position and meaning of the post-war history of geography in CEE within the global histories of geography.

This observation also follows from the fact that the story described above has certain common features with the stories from other geographical traditions. For example, the emphasis on the practical use of the region in the post-war period can be observed not only in the state-socialist countries, but also in the USA (Barnes and Farish, 2006) or the Netherlands (van Meeteren, 2022). Similarly, the closer connection between geography and regional planning can also be documented in other countries, e.g., in Nigeria (Craggs and Neate, 2020) or again in the Netherlands (van Meeteren, 2022). What do the similarities between those selected features tell us about such isolated stories? Not much, in my opinion. Despite the increasing interest in the global history of geography (see e.g., Ginelli, 2016, Schelhaas et al., 2020, Michel et al., 2021) and the global history of state socialism (see e.g., Mark et al., 2019, Mark et al., 2020; Stanek, 2020), it is still very difficult to compare developments in different geographical traditions from the perspective of the current - often torso-like - state of knowledge of the history of global geography. The practical use of the region in Czechoslovakia might have meant something else and might have had completely different connotations than when discussing the similar situation in the USA or the Netherlands.

This statement follows from the conviction that there is not one universal geography, and it is necessary to be sensitive to the geography of geographies (Livingstone, 2019, McFarlane, 2022). The history of global geography is not a puzzle and the individual geographical traditions do not represent individual pieces of this puzzle. If we could describe all geographical traditions, we would still not be able to put together the complete image of global geography. The individual pieces do not fit – they may overlap, they may have the same features, but they may also show fully incompatible differences which follow from economic, political, cultural and other circumstances of the production of geographical knowledge.

One of the possible ways – though of course limited and imperfect – to comparatively analyse this diversity is the application of assemblage which is 'singularity at the heart of a multiplicity' (Buchanan, 2017, p. 468). It allows to analyse the limits of the possible. The lines of what was considered in a specific place and specific time to be 'good' geographical knowledge. And even more importantly, it allows to analyse what led to this specific knowledge to be considered 'good'. How the limits of exclusion and inclusion were defined and what influenced the process of inclusion and exclusion.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Jan Daniel: Conceptualization, Methodology, Investigation, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Data availability

No data was used for the research described in the article.

References

Abrams, B.F., 2005. The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation: Czech Culture and the Rise of Communism. Rowman & Littlefield.

Adkins, B., 2015. Deleuze and Guattari's A Thousand Plateaus: A Critical Introduction and Guide. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

Anderson, B., Kearnes, M., McFarlane, C., Swanton, D., 2012. On assemblages and geography. Dialogues in Human Geography 2, 171–189.

Arburg, A.v., Staněk, T., 2010. Vysídlení Němců a proměny českého pohraničí 1945–1951: Dokumenty z českých archivů, I.: úvod k edici. Středokluky.

Balcar, J., 2014. Panzer für Hitler - Traktoren für Stalin: Grossunternehmen in Böhmen und Mähren 1938–1950. De Gruyter, München.

Balcar, J., Kučera, J., 2016. System transformation as consequence of the German occupation? Czechoslovakia's path from the Nazi War economy to postwar centralized planned economy. In: Scherner, J., White, E.N. (Eds.), Paying for Hitler's War. The consequences of Nazi hegemony for Europe. Cambridge University Press, New York, NY, pp. 343–363.

Barnes, T.J., Farish, M., 2006. Between regions: science, militarism, and American geography from World War to Cold War. Ann. Assoc. Am. Geogr. 96, 807–826.

Blažek, M., 1948. Hospodářské plánování a zeměpisci. Sborník Československé společnosti zeměpisné 53, 33–34.

Brenner, C., 2009. "Zwischen Ost und West": Tschechische politische Diskurse 1945–1948. Oldenbourg, München.

Buchanan, I., 2015. Assemblage theory and its discontents. Deleuze Stud. 9, 382–392.

Buchanan, I., 2017. Assemblage theory, or, the future of an illusion. Deleuze Stud. 11, 457–474.

Buchanan, I., 2021. Assemblage Theory and Method: An Introduction and Guide. Bloomsbury Academic, London.

Craggs, R., 2019. Decolonising the geographical tradition. Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr. 44, 444–446.

Craggs, R., Neate, H., 2020. What happens if we start from Nigeria? Diversifying histories of geography. Ann. Am. Assoc. Geogr. 110, 899–916.

Balcar, J., Kučera, J., 2010. Von der Gestaltung der Zukunft zur Verwaltung des Mangels: Wirtschaftsplanung in der Tschechoslowakei von der Befreiung bis in die frühen fünfziger Jahre. In: Schulze Wessel, M., Brenner, C. (Eds.) Zukunftsvorstellungen und staatliche Planung im Sozialismus. Die Tschechoslowakei im ostmitteleuropäischen Kontext 1945-1989. R. Oldenbourg, München, pp. 187–203.

Daniel, J., 2017. Proměny organizace prostoru českých zemí: reflexe historického vývoje v období 1945 až 1949. Ph.D thesis, Brno.

Daniel, J., 2022. How should we do the history of geographies during the period of state socialism? Historical period, space and expert knowledge in the post-war Czechoslovakia. Moravian Geogr. Rep. 30, 150–162.

Deleuze, G., Guattari, F., 1983. Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Deleuze, G., Guattari, F., 1986. Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Deleuze, G., Guattari, F., 1987. A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Ferretti, F., 2019a. History and philosophy of geography I: Decolonising the discipline, diversifying archives and historicising radicalism. Prog. Hum. Geogr. 44, 1161–1171.

Ferretti, F., 2019b. Rediscovering other geographical traditions. Geography. Compass 13, 1–15.

Ferretti, F., 2021a. History and philosophy of geography II: Rediscovering individuals, fostering interdisciplinarity and renegotiating the 'margins'. Prog. Hum. Geogr. 45, 890–901.

Ferretti, F., 2021b. History of Geography (Not Identical to Historical Geography). In: Richardson, D., Castree, N., Goodchild, M.F., Kobayashi, A.L., Liu, W., Marston, R.A. (Eds.) The international encyclopedia of geography. People, the earth, environment, and technology. Wiley Blackwell, Chichester, West Sussex.

Ferretti, F., 2021c. Decolonizing regional planning from the Global South: Active geographies and social struggles in Northeastern Brazil. Environ. Planning D 39, 665–684.

Ferretti, F., 2021d. Other radical geographies: Tropicality and decolonisation in 20th-century French geography. Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr. 46, 540–554.

Formánek, 1947. K oblastnímu plánování. Nové hospodářství 3, 105–107.

Frejka, L., 1947. O významu dvouletého plánu. Nová mysl 1, 32–49.

Frommer, B., 2005. National Cleansing: Retribution Against Nazi Collaborators in Postwar Czechoslovakia. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Ginelli, Z., 2018. Critical remarks on the "Sovietization" of Hungarian human geography. In: Hîncu, A., Karády, V. (Eds.), Social Sciences in the "Other Europe" Since 1945. Central European University, Budapest.

Ginelli, Z., 2016. Towards a globalized understanding of Cold War economic geography and spatial planning theories in Hungary. Available from: <https://www.academia.edu/16712227/Towards_a_globalized_understanding_of_Cold_War_economic_geography_and_spatial_planning_theories_in_Hungary>.

Goldmann, J., 1947. Některé zvláštní rysy dvouletky. Nová mysl 35–37.

Győri, R., Gyuris, F., 2013. The Sovietisation of Hungarian Geography, 1945–1960. Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft 154, 107–128.

Hruška, E., 1948. Zásady industrializace země Moravskoslezské. Plánované hospodářství 1, 95–101.

Hušek, P., 1946a. Jižní Čechy v hospodářském plánu. Československý průmysl 2, 367–372.

Hušek, P., 1946b. Přemisťování průmyslu v dvouletém plánu. Československý průmysl 2, 326.

Hušek, P., 1947. Slabé české kraje v hospodářském plánu. Československý průmysl 3, 166–169.

Imre, A.R., Novotný, J., 2016. Fractals and the Korcak-law: a history and a correction. Eur. Phys. J. H 41, 69–91.

Jakobsen, P., Jönsson, E., Larsen, H.G., 2022. Geographies and theories of geography: an introduction. In: Jakobsen, P., Jönsson, E., Larsen, H.G. (Eds.), Socio-Spatial Theory in Nordic Geography. Intellectual Histories and Critical Interventions. Springer International Publishing; Springer, pp. 1–15.

Jeleček, L., 2004. An Outline of Czech Geography Evolution since the Second Half of the 19th Century until 1980's. In: Drbohlav, D. (Ed.), Czech Geography at the Dawn of the Millenium. Palacky Univ. in Olomouc, Olomouc, pp. 11–22.

Keighren, I.M., 2018. History and philosophy of geography III: The haunted, the reviled, and the plural. Prog. Hum. Geogr. 44, 160–167.

Korčák, J., 1931. Příspěvek k teorii národnosti. Sociální problémy 1, 167–189.

Korčák, J., 1934. Regionální členění Československa. Statistický obzor 15, 416–434.

Kratochvil, J., 1946. Pomáháme zanedbaným krajům. Průmyslový věstník 33, 891–892.

Livingstone, D.N., 2019. The Geographical Tradition and the challenges of geography geographised. Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr. 44, 458–462.

Maiwald, K., 1945. K otázce oblastního rozložení průmyslové výroby. Československý průmysl 1, 4–7.

Mark, J., Iacob, B., Rupprecht, T., Spaskovska, L., 2019. 1989: A Global History of Eastern Europe. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Mark, J., Kalinovsky, A.M., Marung, S. (Eds.), 2020. Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, p. 341.

Martin, K., 1946a. Dvouletka si vyžaduje tvoření oblastí. Výstavba Slovenska 1, 2–5.

Martin, K., 1946b. Hospodářské oblasti v dvouletém plánu: Oblastní úkoly. Průmyslový věstník 33, 869–879.

McFarlane, C., 2022. Editorial: Geography in the world. Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr. 47, 2–8.

Mereda, J., 1948. Krajová hlediska v hospodářském plánu. Československý průmysl 4, 285–289.

Michel, B., Gyuris, F., Paulus, K. (Eds.), 2021. Recalibrating the Quantitative Revolution in Geography: Travels, Networks, Translations. Routledge, London.

Müller, M., 2020. In search of the global east: thinking between north and south. Geopolitics 25, 734–755.

Nail, T., 2017. What is an assemblage? SubStance 46, 21–37.

Okrouhlý, J., 1946. Českomoravská vysočina a dvouletý plán. Československý průmysl 2, 404–405.

Okrouhlý, J., 1947a. Funkce průmyslových investic v prostorovém plánování. Československý průmysl 3, 342–345.

Okrouhlý, J., 1947b. Kvalitativní charakter regionálního plánování. Nové hospodářství 3, 162–163.

Okrouhlý, J., 1947c. Návrh oblastního rozdělení a jeho problematika. Nové hospodářství 3, 226–230.

Okrouhlý, J., 1947d. Několik poznámek k dislokaci průmyslu v Českých zemích. Československý průmysl 3, 161–169.

Okrouhlý, J., 1947e. Oblastní rozdělení českých zemí a jeho charakter I. Nové hospodářství 3, 107–112.

Okrouhlý, J., 1947f. Oblastní rozdělení českých zemí a jeho charakter II. Nové hospodářství 3, 154–159.

Okrouhlý, J., 1948. O oblastním plánování. Státní úřad plánovací, Praha.

Paiva, D., de Oliveira, F.R., 2020. Luso-Brazilian geographies? The making of epistemic communities in semi-peripheral academic human geography. Prog. Hum. Geogr. 45, 489–512.

Qian, J., Zhang, H., 2022. University Geography in China: history, opportunities, and challenges. Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr. 47, 28–33.

Řípa, J., 1948. Zakotvení hospodářského plánování v ústavě. Plánované hospodářství 1, 31–40.

Roberts, T., 2021. A constructivism of desire: Conceptualising the politics of assemblage with Deleuze and Guattari. Area.

Schelhaas, B., Ferretti, F., Reyes Novaes, A., Di Schmidt Friedberg, M., 2020. Decolonising and Internationalising Geography: Essays in the History of Contested Science. Springer, Cham.

Schulze Wessel, M., 2010. Zukunftsentwürfe und Planungspraktiken in der Sowjetunion und der sozialistischen Tschechoslowakei. In: Schulze Wessel, M., Brenner, C. (Eds.) Zukunftsvorstellungen und staatliche Planung im Sozialismus. Die Tschechoslowakei im ostmitteleuropäischen Kontext 1945-1989. R. Oldenbourg, München, pp. 1–18.

Spurný, M., 2011. Nejsou jako my: česká společnost a menšiny v pohraničí (1945–1960). Antikomplex, Praha.

Stanek, Ł., 2020. Architecture in Global Socialism. Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ.

Stenning, A., Hörschelmann, K., 2008. History, geography and difference in the post-socialist world: or, do we still need post-socialism? Antipode 40, 312–335.

Timár, J., 2006. The transformation of social and cultural geography during the transition period (1989 to present time) in Hungary. Soc. Cult. Geogr. 7, 649–667.

Timár, J., 2020. Communist and Postcommunist Geographies. In: International Encyclopedia of Human Geography. Elsevier, pp. 335–341.

van Meeteren, M., 2022. A prehistory of the polycentric urban region: excavating Dutch applied geography, 1930–60. Reg. Stud. 56, 7–20.

van Meeteren, M., 2016. From polycentricity to renovated urban systems theory: explaining Belgian settlement geographies, Ghent.

Zarecor, K.E., 2011. Manufacturing a Socialist Modernity: Housing in Czechoslovakia, 1945–1960. University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, Pa., p. 383