Introduction

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This book addresses selected aspects of political, social, cultural and economic life in the years following the First World War in Eastern Europe. The division between 'Western Europe' and 'Eastern Europe' should not be understood as mapping onto the distinction most familiar to us, since it long pre-dates the East-West Cold War conflict after 1945. The historiography of the First World War and its consequences was long dominated by Anglo-Saxon, French and German interpretation and literature, in which events in Western Europe played a far larger part than events on the Eastern Front or the establishment of the new European order following 1918. In this part of Europe, military action and violent conflict continued well beyond the Armistice of 11 November 1918, the discussions between the warring parties at the Paris Peace Conference, and the peace treaties signed with the governments of the Central Powers. For about five years after the cease-fire agreement, violence and armed confrontation, both within and between states, continued to be the lived experience in many European regions, in spite of the efforts not only of new supranational institutions such as the League of Nations, but also within civil society, to find peaceful solutions to the various conflicts.[1]

This book's aim is not to suggest that 'Eastern Europe' was a homogeneous area, but rather to help shine a light onto a neglected part of Europe. The various contributors deal with issues not only within but also between nations, and adopt a comparative approach where appropriate. In most cases, they address these issues by foregrounding specific examples rather than adopting the approach of overarching analyses.

The editors have collaborated to provide in this introduction a description of the relevant historical structures and developments, in order to help the reader appreciate the context for the case studies in the subsequent chapters. The first section focuses on two debates within historical research. First, how should one define an appropriate periodisation for the First World War and its consequences? And second, how has it come about that global historiography has paid so much more attention to the Western Front than to the ways in which the First World War affected Eastern Europe? The second section recalls the significant factors affecting the time period covered in the book: the pervading presence of violence, successes and failures in establishing new states, the fate of prisoners of war following 1918, the 'Spanish flu' pandemic, and the high expectations East Europeans vested in France and the United Kingdom. The third section presents some of the key historical concepts of the period: postcolonial history, the relationship between social democracy and communism, pacifism, revisionism and modernisation. The fourth section then focuses on the bearers of memory in the years after 1917: what image did emigrants and refugees from Eastern Europe carry with them, and what role did veterans of the front play in defining the collective memory?

Throughout, the volume editors have been very conscious that they have necessarily had to be selective in their choice of topics, the chronology they present to provide context and the list of events between 1917 and 1923, and that they can make no claim to be comprehensive.

First Section

Periodisation

The conventional dating of the First World War encompasses the period between the 'July Crisis' and

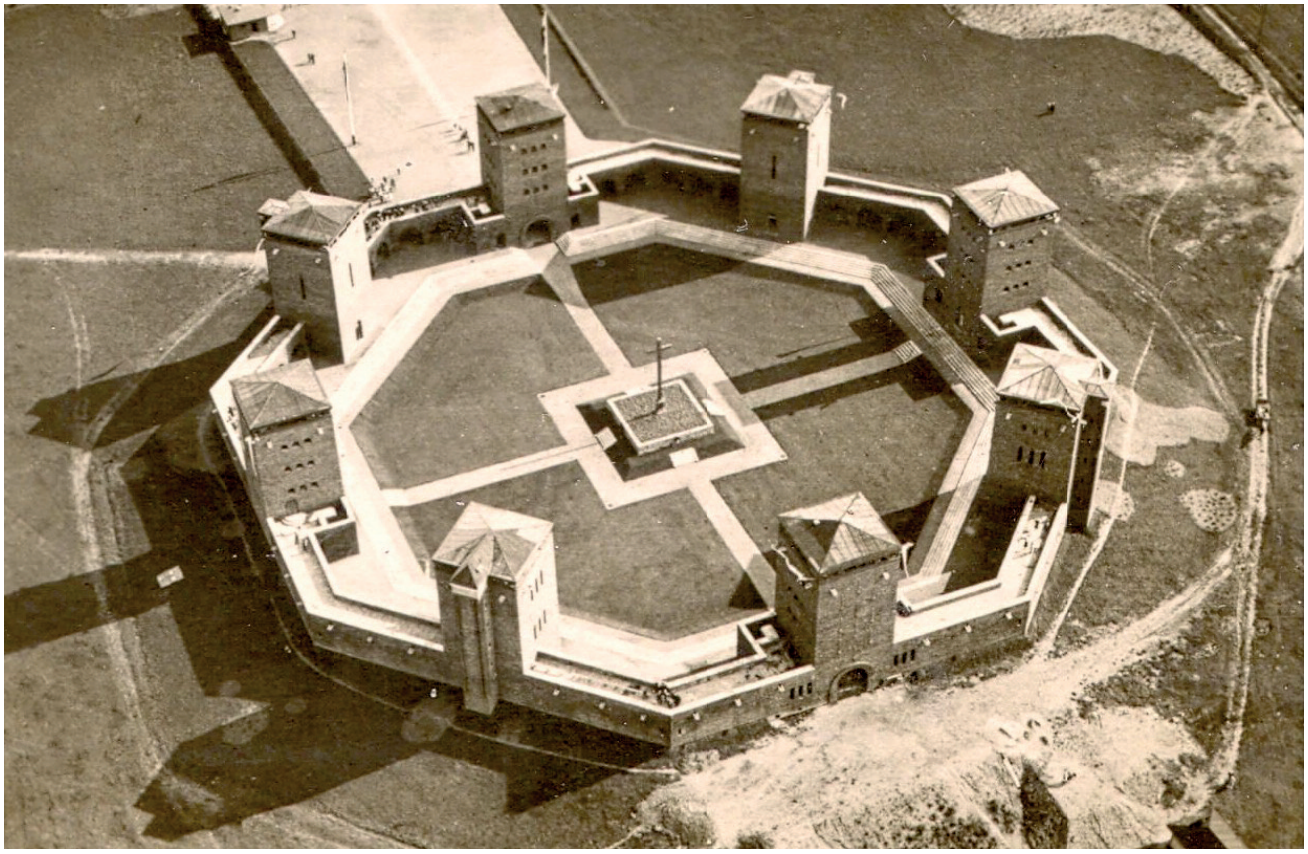


Fig. 1: The former German Tannenberg National Monument in East Prussia. Contemporary Postcard.

the declaration of war at the start of August 1914 and the cease-fire on 11 November 1918. This period fits with the events of the war on the Western Front and the influential war narratives of the Entente nations and of Germany. An examination of the Eastern theatre of war would suggest a different periodisation. Jay Winter identifies an initial phase (1914-1917), characterised by an internal social consensus in favour of mobilisation against an external enemy, driven by the prevailing wartime conditions.

By 1917, it became clear to those involved that the nature of the war had changed. Once a confrontation between imperial powers, it had mutated into an internal revolutionary conflict in the wake of the Russian October Revolution, further exacerbated by the peoples' protests over inflation and the unfair burden of war. Winter argues that the second phase (1917-1923), 'the Second Great War', was characterised by fear, internal divisions and ethnic and religious violence, and affected not only the newly created states and the regions of Central, Eastern and Southern Europe, but also Ireland[2] in Western Europe.[3] In many places in Eastern Europe, this coincided during the years after 1917 with revolutionary movements and efforts to achieve independence, and these in turn gave rise to tensions and acts of violence, especially by paramilitary groups. This turbulent period, Winter explains, lasted until 1923, when the Treaty of Lausanne established the territory of the new Turkish Republic and marked an end to Greek territorial ambitions in Asia Minor – resulting in the largest forced migration of peoples prior to the Second World War.[4]

Why was the war in the East forgotten?

This new historiographical insight – that fighting and violence continued beyond the autumn of 1918 in Eastern Europe – calls into question why any European assessment of the First World War persistently

pays more attention to the fighting in Belgium, France and Italy between 1914 and 1918 than it does to the Eastern Front, or indeed to the subsequent far-reaching effects of the continued unrest during 1918-1923. This perceptual problem is clearly not because the First World War was less dramatic on the Eastern Front than on the Western Front. This introduction cannot hope to do more than allude to the various reasons for this collective mental blindness. It is often pointed out that history is written by the victors, and in this case the United Kingdom, France and the USA led the international narrative on the war. In the East, the Russian Empire had ceased to exist with the 1917 October Revolution, which was followed by a bloody civil war between the Red and White armies; the USSR was officially established on 30 December 1922, and its priorities did not include memorialising the soldiers of the former Tsarist Empire and their fight against the armies of Imperial Germany and the imperial and royal monarchy of Austria-Hungary. When 'the East' featured in the international discourse between the wars, it was mainly in debates over the state order in Central and South-Eastern Europe. Assessments of the military causes that led to the First World War overshadowed any consideration of its consequences. Both German and British historians ascribed the creation of the new European order to Polish, Czech and Romanian nationalism, rather than seeing it as the expression of emancipation by peoples who had previously lived under the domination of imperial powers. This one-sided interpretation exerted considerable influence on historiography. In Britain, the stereotypical images of 'Balkanised Europe' were widespread, and they were echoed in Germany by the common conception of Eastern European 'seasonal states'; these tropes shifted the perception of the realities on the ground in the region.

This context lends significance to the cultural discourse on the First World War during the interwar years. Images of the topographical memorials on the former Western Front have gained worldwide recognition. The battles and the trench warfare on the Austrian–Italian front are commemorated in the monumental war cemeteries of Sacrario di Redipuglia/Sredipolje (1938)[5] and Sacrario militare di Fagaré della Battaglia (1933-1935) in the Piave river valley,[6] and at the battle sites in the High Dolomites. Between the wars, thousands of images sent far and wide on postcards and shown in cinema newsreels depicted the ossuary at Douaumont (1927-1932) near Verdun and the associated military cemetery, the memorial at Notre-Dame-de-Lorette (1920-1925) near Ablain-Saint-Nazaire, the memorial at Hartmannswillerkopf (1918-1921) in Alsace, and the memorials at Langemarck (1930-1932) and Ypres (1927) in Flanders. The only memorial in the East to gain recognition at a comparable level to its western counterparts was the Tannenberg Memorial. It was dedicated to the memory of the German victory in the Masurian region in the summer of 1914, setting up a link in political memory between the Battle of Tannenberg-Grunwald (a confrontation on 15 July 1410 between the Teutonic Knights and the Polish-Lithuanian army) and General Paul von Hindenburg (1847-1934), who later served as *Reichspräsident*. Built near the town of Hohenstein in East Prussia/Olsztynek between 1924 and 1927 in the expressionist architectural style, the Tannenberg Memorial evoked prehistoric sites and the Hohenstaufen Castel del Monte.[7]

The collective blindness to the fate of the East may also be explained by the fact that former battle sites were not as much revered as they were in the West. The Paris government believed that battle sites in eastern France not only commemorated lost lives but also served as a warning to neighbouring Germany, should it ever attempt an act of aggression towards France. The military cemeteries in the region of the town of Gorlice in Lesser Poland, however, easily match the French memorials in terms of their size and aesthetic appeal. They commemorate the confrontations between Austrian and Russian forces in the Tarnów-Gorlice area of Western Galicia between 1914 and 1918.[8] The fighting between the three powers that had partitioned Poland had taken the lives of Poles fighting on both sides, and in newly established country, the commemoration of losses was neither confrontational nor triumphalist. So it is perhaps not surprising that it was not until 2011 that the 'Line of the Eastern Front in the First World War in Lesser Poland' (Szlak Wschodniego Frontu I Wojny Światowej w Małopolsce) was laid out and opened to tourists in the voivodeship of Lesser Poland, with explanatory displays at the different sites along the route.[9] In Poland, a dense network of memorial sites and monuments commemorates the Second World



Fig. 2: The Galician town of Gorlice, which was heavily destroyed during the long and fierce fighting between the German-Austrian and the Russian armies in the summer of 1915.

War and its catastrophic consequences for the land and its inhabitants, which are far more prominent in the national conscience than memories of the First World War.[10]

Romania has a number of imposing memorial sites: the Triumphal Arch (Arcul de Triumf) in Bucarest, built between 1921 and 1936 to a design by the architect Petre Antonescu (1873-1965); the Mausoleum of Heroes (Mausoleul Eroilor, 1923-1938) in Mărăşeşti in Moldavia; and the Cross of Heroes (Crucea Eroilor) on Mount Caraiman in the Southern Carpathian mountains. Yet these too were less prominent than other memorials on the international stage. One of the most artistically significant memorials anywhere to the fallen of the First World War is the group of sculptures at Târgu Jiu in Walachia – although only a few well-informed historians of art in Western Europe have paid them the attention they properly deserve. It was created by the Romanian sculptor Constantin Brâncuşi (1876-1957), who was living and working in Paris. He abandoned the conventions and symbols of classical war memorials in order to create an intellectually evocative group that focused on inviting meditation on war and death rather than glorifying battle. The group consists of the 'Gate of the Kiss' (Poarta Sărutului), the 'Table of Silence' (Masa Tăcerii) and the 'Endless Column' (Coloana Infinitului).[11]

Artists also used literature and cinematography to memorialise the First World War. Film producers in Eastern Europe, however, were only very rarely able to dub their films or to produce subtitles in widely spoken languages in order to make them accessible to international cinema audiences. Examples include the film *Ponad śnieg* (Whiter than Snow), produced by Konstanty Meglicki (1890-1955) and inspired by a work of the famous novelist Stefan Żeromski (1864-1925), and the two films *Szaleńcy* (The Daredevil)

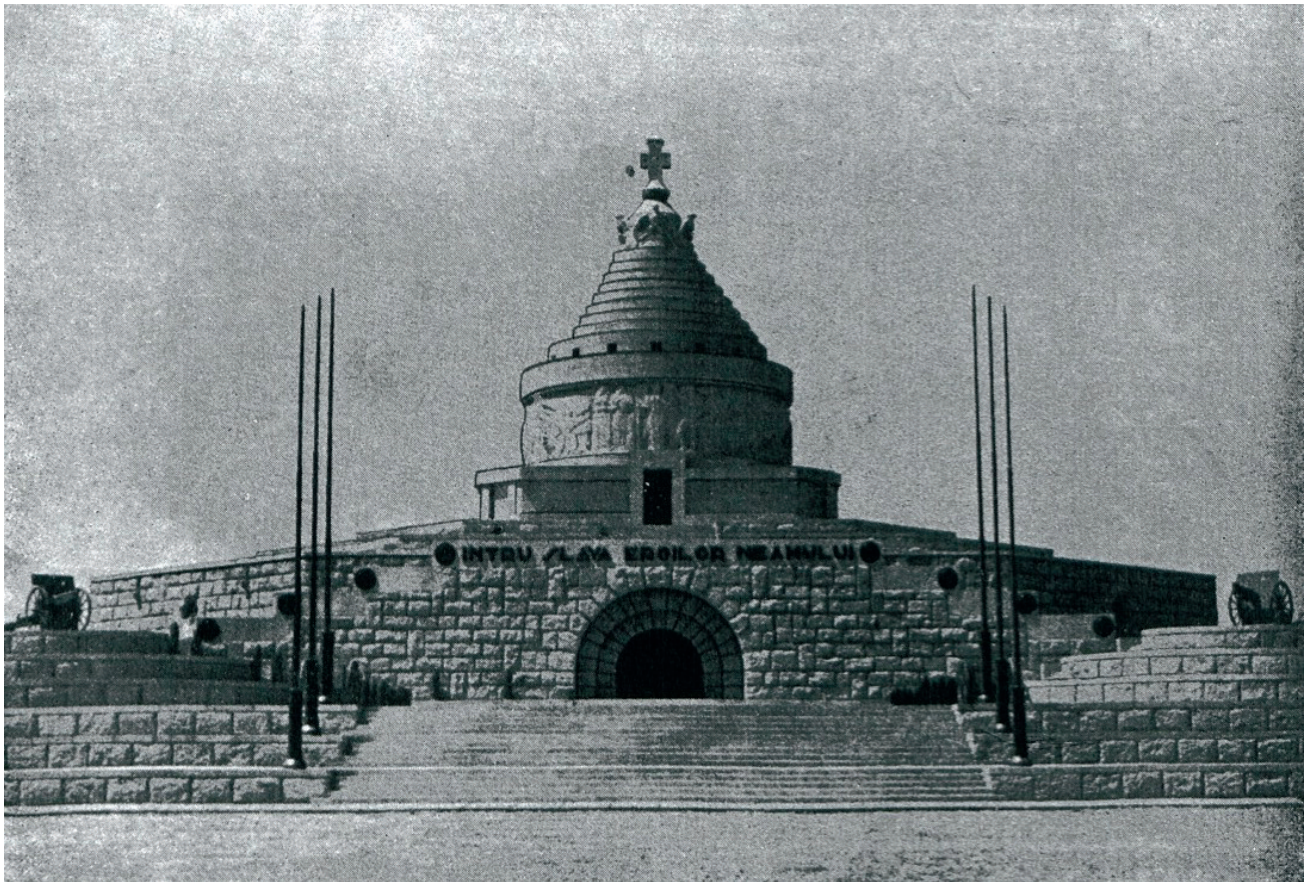


Fig. 3: The Heroes' Monument at Mărăşeşti, Romania. The Romanian inscription of the Mausoleum bears the motto 'Întru slava eroilor neamului' (To the Glory of the Nation's Heroes) and indicates the names of famous World War I battlefields: 'Jiu – Olt – Sibiu – Coşna – Cireşoaia – Robăneşti – Neajlov – Dragoslavele – Predeal – C. Lung – Panciu – Răzoare – Braşov – Porumbacu – Mărăşeşti – Mărăşti – Oituz – Doaga – Muncel – Arabagi – Bărcuţ – Amzacea – Prunaru – Cerna – Caşin – Valea Uzului – Sticlărie'.

(1928) and *Florian* (1938) by the director Leonard Buczkowski (1900-1967); all three films portrayed fictional events during the First World War, and remained unknown outside Poland. The renaissance of the First World War in Polish cinema eventually came in the 1980s, with the broadcasting of Bohdan Poręba's TV series *Polonia Restituta*, the 1983 drama *Austeria* (The Tavern) by Jerzy Kawalerowicz (1922-2007) and the 1986 comedy *C. K. Dezerterzy* (The Imperial and Royal Deserters) by Janusz Majewski (b. 1931). When these films were released, the political relations of the Polish People's Republic were not likely to favour the popularisation of Polish cinema in the Western world. The cinema-going public, therefore, mainly gained their perception of the war from films produced in France, Britain, the United States and Germany, which generally presented stories from the Western Front. Films produced in Russia, Poland, Hungary and Romania portrayed events on the Eastern Front, but their distribution remained largely confined to audiences within their respective countries. The film *Redl ezredes/Oberst Redl* (1985) by Hungarian director István Szábo (b. 1938) did achieve an Oscar nomination, albeit unsuccessful, by dint of being a German-Austrian-Hungarian co-production, which opened it up to much wider distribution than would have been available to a purely Hungarian film.

The East was largely invisible not only in film, but also in international literature. Literature from Eastern Europe rarely made much headway in the international market. There were a few notable examples,



The first anniversary of the armistice sees fighting still going on in at least a dozen places in Europe and the Near East. The above map shows these twelve storm centers as follows:

1. In the Baltic region there is a four-cornered struggle between the Lett and Esth nationalist troops, the German-Russian monarchist force of Colonel Bermondt, and the Bolsheviki.

2. South of Petrograd the alleged anti-German forces of General Yudenitch are in contact with the "red" armies.

3. On the North Russian front the troops of the anti-Bolshevik Archangel government are still "sticking it out" in spite of the withdrawal of the British expeditionary force.

4. In Eastern Russia Kolchak's army is suffering one defeat after another at the hands of the "reds."

5. In Southern Russia there is the volunteer army of General Denikin making war on the "reds" and the Ukrainians.

6. In Volhynia and Podolia the troops of the Ukrainian directorate, under General Petlura, are facing the Bolsheviki on one side, the Poles on the other.

7. Along the Dvina the Polish-Bolshevik war continues.

8. In Silesia there is no actual fighting, but something very much like a truce between the Poles and Germans.

9. Hungary, what with the Rumanian occupation and the White Terror, with its pogroms and wholesale executions, is very much in the state of war.

10. On the Adriatic fighting may start any moment between the Italians and Jugo-Slavs, with d'Annunzio's volunteers still holding "conquered" Fiume.

11. In Albania promiscuous fighting is going on, with Italians, French, Greeks, Serbians and Albanians participating.

12. In Asia Minor the Turkish nationalist forces of Mustappa Kemal Pasha are defying the Allies.

Fig. 4: Map of Europe, 'Where the Fighting Still Goes On'. *The New York Tribune*, 9 November 1919.

works that portrayed the war in all its grim reality from the point of view of the common soldier: the plays *The Last Days of Mankind* (Die letzten Tage der Menschheit, 1915-1922) by Karl Kraus (1874-1936), and *Drums in the Night* (Trommeln in der Nacht, 1919) by Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956); and the anti-war novels *All Quiet on the Western Front* (*Im Westen nichts Neues*, 1929) by Erich Maria Remarque (1898-1970) and *Higher Command* (*Heeresbericht*, 1930) by Edlef Köppen (1896-1939). A further exception was the comedic novel *The Adventures of the Good Soldier Švejk (Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války)*, by the Czech author Jaroslav Hašek (1883-1923), which has been translated into 58 languages, rewritten as a stage play, and produced as a film several times. The author, who tended towards political anarchism, wrote it as a Dadaist response to the absurdity of war. The novel was widely misunderstood in the West, where the figure of Švejk became seen as a stereotypical representation of what was assumed to be the Czech national characteristic of 'Švejkism'. Western readers seem to have missed the parody of a Czech soldier forced to serve against his will in the imperial and royal army and taking every sabotage opportunity available to him; and yet this novel reflects particularly well the situation of the small nations under the rule of the three great imperial powers.

Two major literary works about the war in Eastern Europe suffered from unfortunate publication dates. The epochal novel of Joseph Roth (1894-1939), *The Emperor's Tomb* (*Kapuzinergruft*), was distributed in 1938 by a publisher in exile in the Netherlands who in 1937 had published the German translation of a key work by a childhood friend of Roth, the Polish author Józef Wittlin (1896-1976). Wittlin had published his novel *Sól ziemi* in 1935, and the German translation *Das Salz der Erde* (*The Salt of the Earth*) had appeared in 1937. Roth's work gained posthumous international recognition as a masterly portrait of the dying days of the Habsburg Monarchy; Wittlin's, meanwhile, took much longer to gain the attention of a wider public.

Second section

Violence

Violence remained a widespread feature of daily political and social life in Eastern Europe during the years following the First World War, a reality that escaped the notice of selective western observers. This violence was rooted in many causes, and it was expressed in a variety of ways. It could be due to material want; it could be expressed through attacks on unpopular groups, or on those of different ethnicity or political persuasion. It was sometimes perpetrated by paramilitary groups, and sometimes escalated into civil war.

George L. Mosse (1918-1999) has suggested that war experiences brutalised those taking part and encouraged further violent acts, and this has been borne out in all the nations concerned. The myth of 'war experience' resonated in every nation that had taken part in the war; the losers, and especially the Germans, were particularly susceptible to this phenomenon. The trauma of the 1918 defeat made it difficult for them to engage rationally with the war and where its roots had lain.[12] Mosse and others have correctly emphasised that the experience of the First World War altered the attitude of the combatants to the use of violence. The vast majority of soldiers who had survived the war unhurt, however, returned to civil life in November 1918. As we shall see below, some became convinced pacifists, while others created patriotic mythologies from their experience in the trenches. The myth acquired a dangerously explosive political force in the defeated and the newly created nations, where conservative and nationalistic parties espoused it for their own purposes, and could instrumentalise it to promote paramilitary acts of violence.

There was a disparity, after 1918, in the potential of different nations to carry out acts of violence; the defeated nations' ability to mobilise for war was hobbled, while the victorious nations experienced a wave of pacifism.[13]

The Eastern European 'shatter zones' that had emerged from the downfall of the dynastic empires (Russia, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Turkey) were particularly vulnerable to outbreaks of violence; many were affected by disputed borders and the lack of a clearly defined new national order.[14]

Thanks to the First World War, the small local pre-1914 rivalries over territorial disputes and unfulfilled national aspirations had been transformed by 1918 into a generalised European struggle focused principally on ethnic and ideological differences. The war had served as a catalyst; as a result, revolutions had



Fig. 5: The town of Sokolniki, near Lwów. Jewish population in front of destroyed buildings likely done by Ukrainian forces in 1919.

broken out and then been carried through.[15] The stimulus was not only the USA's entry into the war on the Western Front in the spring of 1917 and the collapse of the Russian front six months later, but also the concept of the right to self-determination, propagated by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870-1924) and Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924), who each promoted the concept according to their own specific national and international interpretation. Both presented the concept as a challenge to the empires of Central and Eastern Europe.[16]

The differences between these two politicians are telling. Wilson stated that the Allies' war objective should be the victory of democratic nationalism in Europe. The League of Nations was to bring peace and maintain the new post-war order. Lenin advocated an armistice at any price, and promoted national/ethnic independence that rested on the workers and farmers who rose up against dynastic empires. According to Lenin, the underclass's emancipation would lead to an international class revolution that would legitimate the use of violence. The Bolshevik view therefore encompassed the peoples of the whole world, making no difference between domestic and external politics.[17]

As Robert Gerwarth and John Horne have stated, the years following 1917/18 were marked by the emergence and triumph of diametrically opposed ideologies – principally fascism and communism – whose advocates had seized power in states such as the Soviet Union and Italy by 1923.[18] Both these ideologies spoke mainly to societies' lower classes, who had particularly suffered from harshness of the First World War: in Russia the farmers, in Italy the workers and the upper working class. Italy, one of the victorious nations in 1918, had suffered a high death toll during the war. The nationalists' suggestion that Italy had been betrayed by the high price they had paid for victory resonated with many Italians. Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) and his fascist movement held out the promise that violence within Italy and colonial expansion could together rectify the national sense of humiliation and restore a sense of Italy's greatness.[19]

The history of violence in the various forms it adopted following the First World War is only partly explained in the context of the larger developments such as revolutions, the breakdown of empires and new ideologies such as fascism and communism. Other factors include, for example, the ethnic con-

flicts that arose as new nation states and their borders were established, not only in Central and Eastern Europe but also in Western Europe. There are parallels between Poland (Upper Silesia) and (Northern) Ireland in terms of ethnic differentiation, the focus on 'kin states' – here, Germany and the United Kingdom respectively – and a readiness to engage in conflict, which in the case of Ireland additionally involved a strong confessional connotation.[20]

In many places, violence found fertile soil after 1918; the outcome differed, however, according to how diverse local political cultures had either held back or sharpened the experience of violence during war. Tradition and local structures, it emerged, had a greater effect than did war and revolution.[21]

Four principal factors influenced the way that violence spilled over from the Russian civil war into neighbouring countries: the lack of the state structures that would have provided a set of legal sanctions, the dissolving of the line that had divided the war front from the home front, the virulence of old social and ethnic tensions, and finally the motivational intensity of the new ideology.[22]

From 'Fighting Man' to Civilian

The Continuation of the War in Eastern Europe After 1918

In Eastern Europe, the First World War did not end in the autumn of 1918: it lingered on until 1923 in various armed conflicts, some of which resulted from the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy, the Tsarist Russian Empire and the German Empire. The populations concerned suffered social upheavals to everyday life, but were also involved in struggles for emancipation and aspirations towards national statehood.

In the events that unfolded on the western and southern borders of Russia, it is not helpful to distinguish between military victors and losers. The First World War accelerated the end of the Tsarist Empire and opened up to its populations the possibility of national independence.[23] Western European actors – those involved in the peace negotiations and political observers more generally – often failed to fully appreciate the region's developments, which were complex and sometimes even contradictory.

The violent confrontations in Eastern Europe were often somewhat asymmetrical. Those involved were clearly not simply 'armed nations', i.e. ethnically homogeneous armies. In the 1919-1921 Polish–Soviet Russian war, the Polish General Lucjan Żeligowski (1865-1947) commanded, among other troops, Russian Uhlans, while the Russian side included Polish gunmen.[24] In some places, national confrontations also became intertwined with the Russian civil war, making the situation even more confusing. Wars of different intensities broke out between states, to establish states or to settle border disputes, as did civil wars, armed insurrections, uprisings and local conflicts arising out of established economic, ethnic and religious differences. The nature of a number of these armed conflicts changed over time. As Christoph Mick has shown, a conflict could manifest in a number of different forms.[25] The French intervention forces in southern Russia, for example, were faced with unclear frontlines and demotivated soldiers in their own and in Allied troops, and after a few months they withdrew from the theatre of war via Crimea in April 1919.

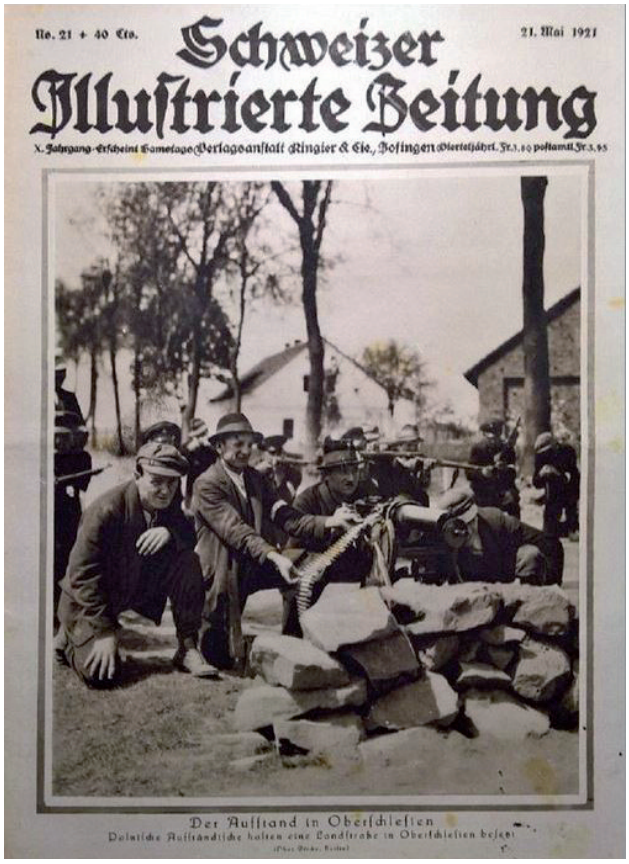


Fig. 6: Polish-German Fighting in Upper Silesia in May 1921.



Fig. 7: Heimkehrer. ‘The Grateful Homeland’. Austrian soldiers in front of a civilian clothing shop. The sign says: ‘For Homecomers’. One soldier says to his comrade: ‘It’s really amazing how the new government takes care of us!’. Caricature, *Muskete*, Vienna, 16 January 1919.

The need for a new territorial order also emerged in the second area of post-imperial collapse: the regions of the former Habsburg Monarchy, including Poland and Romania. National states had emerged in these regions by the end of 1918, but there were persistent doubts about where the new national borders should run, given the multi-ethnic populations. In some regions, the state of uncertainty arising from conflicting territorial claims continued until 1923.

The Soldiers’ Homecoming and the Experience of Reintegration

Millions of soldiers were demobilised at the end of 1918 and during 1919, and the transition from war to peace was made more difficult when they returned home and found that their world was much changed. As part of peace, they were hoping for normality and security. In fact, their post-war experiences varied widely. On the one hand, war veterans were publicly honoured and invited to contribute to the establishment of new states and the new order; at the other extreme, communities and societies that had experienced fundamental changes were discovering new forms of insecurity. These ranged from financial difficulties to continuing violence, exile and the loss of homeland.[26]

All former soldiers felt the difficulty of becoming accustomed to normal civilian life. Sometimes, demobilised soldiers experienced the new and unfamiliar relationships they returned to as a disconcerting lack of order. They could view these changes as either a stroke of luck or a threat. Some felt lucky to be able to help build a new state, and to help secure it from within as well as from the outside world. Many former ‘fighters’, however, sensed that their status was not securely established, in a context where no one was clearly enforcing national order. This threatening situation was aggravated if their war service was poorly recognised, and if they were offered few means, either material or emotional, of reintegrating into post-war society – as was especially true in the defeated nations.

There were millions of returning soldiers; to reintegrate them in such economically uncertain times was problematic, both politically and emotionally. Veterans from the large multi-ethnic empires faced not only the challenge of gaining national public recognition, but also the question, for each individual, of which of the new states was now his homeland.[27] For any soldier who had fought on the ‘wrong’ side, or whose country had suffered especially heavily in the defeat, his return was likely to be marked by caution, or possibly not celebrated at all. Those deeply affected by the war also experienced disillusionment and personal shame, especially those who, instead of returning as heroes, returned sick or disabled by the war. Those whose mental health had

been damaged became a visible problem; both in and beyond medical circles this was soon labelled as 'shell-shock syndrome'.[28]

Demobilised soldiers returning from the front turned to the administrative authorities in their country for support in finding work and for medical care.

In many German cities, soldiers were afforded honour on their return. The years of economic hardship and the collapse of political order, however, stifled any sense of joyful celebration. Although people recognised the military achievements and patriotic deeds of the war, many were also crushed by grief at the senseless sacrifice of so many lives for the sake of the doomed German Empire. Friedrich Ebert, leader of the SPD and subsequently *Reichspräsident*, gave expression to this sense of ambivalence. On 10 December 1918, speaking to returning troops in Berlin, he gave credence to the myth that the German army had not been defeated in battle: 'It was not an enemy who conquered you.' Acknowledging the superior strength of the Allies, he said it was a patriotic 'duty' not to require any more 'pointless victims'.[29]

The myth of the 'stab in the back' had rapidly spread and been accepted in conservative and nationalist circles, but few war veterans believed it in the years immediately following the war. Hundreds of thousands of former soldiers had experienced first-hand the horror of the front and the inescapable truth of defeat.[30]

The consensus shared by veterans and the government was that swift social and political measures were needed on behalf of the 2.7 million disabled by the war.[31] Nevertheless, the narrative of the undefeated army, however, did not disappear, and it became fertile soil for the marginalisation of alleged traitors both in the medium and the long term.[32]

Western Europe's economic hardship and the psychological undermining of men's self-respect were magnified, both politically and psychologically, in East-Central Europe. Most Polish, Czech and Slovak soldiers had fought during the war in the uniform of a country other than the one they now hoped would support them. Disabled war veterans felt all the more aggrieved by their misfortune in that they had not willingly enlisted in the imperial army in which they had served.[33]

The new Polish state established in November 1918 was a country severely damaged by the war, and



Fig. 8: 'For the Country, My Eyes! For Peace, Your Money' (Per la Patria i miei occhi! Per la Pace il vosto denaro). Poster designed by Alfredo Ortelli in 1918.

faced with a set of political, economic, social and military challenges. The vast majority of the returning soldiers had enlisted as subjects of the German, Austrian and Russian Empires, each of which had imposed its own military training. They were now seeking their relatives and looking for work, or even simply for food.[34] The newly established state had inherited three different administrative systems, but it had no established welfare system. During the early post-war years, the institutions responsible for these functions had first to be set up, and the parameters of the required welfare policy had then to be defined, in particular for the war disabled.[35]

The Polish army was swiftly constituted, but the traditions resulting from over a century of partition had clearly left their mark. The personnel had inher-



Fig. 9: A former Austro-Hungarian soldier. Medical mechanical devices for the elbow joint in the Red Cross Hospital after the First World War at Villach, Carinthia.

ited varying patterns of military training, and the units exhibited a wide range of standards in terms of cultural, linguistic and educational achievement and even of literacy, especially among soldiers from the eastern regions of Poland. These differences were exacerbated by the animosity between the leading military figures Józef Piłsudski, Józef Haller and Józef Dowbor-Muśnicki. General Haller, a conservative nationalist, had established his own army in France in 1917, and was an opponent of Piłsudski. General Dowbor-Muśnicki had built his career in the Tsarist army and had then been promoted to commander of the forces of Greater Poland in Poznań. As such, in the name of the regional Supreme People's Council (Naczelna Rada Ludowa) he refused to commit 'his' soldiers to defend the Warsaw government.[36] The army thus had a conflicting heritage and internal political differences, and had experienced military confrontations with many neighbouring states; it also had a highly significant role to play in the establishment of the country whose integrity it guaranteed. Only in 1921, however, was it realistic to describe the Polish army as a unified and coherent conscript army.[37]

Society in the newly formed Czechoslovakia also bore unmistakable signs of the war's effects. Loyalty to Vienna had weakened in wartime, and indeed there had been few signs that the war with Russia was popular among the Czech population.[38] The foundational declaration of Czechoslovakia on 28 October 1918 indicated that the Czech Legion was to be the cornerstone of the future army which, in spite of ill-defined borders and potential future conflict, would guarantee sovereignty and provide defensive power. The Czech Legion had been constituted during the war, bringing under the command of its own officers Czech prisoners of war and deserting Czech soldiers. It included around 11,000 men in France, over 23,000 in Italy and around 75,000 in Russia.[39]

As the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed in the autumn of 1918 and different nations were established in its wake, an urgent question arose: should soldiers in the royal and imperial army be demobilised or should they carry on serving? On the one hand, the catastrophically poor supply lines and the exhaustion from the long war had led to increasing levels of desertion, and on the other hand there were growing demands for the remains of the large Habsburg army to be divided into unified national regiments.[40] The relationship between the soldiers of the former royal and imperial army and those of the much mythologised and idolised Czech Legion, who returned in November 1920, proved difficult. It was therefore crucial to establish a clear military hierarchy that would prove reliable should any of the threatened conflicts with neighbouring states break out.[41]

Notwithstanding the pacifist outlook of the elites in Plzeň and Košice, the newly established states such as Poland and Czechoslovakia made swift moves to build up their national defence forces.[42] Their principal concern was to secure or even extend their territories in any conflict with neighbours to the east. This engendered long-lasting bitterness in their relationships with these states (Hungary, Lithuania, Soviet Russia) and regions (western Ukraine, Carpatho-Ukraine). In January 1919, a Polish advance provoked



Fig. 10: Austro-Hungarian 'Homecomers' from Russian captivity, 1917.

a border conflict with Czechoslovakian troops over the duchy of Cieszyn, which was unusual in that both countries had sent official political representatives to the Versailles peace negotiations as victor nations. An energetic intervention by the French government helped to establish a delicate line of demarcation between the two countries.[43]

The situation in Hungary in 1918 was especially difficult. The territorial status quo was under threat, and there were both economic and social crises; behind all of these lay structural problems that would be neither simple nor quick to resolve. The multi-ethnic structure of the country was reflected, amongst other things, in the discrimination towards non-Magyar population groups. In the autumn of 1918, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs and Romanians had the opportunity to free themselves from Magyar imperialism by attaching themselves to the newly established neighbouring states, who in turn sought to extend their respective territories at Hungary's expense.[44]

The Habsburg Monarchy's symptoms of crisis echoed the situation of the Hungarian soldiers, who were dissatisfied with the supply situation for both the army and their relatives back home. The precarious position of the Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war held in Russia proved another destabilising factor. The cold and the lack of food, together with the carefully guarded status differences, soured relations between the Hungarian officers and the rank-and-file soldiers. As a result, thousands of prisoners of war became receptive to socialist ideas following the Bolsheviks' seizure of power. In March 1918, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk between the Central Powers and the Soviet Russians enabled the return of the first prisoners of war to Hungary. Home at last, many of the returnees were suspected of being Bolsheviks and interned or even sent straight back to the front. When the news of their comrades' woeful welcome reached the hundreds of thousands still in Russia, sympathy for their own government began to wane.[45]

Because of the displacement practice of the royal and imperial army,[46] the Hungarian troops were fighting as one section among others at the Piave front. From the summer of 1918, the increasingly poor quality of the equipment and supplies significantly undermined army morale. In late October, the Hungarian government under Count István Tisza (1861-1918) embarked on a programme towards more independence, in order to reach a separate peace agreement with the Entente and to secure the Hungarian territory to the south and east. This gave rise to insistent calls for Hungarian soldiers to return home. Many obliged, not least in order to escape the heavy battle casualties of northern Italy, yet unaware that new military confrontations awaited them at home.[47]

In Austria, the heartland of the Habsburg Monarchy, the political, territorial and social changes of 1918 deeply unsettled the soldiers and the population as a whole. In early summer that year, most political personalities in Vienna, Budapest and other major localities believed that a reformed version of the Austria-Hungary would somehow survive. On 16 October 1918, Emperor Karl published his so-called 'People's Manifesto', calling for a league of independent nations, but by then matters had developed beyond his control, and the lands of the Crown of St Stephen had already fragmented irretrievably. Austrian soldiers in the imperial and royal army had experienced the centrifugal forces that would destroy the monarchy: worsening supplies in rural areas, strikes, mutinies and desertions, and finally the breaking up of their military units. In November, they returned to an altered homeland; instead of normality and security, they found uncertainty, social want, revolutionary tensions and riots.[48]

Their encounters with the prisoners of war returning from Russia gave an indication of how deep the sense of insecurity ran. The army high command and the War Surveillance Office considered that the POWs had come into such contact with Bolshevism that they were to be seen as a security threat. The returning prisoners were confined in a so-called 're-turnee' camp', subjected to medical examinations and a 'disciplinary re-education', and equipped to return to the front. The returning soldiers, poorly provisioned and humiliated, reacted with resentment and mutinied. The threat of Bolshevism was far greater in the popular imagination than in reality, especially since the Russian Revolution had gained few adherents among the Austrian soldiers.[49]

The months between November 1918 and June 1919 were marked by uncertainty, hunger and attempted uprisings organised by determined left-wing socialists. Austria was looking increasingly like a shrinking small nation heading towards failure. Clever domestic policy under the aegis of social democratic, Austro-Marxist leadership successfully averted disaster. In Vienna, the workers' and soldiers' councils, together with workers in industry, managed to introduce a series of social and political measures securing the newly established republic; some approved the associated image of 'red Vienna', while others were repelled by it.[50]

At the end of the war, Romania gained large territories that had previously belonged to the Habsburgs and to Russia. This was perhaps an unexpected development, after they had joined the war in 1916 on the side of the Entente and suffered several defeats in 1917. The establishment and consolidation of Greater Romania happened across cleavages that had divided not only Romanians from the minority populations – especially Hungarians, Germans, Jews, Ukrainians, and Russians – but also the centralisers of the former empire (Walachia, Moldavia, Dobruja) from the Romanian politicians of Transylvania, Banat, Bukovina and Bessarabia.[51]

Crucially, as the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires collapsed, Romania had at its disposal armed forces ready to fill the power vacuum. As Schmitt has stated: 'The integration – which some might describe as an annexation – of the new territories went somewhat less smoothly than the Romanian master narrative might suggest, and encountered rather more opposition.'[52] The Banat Swabians found integrating into the new state challenging, while the large majority of the Hungarian population rejected them.[53]

The Entente nations valued Romania as an ordered state providing a bulwark against both Bolshevism and the threat of revolution coming from Hungary. In the summer of 1919, Romanian forces, including many Transylvanian Saxons, defeated the Hungarian Soviet Republic and marched into Budapest. It was an act of revenge for the Central Powers' earlier cruel occupation policy, and they relished their triumph over the most significant of



Fig. 11: Freikorps poster calling for the Fights against Bolshevists, Poles, and famine. Hamburg, 1919.

their ethnic and political opponents.[54] It was not until the Western powers voiced a strong warning that the Romanian forces, after some looting, withdrew from Hungary in the autumn of 1919.[55] Following this military defeat, a major overhaul was needed to deal with the territorial gains and the resulting need for integration. The 335,000 war dead were generally commemorated along ethnic lines, and they were raised to the status of heroes.[56]

Paramilitary Groups and the Continuing War

Many conflicts broke out during the years shortly following the war, 1918 to 1923, between military and paramilitary groups; among both the victorious and the defeated nations of Central and Eastern Europe. These arose from local and regional disputes but shared some common features. First, few borders of the new states were clearly defined or marked at the start of 1919. Second, the imperial powers' collapse created a power vacuum that not only exacerbated awareness of the ethnic distinctions between population groups, but also opened up opportunities for nationalist groups and individual governments. Third, the states of many regions no longer exercised a monopoly on power, and others had not yet claimed it; this gave rise to increased paramilitary activity and made the prospect of warlike conflicts inviting. Fourth, once the Russian Revolution and the subsequent civil war had unleashed violence, it gained validation as a political instrument, and this encouraged a spiralling of further violence between political groups and national or ethnic opponents, and called into question the legitimacy of state and regional authority.[57]



Fig. 12: Austrian propaganda poster in Slovenian language: 'Mother, don't vote for Yugoslavia, otherwise I'll have to go to war for King Peter!' (Mama, ne štimajte za Jugoslavijo, kar moram ajnrukat za kralja Petra!) 1 January 1920.

Dissatisfaction with the political and social situation as well as loss of status and of social respect combined to trigger different reactions: on the one hand, guilt was externalised, projected onto the 'other' – including Jews and/or Bolsheviks – and on the other hand there were calls for a strong hand to keep order, for authority that was not dependent on parties and democratic rules.

There were apparent advantages for both sides to using experienced fighting forces organised in paramilitary units: the men could avoid the difficult process of reintegration into civilian life, and indeed gain lucrative pay or even loot, while at the same time retaining their group solidarity and enhanced social respect. It was moreover in every state's political interest to keep the troops in uniform, since the defeated nations needed them to defend their territory, and the victorious nations needed them for defence as well as any attempts at territorial expansion. If necessary, they could also call on the paramilitary units, but the authorities were under no obligation to supply them with pay or any other favours. There was however a risk that the units could set themselves up as warlords and collaborate with their government's enemies to destabilise the state.

In Germany, Austria and Hungary, it was principally former officers and career soldiers who chose to join paramilitary groups, while ordinary soldiers were happier to return to civilian life. In those three countries, it was mainly men from the junior officer ranks, lieutenants and captains, who helped

to develop and took command of the paramilitary groups.[58] In Germany and Austria, volunteer corps (*Freikorps*) emerged at the end of 1918 for the defence of homes and residents; their aim was to defend their homeland from the perceived threat of revolutionary soldiers' councils and from takeover by Bolshevik forces.[59]

In the first half of 1919, the German *Freikorps* became radicalised from their involvement in the government-sanctioned conflicts along the new border with Poland and in the Baltic region. They especially attracted young people, cadets and students, who were all too young to have been affected by the shock of the war of attrition during the First World War.[60] The Reich government also deployed the *Freikorps* in Germany to combat real or alleged revolutionary movements, such as the Munich Soviet Republic of 1919 and the Ruhr Red Army. The German Ministry of the Interior was turning a blind eye to many acts of antirepublican terror and even murder of persons who were suspected as 'left-wing radicals'.[61] Officially, the *Freikorps* were demobilised following the failed Kapp Putsch that they mounted in 1920; thereafter, they constituted themselves as an ultra-right-wing, strictly anti-democratic movement that subsequently contributed to the development of the NSDAP.[62]

In Austria, the People's Defence (*Volkswehr*) were the official armed forces instituted by the social democrats; their high command was faced with the emergence of the right-wing Home Guard (*Heimwehr*), who conducted a guerrilla war against Serb and Slovenian units in Carinthia and Styria in the winter and spring of 1919. The subsequently influential home-defence movement was rooted in this desire to defend the homeland from occupation by foreign troops.[63] The fact that many Slovenes lived in Carinthia was ignored and denied. This gave rise to the persistent myth of a defensive struggle, fed by organisations that were strongly anti-socialist and unashamedly anti-Semitic, and rejected parliamentary democracy. Their worldview was remarkably similar to the *Führer* ideology.[64]

After the declaration of the Soviet Republic in March 1919 in Hungary, paramilitary force played a significant role. The Hungarian government recognised the importance of mobilising effective forces under the command of former royal and imperial

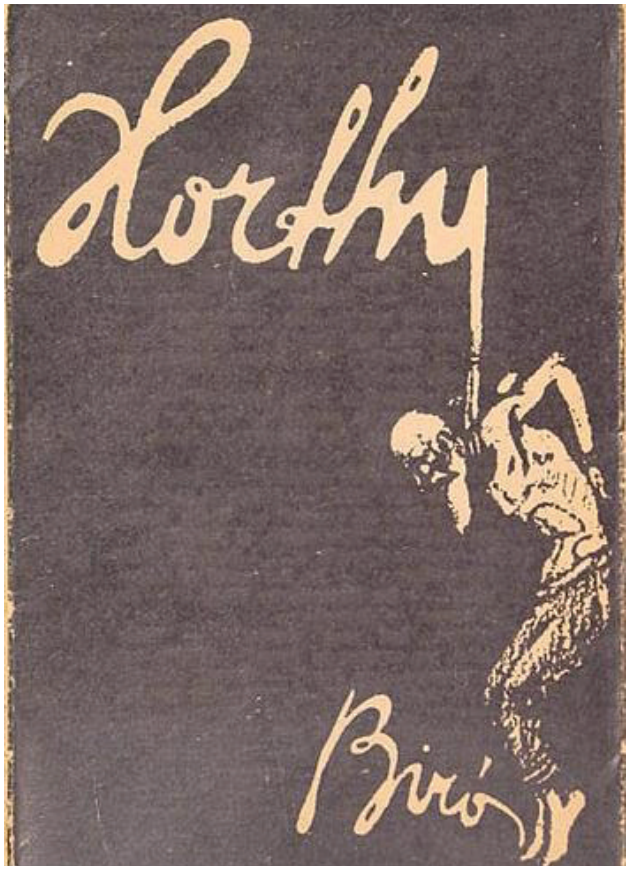


Fig. 13: Postcard by Mihály Biró (1886-1948) criticising the authoritarian right wing government of Miklós Horthy, Vienna 1920.

officers and occasionally making successful advances against the Czechoslovak army.[65] In Hungary, many high-ranking officers and officials with aristocratic backgrounds were imprisoned, taken as hostages and even murdered – between 350 and 1,000 people during the four months of the Soviet Republic. Romanian and Czechoslovak troops, sanctioned by the outcome of the Paris Peace Conference, marched into Hungary in the summer of 1919 and enforced an end to the short-lived experiment of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Many soviet functionaries escaped to Austria and Soviet Russia, but the newly established Hungarian national army of the regent Miklós Horthy, aided by militias, overran the country between August 1920 and the end of 1921 in a wave of anti-Semitic-inspired terror, killing between 1,500 and 5,000 people and imprisoning 75,000 more.[66] Horthy was in sympathy with the militias. Hungary subsequently became a place of refuge for counter-revolutionaries



Fig. 14: Allegory of the Polish Victory in 1920. 'Forward Warsaw!' Painted by Zdzisław Jasiński.

in Europe, and offered those conducting uprisings in Bavaria and Austria somewhere to prepare and retreat to.[67]

In terms of paramilitary violence and the building of a nation, Poland offers a particular case study. The collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy, the Russian civil war and the defeat of Germany dramatically damaged the economic situation and gave rise to both internal and external conflicts; this also, however, presented an opportunity to unify the country and to extend the territory beyond seemingly linguistic borderlines. The Polish government adopted the federation plans of its leader Józef Piłsudski, and was prepared to reckon with the risk that confrontations would emerge between a restored Poland and all its neighbours except Latvia and Romania.[68]

The most significant conflict – and one that threatened the very existence of the Polish state – was in 1919-1921 between Soviet Russia and an alliance of the forces of Poland and Ukrainian units under the command of Symon Petliura (1879-1926). The Polish army was at the time a rather heterogeneous collection of formations, and the fighting ran a chequered course, but the Poles were eventually victorious and gained significant territories to the east.[69] The victory over the Red Army at the 'Miracle on the Vistula' in August 1920 was thereafter promoted by the state, gaining influential mythical status, and was closely linked to Marshal Piłsudski. His political opponents, on the other hand, promoted the site as a religious lieu de mémoire.[70]

In 1919, Poland was engaged in military conflict with Lithuania and the West Ukrainian People's Republic, mainly over the towns of Vilnius and Lwów, and was finding it difficult to bring the fighting to a satisfactory conclusion.[71] These conflicts could be justified on defensive grounds, but neither state was a real threat to the Warsaw government, whereas Soviet Russia was. Following these border conflicts, the Second Polish Republic was marked by a tendency to latent antagonism, and to having a high opinion of its own strength.[72]

Prisoners of War After 1918

The popular images of the history of the First World War and its consequences in Eastern Europe often omit, among other things, any mention of prisoners of war; in reality, millions of soldiers endured war captivity. In the absence of accurate figures, early 21st-century historians estimate that roughly one in ten soldiers mobilised in the First World War ended up as a prisoner of war, so that the total number of men affected must have been between 6.6 million and 8 million.[73] Their treatment depended on the nation holding them and its usual practices, but was also very much at the mercy of how well its supply lines functioned. The binding text establishing the human rights principles regulating the treatment of prisoners of war was the Hague Convention of 18 October 1907.[74] Articles 4-20 of the Annex to the convention



Fig. 15: Romanian war-wounded soldiers in a Hungarian prisoners of war camp, 1918.

regulated the treatment of prisoners of war: it was to be humane. The state holding the prisoners was permitted to use their labour for civilian purposes – on the land, in trade, in industry or in public service – but not for any activities related to military operations. Food supplied to prisoners of war should be of the same quality as that supplied to the nation's own armed forces. It was not permitted to remove private possessions from prisoners of war. Officers were exempt from the requirement to supply labour, and were to be housed separately.

From 1914 onwards, the warring nations all largely disregarded these provisions. Prisoners of war were not only forced to work in defence industries, but also on front line fortifications, digging trenches and other similar duties.[75]

The International Red Cross was charged with overseeing the treatment of prisoners. Every day, it dispatched some 30,000 letters and packages from and to prisoners of war.[76] When the war came to a provisional end with the cease-fire negotiations in November 1918, it was estimated that the British were holding over 300,000 prisoners from opposing armies, the French were holding 350,000, the Austro-Hungarians 900,000, the Russians 2.25 million and the Germans 2.4 million. Among those held in Germany, the highest number were soldiers of the former Russian Empire, followed by the French.

Article 20 of the annex to the Hague Convention specified that '[a]fter the conclusion of peace, the repatriation of prisoners of war shall be carried out as quickly as possible'. In reality, discussions at the Paris peace negotiations lasted for months before they concluded a peace settlement with the former Central Powers: Germany signed the Peace of Versailles on 28 June 1919, Austria the Peace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye on 10 September 1919, Bulgaria the Peace of Neuilly-sur-Seine on 27 November 1919, Hungary the Peace of Trianon on 4 June 1920 and Turkey the Peace of Sèvres on 10 August 1920. Each of these agreements came into force some time later, so that, for example, France did not release its German prisoners of war until January 1920, the effective date of the Peace of Versailles.[77] The French authorities in particular had made the conscious decision to use the labour of German prisoners of



Fig. 16: Stamp of the Czechoslovak Legions in Russia, 1919.

war during the months following the end of hostilities to rebuild the areas and towns destroyed during the fighting.[78]

The changed political realities and relationships in Eastern Europe presented particular challenges for the repatriation of Russian prisoners of war from Germany and Austria, and conversely of German and Austrian prisoners from the former Russian Empire. The last of the Russian prisoners of war did not return to their homes until 1922, and met with insecurity and violence when they did.[79] The Russians had taken German Bohemian folklorist Gustav Jungbauer (1886-1942) prisoner in 1915, though he had later managed to escape. Between 1919 and 1921, the Czechoslovak Red Cross sent him to various prisoner-of-war camps and he worked to free those still held there whose homeland was now in the newly created Czechoslovak Republic.[80]

The great majority of these were German-speaking men: many Czechs and Slovaks who had ended up in prisoner-of-war camps after 1914 had abandoned their loyalty to Austria-Hungary and established their own army to fight with the Tsarist Russian troops against the Central Powers. Even before the founding of the joint Czech and Slovak state, they described themselves as the Czechoslovak Legion.[81] Similar units were established in France and Italy. In the civil war between Red and White Russian units in Russia, the Czechoslovak Legion fought on the side of the Whites during 1917/18. Following their initial success, from the summer of 1918 they were forced further and further east, especially once internal conflicts broke out within the White Russian side. Although Czechoslovakia was not yet a state, the USA acknowledged the Czechoslovak Legion as a fighting power; from September 1918, the Legion withdrew to Siberia. At the start of 1919, three divisions reached Irkutsk, and from there they continued their exodus to Vladivostok. From the port of Vladivostok, Allied ships helped to rescue 67,738 legionnaires between January and September 1920, who were then able to continue their journey and return to Czechoslovakia. From their very beginning, the Czechoslovak Legions were differentiated from the Polish Legions, who had been established as auxiliaries to the royal and imperial army and were later transferred to other military groups.[82] The fact that it had an armed fighting force was a significant factor when an independent Poland was established in 1918.

Although interwar Czechoslovakia and Poland treated the former legionnaires as heroes, in most other cases the situation of former prisoners of war was not an easy one in the societies into which they were repatriated.[83] They were not always included in the national discourse when soldiers were described as patriots ready to sacrifice their lives, nor did they share in the hero status of the war dead and the former fighters at the front; in many cases, they were treated with mistrust and suspicion.[84] Occasionally, however – in Poland, for example – war prisoners were depicted as a particular type of freedom fighter, which gave them a distinct status.[85]



Fig. 17: Russian prisoners of war in Austro-Hungarian captivity at the distribution of food, August 1917

Many prisoners of war had used their incarceration time to extend their skills, for example by learning a new language. The Polish poet Kazimierz Wierzyński (1894-1969), born in Eastern Galicia and a member of the imperial and royal army on the Eastern Front before being made prisoner by Russia in 1915, learnt Russian and made extensive studies in Russian literature. The outbreak of the revolution in the Russian Empire, however, complicated the repatriation of prisoners of war held in Russia, even after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.[86]

Founding States – Successes and Failures

The First World War and the October Revolution led to the collapse of the Russian Empire. This was driven in no small part by the nationalist movements within non-Russian populations who had at last, after the revolution in February 1917, gained the rights of association and of free speech; those living at the empire's periphery made especially effective use of these new rights. Previously ill-defined and uncoordinated national aspirations began to take shape as political programmes that met with varying degrees of success.[87] Differences between the various regions became sharper and somewhat altered after 1917. A number of factors influenced the 'national awakening' in these border areas: national traditions; the size of the nation's territory; the territory's proximity to other powers with expansive foreign policies; the population's ethnic and social-class configuration; and the links to Russia itself in terms of culture, language and religion.[88]

In many cases, the national movements enabled in February 1917 presented both nationalist and social demands; this was especially true of the peasants in



Fig. 18: Political poster, painted by Mikhail Sergeevich Kalmanson, after 1917. Out of the shadows of tsarism into the light of freedom. (lower right section)
Part 1: Rays of light are dawning on the country, stifled by tsarism.
Part 2: The violence of the depraved; The violence of the perpetrators;
The violence of those who bribe their way out of punishment.
Part 3: Son of the black chamber.
Part 4: Arises the people great, free, and powerful!

the non-Russian population groups – by far the largest social group numerically – for whom land ownership was crucial, as Andreas Kappeler has shown.[89] A number of conflicts were provoked when the lower classes of one ethnic group made claims on the territory of another ethnic group. The movements among populations in the western part of the empire that were largely composed of peasants often targeted their demands not at Russian but at Baltic German or Polish elites; Azeri peasants, meanwhile, crossed swords with the Armenian bourgeoisie.

The war was a key factor in the nationalist revolutions on the Russian periphery, even more than in the heart of Russia. The lack of supplies both on the land and at the front combined with general war-weariness to bolster mistrust of central government, and this led to the establishment of a series of nationalist army units.[90] In 1917, the western and southern border regions were moreover current theatres of war but with relatively stable fronts. As before, the Central Powers were leading Poles, Lithuanians, some White Russians, Ukrainians, Latvians and Baltic Germans; German troops' invasion of Riga at the end of August 1917 further increased the number of non-Russian ethnic groups living under German occupation.[91]

The two meetings of the Congress of the Peoples of Russia, held at the end of May in Petrograd and the end of September 1917 in Kiev, expressed growing confidence in opposing the centre. Poles and Finns were not involved. Their ambitions were already aiming beyond the level of autonomy being demanded by those who took part in the Congress. Lenin had postulated the right of nations to self-determination, and this had given wings to the dawning self-awareness of regions at the periphery of the Russian Empire. The Bolsheviks had assumed that non-Russian populations, most of which had an insignificant proportion of proletarians, could only be won over to the revolution with slogans promoting national self-determination.[92]

Lenin had made a realistic assessment of the ethnic and social centrifugal forces that were seeking to destroy the empire, and he hoped to enlist them to promote his own political movement. The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, promulgated on 15 November 1917, strengthened emancipatory nationalism vis-à-vis the chauvinism of Greater Russia that still strongly influenced some leading Bolsheviks. Several non-Russian population groups made full use of their right to self-determination, including of their freedom to declare independence from Russia and establish their own state.

The Bolsheviks had a reservation vis-à-vis the right to self-determination, and one that turned out to be significant: they assumed that population groups engaging in a socialist revolution, far from embracing separatism, would instead choose to join forces with the socialist republic. When they acknowledged in 1917/18 that this had been an illusion, it had far-reaching consequences for the nationalities politics of Soviet Russia.[93]

Tsarist Russia lost any influence it had had in Poland when the military forces of the Central Powers compelled its army to retreat in late summer 1915. In November 1916, the two Central Powers emperors declared the reestablishment of the Polish kingdom, and this altered the situation. Poland's future immediately acquired much greater significance in the context of international diplomacy. The Polish hopes that national independence was now within their grasp were however quickly dashed by the realities of life under German occupation.[94] The provisional Russian government in power after the February Revolution introduced significant liberalisation to their nationalities policy and reinstated Poland's autonomy, but this had little practical effect. Józef Piłsudski (1867-1935) and other interested politicians worked together with the Entente nations and the USA in hope and expectation of achieving national independence. France and the US president Woodrow Wilson in particular spoke out in favour of Polish independence, which indeed became a reality immediately following the military collapse of the Central Powers at the start of November 1918.[95]

At this point, the Soviet Russian government did nothing to prevent Poland from gaining its independence. Indeed, the independence of Finland (which had been achieved in December 1917) and that of Poland can be seen as an early litmus test for the national right to self-determination that Lenin had vehemently defended in the face of the internationalist arguments advanced by Rosa Luxemburg (1871-1919) and other Poland left-wing socialists.[96] Polish independence was later threatened in other ways during the 1919-1921 war between Poland and Soviet Russia, when the Red Army reached the gates of War-



Fig. 19. Marshal Józef Piłsudski with Gabriel Narutowicz who was assassinated by right-wing oppositionist only five days after his election to the first president of the Second Polish Republic in 1922. Image from 10 December 1922.

saw in August 1920. In the changing fortunes of that war, national sentiment was strengthened on both sides: the Russian 'one and undivided' fatherland was defended when the Poles marched on Kiev, and a few months later the Polish fatherland was defended when the Soviet Russian army marched on Warsaw. The conflict played a significant part in bolstering national identities.[97]

Matters developed very differently from Poland in Ukraine, chiefly because of the population's social structure and ethnic composition. Of Ukraine's 17 million inhabitants, 6.5 million belonged to non-Ukrainian minority populations – mainly Russians, Jews and Poles – and only around 6% lived in towns and cities, with Jews and Russians making up a third of the urban population. The social class one would generally expect to constitute the nationalist movement in a nation was exceptionally small.[98]

Matters were further complicated by the three successive identities of the Ukrainian state: on 25 December 1917, the All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets declared the 'Ukrainian People's Republic of the Soviets' in Kharkiv. On 22 January 1918 in Kiev, the Central Rada then proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic, and on 1 November 1918, the Western Ukrainian National Republic was proclaimed in Lwów. This last emerged from the domestically liberal former Austria-Hungary and was the only one able to claim a significantly Ukrainian national movement in terms of both quality and quantity.[99] The Western Ukrainian National Republic was born into military conflict with newly founded Poland and survived only until July 1919, when it suffered military defeat.[100]

Under the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk ('peace for bread'), signed in March 1918, the Central Powers



Fig. 20: Invasion of German units into Kamianets-Podilskyi, Ukraine, spring 1918.

forced the Bolsheviks to abandon their claim over Ukraine. The German and Austro-Hungarian troops safeguarded a semi-functioning Ukrainian state under the authoritarian rule of the conservative Pavlo Skoropadsky (1873-1945), while using Ukraine as a 'breadbasket' for supplies for their own home populations. Western European states had a poor understanding of the complexities of a country with three different foundational declarations. Ukraine moreover lacked effective lobbyists among their exiles who might, for example at the Paris peace negotiations, have explained how matters stood for their country.[101]

The following government of the Ukrainian National Republic, led by Symon Petliura during 1919/20, failed to pull the country's tangled structures together into an effective state that would stand by their Polish allies in the war against Soviet Russia. Most Ukrainian-speaking peasants were mistrustful of any ideas of a nation or a state, preferring to give their allegiance to local or regional warlords (Atamans) who promised to provide bread and at least some degree of security as the Russian civil war escalated. The Bolsheviks offered such support on a wider regional scale, and more reliably than other groups; for historical and cultural reasons, however, they considered Ukraine an integral part of Russia, and they were therefore less inclined to apply the principle of national right to self-determination, which they had initially proclaimed, to the Ukrainians than to other populations.[102] On 18 March 1921, Poland and Soviet Russia signed the Peace of Riga, and this in effect brought Ukrainian independence to an end.[103]

Belarus was under a German protectorate when the Belarusian People's Republic was proclaimed on 25 March 1918, albeit without the agreement of the occupying power. The only national party, the



Fig. 21: Symon Petliura in front of the diverse troops of the Ukrainian Army, Kiev, 1 May 1920 (on the left side in black uniform with a black hat).



Fig. 22: The Belarusian People's Republic Rada (parliament) building, in Minsk 19 February 1918.

Belarusian Socialist Hramada, had a large following among the peasants, who made up over 90% of the Belarusian population. Inspired by the Ukrainian movement, intellectuals and soldiers established the Rada, a Belarusian house of representatives. Belarusian was made the official language, schools were opened and newspapers were published. In general, however, this government was able to achieve little. The socialist parties of the majority Russian and Jewish urban populations were dictating the life of the nation, but they had little support in the rural areas.[104]

The German government was ambivalent towards the new state. Although Germany never officially granted recognition to Belarus, the Berlin delegation endorsed the separation of Belarusian territory from Soviet Russia at the peace negotiations for Brest-Litovsk, and supported the Belarusians' resistance to Poland's plans for territorial encroachment.[105] After the withdrawal of German troops in November 1918, the Belarusian Socialist Soviet Republic was declared on 1 January 1919 and reincorporated into Soviet Russia – a clear sign of the strong support the Bolsheviks enjoyed in Belarus. In the November 1917 elections to the Russian Constituent Assembly, the Bolsheviks gained 63% of the vote in Vitebsk and 51% in Minsk.[106]

The Bolsheviks gained good support among urban and rural workers and among the military in the Baltic states of Latvia and Estonia, with 40% and more of the vote. Most non-Russians, however, did not vote for Russian parties but rather for their own national parties, who were working towards independence from Soviet Russia.[107] This came about as Russia's disintegration continued throughout 1917. Germany made the most of the opportunity to occupy Ukraine and the Baltic provinces, until the treaty of Brest-Litovsk on 3 March 1918 forced the Central Powers to retreat from the areas over which they had taken control. Germany and the Ottoman Empire exploited Russia's weakness to mount a new offensive that among other things led to the occupation of Ukraine and the remaining parts of the Baltic provinces. This deprived the Russian state of a third of its population and a significant proportion of its mining and industrial capacity.[108]

Latvia, like Ukraine, saw three different governments set up on three different occasions when a new state was declared. The socialist government of Pēteris Stučka (1865-1932) was supported by Moscow at the start of 1918, and enjoyed some support among Latvians. The bourgeois government under Prime Minister Kārlis Ulmanis (1877-1942), who was to serve as Latvia's prime minister several times between the wars, relied principally on support from the Allied powers in the First World War, but from time to time enjoyed military support from Germany and Estonia against the 'Latvian Riflemen' and the



Fig. 23: Kārlis Ulmanis, the first Prime Minister of the new Latvian state spent two months floating on the waters near Liepāja; he returned to the harbour on 27 June 1919 after the failed German coup d'état in Latvia.

Red Army. Following the German Baltic minority's military putsch against Ulmanis, there was for a short time – from the end of April until the start of June 1919 – a third government under Andrievs Niedra (1871-1942) as prime minister, which relied on the support of the German military forces that were still present in Latvia.[109]

The bourgeois Latvian government faced many challenges in setting up their new state. For a long time, they had neither money nor the necessary instruments of government, so were forced to work with the German occupation forces and German Baltic associations. By the summer of 1919, however, the relationship had become one of enmity. Representatives of the Jewish, Baltic German and Russian national minorities did not recognise them, and they initially enjoyed little support even among the Latvian population. The landless and the workers who made up a large part of the population were looking to the Bolsheviks for land distribution and the rule of the proletariat. Latvia's independence was not secured until the summer of 1920, thanks to peace accords with the German Reich and Soviet Russia.[110]

The Estonian national state emerged in the face of even stronger involvement by various military forces: especially German paramilitaries, Baltic German units and the White Guards. The United Kingdom offered its support to the Estonian bourgeois government of Konstantin Päts (1874-1956) but was not willing to send its own forces to the Baltic region. According to Article 12 of the Armistice of Compiègne, defeated German troops were to be sent to defend the Estonian state. German forces therefore remained in Estonia and further *Freikorps* soldiers were recruited.[111]

The relationships between the Germans and the Estonians on the ground, and between the German *Freikorps* and the German democratic government of Friedrich Ebert (1871-1925), were at best ambivalent. The German forces in Estonia were on the one hand desperately needed to repel the Red Army and achieve national independence. The Germans, however, had tainted their reputation by behaving exploitatively and narrow-mindedly during their 1918 occupation, arousing unwelcome memories among Estonians of the former rule by the Baltic German aristocracy. During 1919/20, the German *Freikorps*, moreover, behaved more like thugs than soldiers in the northern Baltic. Their anti-democratic ethos increasingly made them a diplomatic liability, and after their return to Germany they became a serious danger in the domestic politics of the Weimar Republic. The route to independence was finally opened up for Estonia on 2 February 1920 by the Treaty of Tartu with Soviet Russia.[112]



Fig. 24: General Rüdiger von der Goltz (left), commander of German *Freikorps* troops, and Pavel Bermondt-Avalov, commander of the so-called West Russian Volunteer Army, before a military parade in 1919. They fought together temporarily against the Red Army, but also against the Latvian government of Kārlis Ulmanis.

The territorially expansive attempts by *Ober Ost*[113] were instigated by the ambition to establish a constitutional monarchy in Lithuania under German patronage. This became a reality when on 16 February 1918, after more than a century under Russian sovereignty, Lithuania was declared an independent state. Duke Wilhelm von Urach (1864-1928) was to be regent, taking the name of the Lithuanian hero Mindaugas II, and he was elected to office by the Lithuanian national council in July 1918. The Württemberg duke, however, never formally assumed the crown.[114]



Fig. 25: Estonian 'fighting men' in the Estonian-Soviet Russian war, 1919.

In the meantime, the situation had changed. On 2 January 1919, Polish defence forces occupied Vilnius, forcing the Lithuanian government to flee. Shortly thereafter, the Red Army and the Lithuanian communists took over the city and proclaimed the Lithuanian-Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic. In the peace treaty between Lithuania and Russia on 12 July 1920, the Soviet government returned Vilnius to the Lithuanian government. On 9 October, the Polish general Lucjan Żeligowski (1865-1947), in a surprise coup during the Polish–Soviet Russian war and in contravention of the Suwałki[115] cease-fire agreement, reclaimed the city for Poland. This reignited the conflict between Poland and Lithuania and poisoned relations between the two countries for the interwar period.[116]



Fig. 26: A delegation of the Council of Lithuania in Berlin after discussing the first appointment of the Cabinet of Ministers with the new German government of Prince Maximilian of Baden. From left sitting: Jonas Staugaitis, Antanas Smetona, Konstantinas Olšauskas, standing: Jokūbas, Šernas, Jurgis Šaulys, Juozas Purickis, Vilius Gaigalas, Martynas Yčas, Augustinas Voldemaras, October 1918.

During 1919/20, Poland and Soviet Russia were not the only areas at war with each other – Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine were also fighting to achieve independent statehood. Of the three neighbouring Baltic states on Russia's western border, only Lithuania was able to achieve independence.[117]

To the south of Russia and especially in Transcaucasia (Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia), the establishment of nation states followed different patterns. The Bolsheviks had very little cultural traction there during 1917/18, as the three major ethnic groups voted for their own parties: the Georgians for the



Fig. 27: Red Army soldiers in Baku, 1 January 1920.

Mensheviks, the Armenians for the Dashnaks and the Azerbaijanis for the Musavat Party and other Muslim groups.[118]

When it was defeated at the end of 1918, Germany was no longer one of the powers present in the area. The region was economically and strategically important as a gateway to Asia and Soviet Russia, Turkey and the United Kingdom continued to tussle for dominance in the area. Between 1918 and 1922, the three Caucasian nations did manage to achieve independence, principally thanks to their persistent political will, but also because the traditional regional powers, Russia and Turkey, were weakened in the immediate post-war period. In the medium term, the three small states remained independent; the territories of Armenia and Azerbaijan were ethnically fragmented, which gave rise to mutual claims and a consequent inability to establish cooperation. [119]

Azerbaijan was independent only briefly, from May 1918 to April 1920, but had no fewer than five different governments in that time. The instability was mainly due to ethnic conflicts, opposition to a failed attempt at land reform by the Armenian bourgeoisie and the oil crisis in Baku. This gave the Bolsheviks the opportunity to present themselves as supporters of the poor Muslim rural population and to appeal to the unemployed among the Muslim and Russian populations.[120]

In February 1920, 70,000 Red Army soldiers marched into Azerbaijan; thanks to the diplomatic agreement between Soviet Russia and Turkey, they met with no serious resistance. When British troops occupied Constantinople in March 1920, the nationalists under Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938) were prepared to agree to the Russians seizing power in the Caucasus in exchange for Moscow's support for their liber-



Fig. 28: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, here in his position as the Turkish defence minister in 1918/19.

ation struggle against the United Kingdom. This enabled Russian armaments to be moved through the Caucasus and on into Turkey. The Red Army, moreover, were for a while able to count on considerable Turkish Muslim support in their invasion of Azerbaijan. The leaders of the Azerbaijani national movement were subsequently imprisoned by the Soviets, and many were executed; Soviet troops also crushed uprisings in Azerbaijan.[121]

The Armenians claimed their right to self-determination and on 28 May 1918 declared the Democratic Republic of Armenia. The Armenian nation, fought over and jeopardised by the 1915/16 genocide, based much of its national identity on its fear and hatred of Turkey. The fact that Soviet Russia was gaining influence on the small country seemed like a lesser evil in comparison. The Dashnaks, the political leaders in Armenia, sought to build an alliance with the Entente powers and in particular with the United Kingdom, which had long been active in the region south and west of the Caspian Sea.[122] The Treaty of Sèvres ensured Armenia's independence, but it never came into force because it was not signed by the USA, where domestic rivals to Wilson were promoting increasing isolationism, and it had not been ratified by Kemal Atatürk's Turkey.

Inspired by nationalistic enthusiasm, Armenia overestimated its own strength and invaded eastern Anatolia at the end of September 1920; in response, the Turks advanced on Yerevan in November 1920. The hoped-for alliance with the United Kingdom came to nothing; first, because Britain preferred to do business with Azerbaijan and its oil wells and, second, because the British government's general policy was to withdraw from Transcaucasia.[123]

The Armenian leadership had laid itself open to an ultimatum from Soviet Russia to cede power to a revolutionary committee, and Red Army forces arrived from Azerbaijan soon after. On 29 November 1920, the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic was declared. The Treaty of Kars, signed on 13 October 1921, divided Armenia between Turkey and Soviet Russia. The Dashnaks entered a coalition with the Bolsheviks, but their Russian 'allies' soon began to persecute them and force them into exile, together with many other Armenian nationalists and intellectuals.[124]

Of the three Caucasian nations, Georgia was most viable as an independent state. The Georgians were very conscious of their own national history and culture. They had a large indigenous educated class, and the Mensheviks provided genuine national leadership. On 26 May 1918, the national assembly declared the Democratic Republic of Georgia independent. During the first six months of independence, Georgia was under the protection first of the German Empire and then of the United Kingdom.[125]

The coalition government consisted of Menshevik social democrats, national democrats and socialist federalists, and was led by Noi Zhordania (1868-1953). It took inspiration from German social democracy, which valued statecraft above social revolution. The government's programme included not only agrarian reform and social legislation, but also took a firm

stand against Bolshevik and separatist movements in Georgia. As a result, they gained strong support from the Georgian population, including in rural areas.[126] The socialist milieus of Western Europe were also supportive of the Georgian program of reform. Karl Kautsky (1854-1938) and Ramsay MacDonald (1866-1937) had visited Georgia in 1920 and had spoken approvingly of their form of government.[127]

The weak point in the Georgian state was the presence of ethnic minorities in the country. The Ossetians and Abkhazians demanded self-government, but the central government in Tbilisi not only turned a deaf ear but interpreted the demands as an arrogant request to be confronted. This provided the Soviet Russian leadership with an opportunity to advance on Noi Zhordania's government. In May 1920, the Bolsheviks in Tbilisi tried to orchestrate a putsch, but it was easily put down by the Georgian army. On 7 May 1920, the Soviet government signed a treaty with Georgia recognising its independence on the grounds of the right to self-determination.[128]



Fig. 29: Armenian volunteers receive blessings from the Catholicos of All Armenians, George V, on the eve of the battle with Ottoman troops, summer 1918.

This recognition did not, however, protect Georgia from invasion by the Red Army in February 1921, when two communist party functionaries leading the military forces were in fact both of Georgian origin: Sergo Konstantinovich Ordzhonikidze (1886-1937)



Fig. 30: Karl Kautsky with the Georgian Social Democrats, Tbilisi, 1920. In the first row: S. Devdariani, Noe Ramishvili, Noe Zhordania, Karl Kautsky and his wife Luise Kautsky, S. Jibladze, R. Arsenidze; in the second row: Kautsky's secretary Paul Olberg, V. Tevzaia, K. Gvarjaladze, K. Sabakhtarashvili, S. Tevzadze, Urushadze, R. Tsintsabadze.



Fig. 31: Georgian Prime Minister Noe Zhordania in 1919.

and Joseph Stalin (1878-1953), who was also the People's Commissar for Nationalities and Commander of the Red Army southern front. Lenin had approved the Red Army's incursion, but he criticised Stalin for his 'rough greater Russian violence', which he said was 'taken from Tsarist methods and only very slightly softened with Soviet oil'.[129]

This highlighted a conflict of objectives in Lenin's beliefs[130] and within the Bolshevik movement in terms of their long-vaunted policy of the right to self-determination. The assumption that the populations of Tsarist Russia would abandon their separatist inclinations and choose to join Russia's socialist republic after the revolution turned out to be a fallacy. It appeared impossible to substitute an internationalist proletarian alternative to the evolution of nation states. At the end of 1922, the territories delineated by their linguistic unity were to be defined and incorporated into a new supranational state, the Union of the Soviet Republics, which was to shaped according to federalist principles.[131]

In practice, the Soviet Union turned out to be a large, potent and yet fragile structure that sought to counter the centrifugal forces exerted by its many ethnic groups not so much by taking a linguistically and culturally federalist approach as through dominance, uniformity and the use of violence. Caught between cultural traditions, national aspirations and the need to match these with capacity and realpolitik, it was only possible for those nations that had a clear and established historic and cultural identity, and could count on political and/or military support from Central and Western Europe, to achieve national independence.

The aspiration, whether realistic or utopian, to establish states was not limited to nations within the territories of the former Russian Empire. There were a number of experimental attempts at state-building in the Danube-Carpathian region in the years following the First World War. Three examples of this were the 'State of Rijeka' (Fiume, November 1918-September 1919); plans to create the 'Hutsul Republic' (November 1918-summer 1919) in the border area



Fig. 32: German caricature of 1921: Soviet Russia and the Socialist Republic of Georgia. The Bolsheviks: 'Halt, surrender, – we love you to bits!', *Der wahre Jakob*, 1921.

between Poland, Slovakia and Hungary; and plans to grant autonomy to the Szeklers within Greater Romania.[132] Some very small geographical areas also made attempts at gaining autonomy. Some of those belonging to the Frisian minority in Schleswig-Holstein, which faced a choice between joining Denmark or Germany, developed the notion of having their own Frisian nation. Until the development of National Socialism, however, this small group was not sufficiently numerous to constitute a majority within the ethnic Frisians.[133]

An Invisible Enemy: The Spanish Influenza

As if the horrors of war, the violence and the anguish of destruction, mutilation and death were not enough; in the final stages of the First World War and the years immediately afterwards a new, invisible, but no less dangerous enemy was added to the mix: the so-called 'Spanish flu'. As we are now aware, the ways the virus spread included via droplets and aerosols, propelled through the air when an infected person coughed, and were absorbed by others. Children, pregnant women, the chronically ill and those suffering from bronchitis were especially vulnerable. In the absence of reliable data from all nations around the world, the total number of those who died from the flu can only be roughly estimated as 'between 20 and 50 million'.[134]

It is now also clear that the Spanish flu did not originate in Spain but was probably brought to Europe by US soldiers coming to join the war in its closing stages. It spread first in France and then through other Western European countries. Countries involved in the war, however, were censuring on military grounds what could be said in the press, so the first news of the devastating outbreak came from neutral Spain. It was this that led to the misleading name of the pandemic, which has since been generally adopted and codified.

Germany suffered around 300,000 fatalities due to the Spanish flu, Austria around 25,000. In the summer of 1918, the pandemic reached the Bohemian states. The comparatively good Bohemian healthcare services reacted by administering pain management, cardiovascular treatments, serum therapy, homeopathy and anti-bacterial preparations. The disease's swift spread was thought to be due to hunger and to

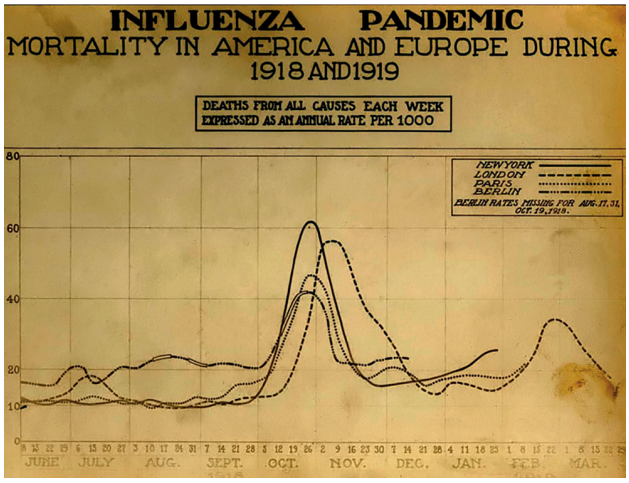


Fig. 33: 'The Spanish Influenza'. Chart showing mortality from the 1918 influenza pandemic in the US and Europe.

the lack of heating fuel in the cities. When the Czechoslovak Republic was proclaimed in the autumn of 1919, large numbers of citizens of the new state were suffering the consequences of the pandemic. The authorities ordered that all schools should be closed, and that everyone should wear coverings over the nose and mouth. Hospital conditions were nevertheless appalling, and the crematoria and burial grounds were overwhelmed by the numbers of dead bodies. Rumours and stories spread widely among the population, claiming that the new illness was a revived version of earlier plagues.[135] Hungary reached the peak infection point in October 1918, when around 100,000 people died as a result of the influenza.[136]

There were three waves of the epidemic in Poland. The peaks happened in December 1918 in the capital Warsaw, and again at the turn of 1919/20. Researchers estimate that Poland suffered between 200,000 and 300,000 deaths from the flu.[137]

The infection probably reached Russia in September 1918, when Allied troops came to the aid of the White Russians. The virus spread rapidly along the railway lines, especially in the west of the country, and cost the lives of more than 450,000 people.

The Spanish flu reached South-Eastern Europe from the north, arriving at the Vltava river and Bessarabia in July 1918. By September 1918, it had also wreaked havoc in the Kingdom of Romania, lead-


Wien: 10 Heller.
Illustrierte
Auswärts 10 Heller.
Kronen Zeitung
Wien, Montag den 2. Dezember 1918.
Die neuesten Telegramme im Blatte.
Der Sarg der Schwester.

Fig. 34: 'Der Sarg der Schwester' (The Sister's Coffin). Two girls burying their sister, dead from the Spanish flu, while their father has still not returned from the front and their mother also suffers from the flu. Title page of the Austrian *Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung*, 2 December 1918.

ing to severe cardiovascular and lung problems. Alexe Sulică (1884-1949), an epidemiologist working in the Transylvanian city of Braşov, provides contemporary observations on the causes, course and consequences of the Spanish flu. In late March 1920, he wrote an article for the *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, in which he explained:

> The miserable conditions that we have experienced for the last six years have naturally played a significant part in creating the particularly strong sensitivity to this illness. The epidemic penetrated a deeply afflicted population that was suffering from deprivations, insecurity and painful experiences of all kinds. Added to these were a lack of nutrition, stress, a lack of good sanitation, and disorientation, and these combined to facilitate the spread of the epidemic, while people were increasingly losing both physical and mental strength.[138]

It is estimated that around half a million inhabitants of South-Eastern Europe lost their lives to the flu. The epidemic's consequences were as severe in neighbouring Serbia as they had been in Romania.[139]

Prominent victims of Spanish flu in Central, East and South-Eastern Europe included the Hungarian writer Margit Kaffka (1880-1918); the artists Jan Autengruber (1887-1920), Gustav Klimt (1862-1918), Bohumil Kubišta (1884-1918) and Egon Schiele (1890-1918); the architect Otto Wagner (1841-1918); the opera singer Čeněk Klaus (1890-1918); the sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920); the Bolshevik Russian General Iakov M. Sverdlov (1885-1919) and the Romanian general Eremia Grigorescu (1863-1919); and Archduke Franz Karl of Austria-Tuscany (1893-1918). Others who suffered with the virus are known to have included Queen Maria of Romania (1875–1938), the writer Franz Kafka (1883-1924) and American President Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924), whose time at the Paris Peace Conference was overshadowed by a period of convalescence. Kafka and Wilson suffered from poor health and were therefore in the 'at-risk' group; when both died in 1924, it was most probably as a delayed consequence of the pandemic. Historians have woefully failed to give a balanced account of the epidemic's significance in terms of the number of deaths caused, but the total exceeded the number of lives lost on all the war fronts combined.

Expectations of France and Great Britain

After 1918, the nations of Eastern Europe had not only to redefine internal relationships within their country but also to find their place within the new world order. International relations were a way of promoting their own prestige and strengthening their own sense of security. The American president Woodrow Wilson served as a shining light for the citizens of many Central European states that had done well out of the Paris peace negotiations. In Czechoslovakia, for example, postcards were sold featuring his portrait alongside that of the first president, Tomáš G. Masaryk (1850-1937). The main station in Prague,



Fig. 35. The unveiling of the Wilson Statue in front of Prague's main railway station on 4 June 1928, commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Czechoslovak Republic.

which had borne the name of Emperor Franz-Joseph [Nádraží císaře Františka Josefa], was renamed 'Wilson Station' [Wilsonovo nádraží] in honour of the American statesman. There were great expectations bound up in these symbolic political acts, but they obscured the fact that although Wilson had been a significant player in reshaping Central Europe at the Paris Peace Conference, he had not been doing so with the explicit political support of the US Congress.

What expectations were there among the Central and South-East European states of the other two great powers among the Allies, the United Kingdom and France?

The relationship between Central Europe and Britain was very one-sided. Masaryk was a great admirer of the traditions of freedom in the history of Britain. He was well acquainted with English literature and culture.[140] Central Europe, however, was for the most part well beyond the mental horizon of large sections of British society. Rather than focus their attention on the nations of East-Central and Eastern Europe, the British preferred the USA or France. There were moreover widespread preconceptions in the Anglo-Saxon world, long predating the First World War, of the 'East' as a cultural backwater, which led to an assumption that Poles, Czechs, Slovaks and Yugoslavs were unlikely to be successful in running their own countries.[141] The book *Balka-*



Fig. 36: While many East European nations saw England and France as their allies and models of modern statehood, many Germans blamed these countries as the destroyers of Central Europe, as in the caricature 'Der Gipfel der Zivilisation' (The Summit of Civilisation) by Arthur Krüger, published on the front page of the German satirical magazine *Der wahre Jacob*, 25 February 1921.



Fig. 37: Fernand Vix as commander of the Allied Military Mission to Budapest in 1919.

nized Europe. A Study in Political Analysis and Reconstruction by the European correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, Paul Scott Mowrer (1887-1971), was published in 1921 and enjoyed great popularity. Not long after the end of the war, major disagreements had surfaced between France and Great Britain. They became apparent at the Washington Conference of 1921-1922, where the matter of reparations was discussed, and the United Kingdom was prepared to make certain concessions to the Central Powers. The British and French also diverged significantly in their opinion of the German–Soviet Treaty of Rapallo and its possible effects on Eastern Europe; where there were far stronger misgivings about the treaty in Paris than in London. In addition, neither Britain nor the USA offered assistance when French and Belgian troops occupied the Ruhr on 11 January 1923 in order forcibly to claim the reparations due to them.[142]

Since the 18th century, France had served as a cultural point of reference for the elites of Eastern Europe. The upper classes of Polish, Hungarian, Czech and Romanian society very much favoured the use of French as the language of the educated. In the 19th century, when Romania was experiencing emancipation, the nation had placed special value on its 'Roman' character, and the linguistic relationship with Italy and France was seen as building a cultural bridge to related peoples. Many Poles and Czechs had come to France during difficult periods of their history seeking political refuge; Romanians, on the other hand, often came to France of their own free will to study and work there. France was one of the victorious Allied nations after the First World War. However, having been one of the main theatres of war it was economically much weakened immediately thereafter because of the extensive destruction in the country's north and east. There were also internal tensions within the Third Republic. These had broken out again after the war's end, limiting the country's capacity to become involved in wider foreign political matters. France had been a strong defender of the interests of Central and South-East European nations at the Paris Peace Conference; in reality, however, its ability to provide effective protection was limited.[143]

Some nations treated certain of the diplomatic measures carried out by the French government with suspicion. Hungary especially disapproved of the sympathy France showed for Czechoslovakia, Romania and the alliance of the Little Entente, and of the sanctioning of the Peace Treaty of Trianon. Budapest, in fact, had been experiencing disillusion since soon after the end of the war: French Lieutenant-Colonel Fernand Vix (1876-1941) led the Entente's military mission in Budapest, and on 20 March 1919 he conveyed in what was later called the 'Vix-note' the decision reached at the Paris Peace Conference on 26 February that Hungary was to withdraw all military forces from its Eastern territories, up to and including Debrecen and Szeged. The measure had originally been intended to obstruct any further incursions by the communists. However, since Romanian troops were then due to advance into the vacated regions, which included Transylvania, there was a not-unreasonable suspicion in Budapest that the move was intended to forestall any future territorial surrender by Romania. Prime Minister Dénes Berikey (1871-1944) and President Mihály Károlyi (1875-1955)



Fig. 38: 'The Polish Victory' (La Victoire Polonaise). The cover portrays a fictional scene which suggests that a large proportion of French officers participated in the Polish forces' victory over the Red Army. General Maxime Weygand, who acted as a French military consultant in Poland in 1920, pointed out that this was inaccurate. *Le Petit Journal*, September 1920.

resigned their positions in protest at the Vix-note, and this opened the way for a provisional seizure of power by the communist Béla Kun (1886-1938) and his social democratic allies. The fact that Romanian troops had marched right into the capital Budapest to bring down the dictatorship left a deep mark on the Hungary's self-confidence; many Hungarians were offended at the partisanship shown by France, especially given the nationality of the Entente officers.[144]

In order to fully understand how things stood between France and Eastern Europe during the interwar period, it is essential not to overlook the economic and financial aspects of their relations. Large French companies made big investments, especially in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania. During the early 1920s, these major capital injections contributed to a measure of economic recovery in the countries concerned. These had previously been weakened due to earlier monetary reforms, inflation and alignment problems between countries that had formerly belonged to different states and had therefore operated under different economic systems.[145]

The expectations of France created internal contradictions within individual countries in Central and Eastern Europe. In the Polish army, General Józef Haller (1873-1960) held a very pro-French position, whereas his opponent Józef Piłsudski (1867-1935) was far more reticent on the matter. In fact, French officers provided military training during the key phase of the establishment the new state of Poland. One such officer was Captain (later General) Charles de Gaulle (1890-1970), who was in Poland from April 1919 to May 1920 and then again from June 1920 to January 1921.

Third section

Postcolonial History

The First World War was not only European in character, nor even simply a war between 'whites'. The sociologist William E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963), a scholar and human rights activist who himself had Afro-American roots, made this observation as early as 1915.[147] He was referring principally to the involvement of soldiers from their respective colonies in the armies of various countries, but also to the conflicts occurring on the continent of Africa, especially in Germany's colonial territories.

Colonial troops were a part of the armies of the Allied nations not only during the First World War but also in various conflicts during the following years in Eastern Europe. In its attempts to force the Ottoman Empire to open the Dardanelles Passage during 1915, the British Empire used units from the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC), who suffered especially heavy losses in the fighting at Gallipoli. The day the troops landed, 25 April 1915, has been a national day of commemoration in Australia and New Zealand (ANZAC day) since 1920.[148] The sense that they had fought to defend the interests of the British Empire fuelled a desire for independence in both countries. Although both nations are still nominally members of the Commonwealth, Australia and New Zealand share the memory of Gallipoli, a battle in the extreme south-east of Europe, as a foundation myth for the building of their respective nations.

France, Great Britain and Belgium all enrolled soldiers from their overseas colonies to take part in regional conflicts that happened after 1918. In the case of the 1923 occupation, France and Belgium temporarily stationed some 20,000 soldiers, mainly from Africa, in the Ruhr, and this was not an isolated example. French soldiers from sub-Saharan Africa were also stationed in the plebiscite regions of Upper Silesia; they were tasked with maintaining order and security during the 'plebiscite battles' between Germans and Poles. Many people projected their own preconceived racial stereotypes onto these soldiers. Their reservations about the 'other' then began to influence their view of the populations of the new states in Eastern Europe. Dr Wilhelm Raab (1895-1969), a doctor born in Vienna who also worked as a caricaturist, drew an image of a Czech legionnaire with a hand grenade and a Black African soldier in French uniform with a bloody knife captioned 'Brutalité, bestialité, égalité'. Under this savage cartoon was printed the following derogatory text: 'One is from Senegal, the other is called Dolezal. In the Rhine region, the Black man is stealing, in Prague and Cheb it's the Czech. Each is promoting the praise, honour and glory of France in his own way.'[149] The image was very widely used and was circulated as a postcard. In a kind of strangely inverted colonialism, the citizens of the newly established Czechoslovakia, together with the German-speaking populations living in the Bohemian states, were represented as being a 'for-

eign occupation' comparable to the French soldiers temporarily occupying the Ruhr.

Both before and after 1918 it was not only the presence of colonial people, but also the ideas of colonialism itself, that were never far away during the conflicts in Eastern Europe. German intellectuals, politicians and officials had discussed notions of superiority and ideas related to colonialism during the German Empire from 1871 onwards, in some cases even earlier.[150] These played a large part in defining the German occupation policies in the conquered regions of Eastern Europe between 1914 and 1918.[151] Following the end of the war, many German soldiers who had served in the former colonies were unable to find a place in the much-reduced military forces of the Weimar Republic, and instead fought with the German *Freikorps* and with other paramilitary fighting units.[152] It is not difficult to imagine that they brought their self-image as a dominant colonial force to the conflicts in which they were involved in Eastern Europe together with their sense of power and superiority over the local Slav and Baltic populations.

From a postcolonial perspective, the national movements towards emancipation following 1918 that drove the reconstitution of old states, the founding of new states and the regional changes among other states can be regarded as anti-colonial. The three empires that had defined Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe – Germany, Russia and Austria-Hungary – had included within their borders countless people who felt that their linguistic, cultural and political identity was under-valued in a multi-ethnic state. The Czech sociologist Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, who later served as president of Czechoslovakia, described in his book *Nová Evropa. Stanovisko slovanské (The New Europe. A Slavic Standpoint)* the imperial German drive for domination in large parts of Europe:

> Pan-Germanism aims at a German, German-led Central Europe, the substance of which is formed by Prussian Germany with Austria-Hungary; this latter empire played in the pan-German scheme only the role of a German colony, a bridge to Asia. Austria-Hungary is the vanguard of pan-Germanism in the Balkans and on toward Turkey. Through Turkey Berlin aims at Asia and Africa. In the West the pan-Germans endeavor to control some neighboring lands, such as Holland, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries, and parts of France and Italy; but the principal concern of pan-Germanism is to keep the control of Austria-Hungary and, through it, of Turkey and of the Balkans.[153]



Fig. 39: Caricature 'Brutalité, bestialité, égalité' (Brutality, Bestiality, Egality) by Wilhelm Raab (1895-1969). Contemporary postcard, which was reproduced in non-German newspapers to demonstrate German racism, for instance in *Videňské noviny* no. 16, 1921.

Masaryk described the emancipation of the 'little people' from imperial domination as the righting of a historical wrong. Furthermore he believed that the creation of the new Central European order after 1918 could also be described as a continental era of decolonialisation. In some of the states emerging from the former empires, the political discourse showed signs of colonial tendencies and aspirations. The moves by the new Polish Republic towards the east from 1918 onwards could, for example, arguably be described as a form of continental colonialism, echoing former early modern Jagellonian policies.[154] There were clear colonial aspects to the Liga Morska i Rzeczna (LMiR) (Maritime and River League), created in 1924, renamed the Liga Morska i Kolonialna (LMK) (Maritime and Colonial League) in 1930: it sought to dispatch Polish ships across the world's oceans and establish Polish settlements overseas.

In the case of Soviet Russia it soon became clear that in spite of the declared support for national self-determination, the communist system's expansion was driven by an impetus of not only political and quasi-missionary, but also inspired by the desire to recreate the imperial structures of the Tsarist Empire. This drive, as it affected the peoples of Central



CENA 40 GR.

MORZE

ORGAN LIGI MORSKIEJ I RZECZNEJ

№ 1. Warszawa, listopad 1924 r. Rok I.

KOMITET REDAKCYJNY STANOWIĄ: KOMANDOR HUGO PISTEL I KOMANDOR CZESŁAW PETELENZ (jako naczelni kierownicy) oraz ANTONI ALEKSANDROWICZ (sport wodny), PIOTR BOMAS (sprawy portowe), RAFAŁ CZECZOTT I WŁADYSŁAW FILANOWICZ (marynarka wojenna), RADOSŁAW KRAJEWSKI (rybactwo), STANISŁAW KRUSZYŃSKI (dział oficjalny L. M. i R.), FELIKS ROSTKOWSKI (marynarka handlowa), ALEKSANDER RYLKE (drogi wodne śródlądowe i technika morska). Adres redakcji i administracji: ul. Elektoralna 2 (gmach Ministerstwa Przemysłu i Handlu), Warszawa. Administracja czynna w dni powszednie od g. 3 do 4 popoł. Redakcja w piątki od 6 do 7 popoł.

Dyon naszych torpedowców na morzu. Fot. W. Filanowicz.

Fig. 40: Front page of the first number of *Morze* (The Sea), the journal of the Polska Liga Morska i Rzeczna (Polish Sea and River League).

Asia and the neighbouring White Russians and Ukrainians, was clearly colonial in character. However after an initial phase in which indigenous peoples were promoted during the 1920s under the policy named 'korenizatsiya' (promoting indigenisation), and again briefly promoted under a new designation a decade later, they were finally overpowered by the domination of the Russian language over other languages, even though the multilingual character of the developing Soviet Union was given politically symbolic prominence.

Another example of continental colonial practice was the annexation of 'German Western Hungary', formerly part of the transleithanian part of Austria-Hungary. The annexation was negotiated by the Austrian delegation in the Treaty of Saint-Germain and confirmed by the Treaty of Trianon and, at the end of 1921, the region became known as federal Burgenland. A further example is Carpatho-Ukraine (Podkarpatská Rus), a region populated by a majority of Ruthenians that had also been part of the Hungarian Empire but had been allocated to the Czechoslovak Republic after the First World War. The officials controlling this region were Czech, and therefore not indigenous or from the Slovak territories that bordered it on the west; in spite of the long distance from Prague, the area thus used Czech as its official language. This measure was justified on the grounds that the many local variants of the Ruthenian language comprised none that was universally recognised as official.[155] Had the Ukrainian language been chosen, it could have given rise to the neighbouring Ukrainian Soviet Republic wishing to take over the region.

Historians have until now failed to acknowledge the full significance of the part played by colonial and postcolonial ideas and actions in the post-war years following 1918. This presents future researchers with a major opportunity, and it will involve letting go of some stereotypes and opinions that have held sway for many years.

Social Democracy – Communism

Public discourse after 1918 was marked not only by the political ideas of liberalism, conservatism, monarchism and fascism, but also and especially by the political spectrum's left-leaning tendencies – which were themselves highly heterogenous. The



Fig. 41: At the founding congress of the Second Socialist International in 1889, May 1st was proclaimed the 'day of struggle of the workers' movement'.

Second [Socialist] International was founded in 1889, on the occasion of the centenary of the French Revolution. It included representatives from socialist parties with differing traditions and characters, whose shared cause was the improvement of the social conditions of workers and labourers and who aimed at political participation in their respective countries. Almost without exception, they claimed to be guided in their activities by Karl Marx's (1818-1883) analysis of social economics and social theory.[156]

This association, which encompassed so many countries, took a stand at the start of the 20th century against the spread of nationalism and the militarisation of European states, and in favour of strengthening the workers' movement. Meanwhile, socialist parties in Western European countries were gradually gaining a foothold in the decision-making



Nr. 308. 34. Jahrg.

5 Pfennig

Vorwärts

Berliner Volksblatt.

Zentralorgan der sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands.

Freitag, den 9. November 1917.

Die Revolution der Bolschewiks.

Lösung der deutschen Krise. — Helfferich entlassen. — Payer Vizekanzler.

Sturz der russischen Regierung.

Diktatur des Proletariats.

Fig. 42: Reaction to the Russian Revolution in *Vorwärts*, the leading newspaper of German Social Democrats, 9 November 1917.

processes of their respective countries. They gained seats in parliaments and in France played a part in government.[157] In Germany, the SPD was represented in the Reichstag, becoming a force to be reckoned with in industrial conurbations. Most regions and countries in East-Central Europe now had socialist or social democratic parties, though they were relatively small in places lacking a major industrial base. In Austria-Hungary, they played a growing part in political life, but remained relatively insignificant. In Tsarist Russia, workers' parties were officially persecuted, so the majority of the activists of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party emigrated to Central and Western Europe.[158]

The beginning of the First World War in the summer of 1914 presented the socialist parties of Europe with a choice between international socialist pacifism and the nationalism of their respective homelands. Even before the outbreak of war, varying national traditions and the differences in social organisation and political participation in individual countries had made it difficult for the Second International to present a united front. When the war began the strong call to ultimate self-sacrifice, exclusive love for one's country and the rejection of the 'other' made it difficult for more than a small number of socialists to give up their emotional ties to their own nation.[159]

The decision on whether to approve war credits split German social democrats between the Majority Social Democratic Party (Mehrheitssozialdemokratie, MSPD) and the Independent Social Democratic Party (Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, USPD), as it was called from April 1917. Socialists in France were facing a similar situation in that they resolved to set aside their internal differences and joined forces with the 'bourgeois' in what they called the Sacred Union (Union Sacrée).[160] In 1914, opinion in the United Kingdom's Labour Party was divided on the question of the war, with the paci-



QUATORZIÈME ANNÉE. — N° 4717. SAMEDI 10 MARS 1917.

l'Humanité

142, Rue Montmartre — PARIS
Télégraphe : HUMANITÉ-PARIS.
Téléphone : GUTENBERG 00-69.

5c JOURNAL SOCIALISTE

Fondateur : JEAN JAURÈS

LA RÉVOLUTION TRIOMPHE EN RUSSIE

L'ancien régime s'écroule sous la poussée de toutes les forces nationales

A NOS FRÈRES DE RUSSIE

Les socialistes français saluent avec enthousiasme la révolution russe.

Comme la Révolution française, elle est l'œuvre du Peuple, du Parlement et de l'Armée.

En prenant résolument sa place parmi les grandes assemblées parlementaires, en renversant l'ancien régime, en libérant les prisonniers politiques, la Douma a réalisé l'unité de la nation russe pour sa défense. Elle a remis aux mains du peuple les destins du pays.

Par ce grand acte, elle affirme que la guerre doit avoir pour conclusion la liberté politique des peuples et l'indépendance des nations.

Puisse cette révolution, qu'ils ont toujours appelée de leurs vœux comme la condition du progrès démocratique et de la paix définitive dans le monde, dicter leur attitude aux prolétariats socialistes d'Allemagne et d'Autriche-Hongrie.

Elle les replace en face de leurs responsabilités.

Les socialistes russes qui ont tant lutté et tant souffert depuis un demi-siècle, se sont associés de tout leur effort à l'œuvre nationale de libération. Ils y ont intimement participé dans le Comité exécutif et dans le gouvernement issu de la Révolution. Ils consacreront toute leur énergie à la défendre et à la développer. Les socialistes français s'en réjouissent passionnément.

En aidant ainsi vers ses destinées nouvelles, la Russie a resserré son alliance avec les démocraties occidentales, et elle est entrée dans le grand mouvement qui entraîne vers le progrès des institutions politiques les peuples d'Europe, d'Amérique et d'Asie et qui prépare la Société des Nations.

Le groupe socialiste au Parlement :

ALDY, AUBRIOT, AURIOL, BARADUAT, BARTHE, BEDOUCE, BERNARD, BETOULLE, BLANC, P. BON, BOUISSON, BOUVERI, ISAACK, BRAS, BRICNIER, BRETIN, BRIQUET, BRIZON.

maintenant enfin mûr aussi dans les faits.

Jusqu'à l'arrivée des heureuses nouvelles — « retardées en transmission » par un excès de prudence et de méfiance — nul certes n'aurait pu croire que l'ancien régime succomberait si rapidement, si facilement.

L'événement a montré que sa force n'était que d'apparence. Un bâtiment vermoulu à la façade trompeuse, qui tombe en poussière au premier choc.

Depuis longtemps, un abîme séparait la Russie et son gouvernement. Le régime se maintenait uniquement par l'illusion qu'il donnait de s'appuyer sur la force matérielle.

Mais l'illusion de la force n'a qu'un temps. Les profiteurs du régime en ont été dupes eux-mêmes. De représailles en représailles, de provocation en provocation, ils ont fini par croire que tout leur était permis, y compris la trahison en temps de guerre...

Les intérêts du pays, les intérêts de la défense nationale ne comptaient pour rien. Leur maintien au pouvoir était la fin suprême qui justifiait tous les moyens, y compris le sabotage de toute activité nécessaire pour assurer la victoire, y compris même des manœuvres en vue d'une

aide, aux sommets du devoir immédiat. Mais, il ne faut pas oublier qu'elle est toute de même sortie d'un coup d'Etat de l'ancien régime, de l'ukase du 3 (16) juin 1907 qui a aboli le suffrage universel.

On peut prévoir à coup sûr que le nouveau régime proclamera, comme don de joyeux avènement, le retour au suffrage universel.

Et d'autres espoirs encore sont permis. La Russie libre se doit à elle-même d'en finir avec toutes les oppressions des « allogènes », dont le despotisme abêtissait avec tant d'obstination, suivant la devise : « Divide et impera ! »

Tous les peuples de Russie vont pouvoir respirer librement et travailler solidairement, avec devoirs et droits égaux, à la prospérité de la patrie commune.

Et l'Europe, le monde civilisé tout entier saluera la Révolution russe, triomphante, qui introduit dans la famille des nations une nouvelle grande force de liberté et de progrès.

B. VILLARD.

LE PREMIER ACTE RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE

Fig. 43: More exulting reaction to the Russian Revolution in *l'Humanité*, the leading newspaper of French Socialists, 9 November 1917.

fist wing led by Ramsay MacDonald (1866-1937) on the one hand and the patriotic wing by Arthur Henderson (1863-1935) on the other. The party did not officially split, however, thanks to its federal nature: in spite of their differences, the various groups worked together in the War Emergency Workers' National Committee.[161]

Representatives from several socialist parties who were opposed to the war met in conference in September 1915 in Zimmerwald and in April 1916 in Kiental, and voiced their dissatisfaction with the policy of 'party truce' that most socialist parties had adopted. In one resolution, they condemned the war credits, and in another they swore total solidarity with the victims of the war. Representatives at the Kiental Conference formulated their determination to engage in revolutionary class warfare. This split in the workers' movement between revolutionaries and reformists was to become a split between communists and social democrats just a few years later.[162]

Reactions to the October Revolution

The Bolshevik seizure of power on 6 and 7 November 1917[163] called into radical question all conventions on traditional policy in both internal and external matters. On the very next day, in an unprecedented move, the 'Decree on Peace' called for Russia's withdrawal from the war with immediate effect, and the country was handed over to the peasants a few days later. Outside Russia, these revolutionary actions were greeted with sympathy and admiration in left-

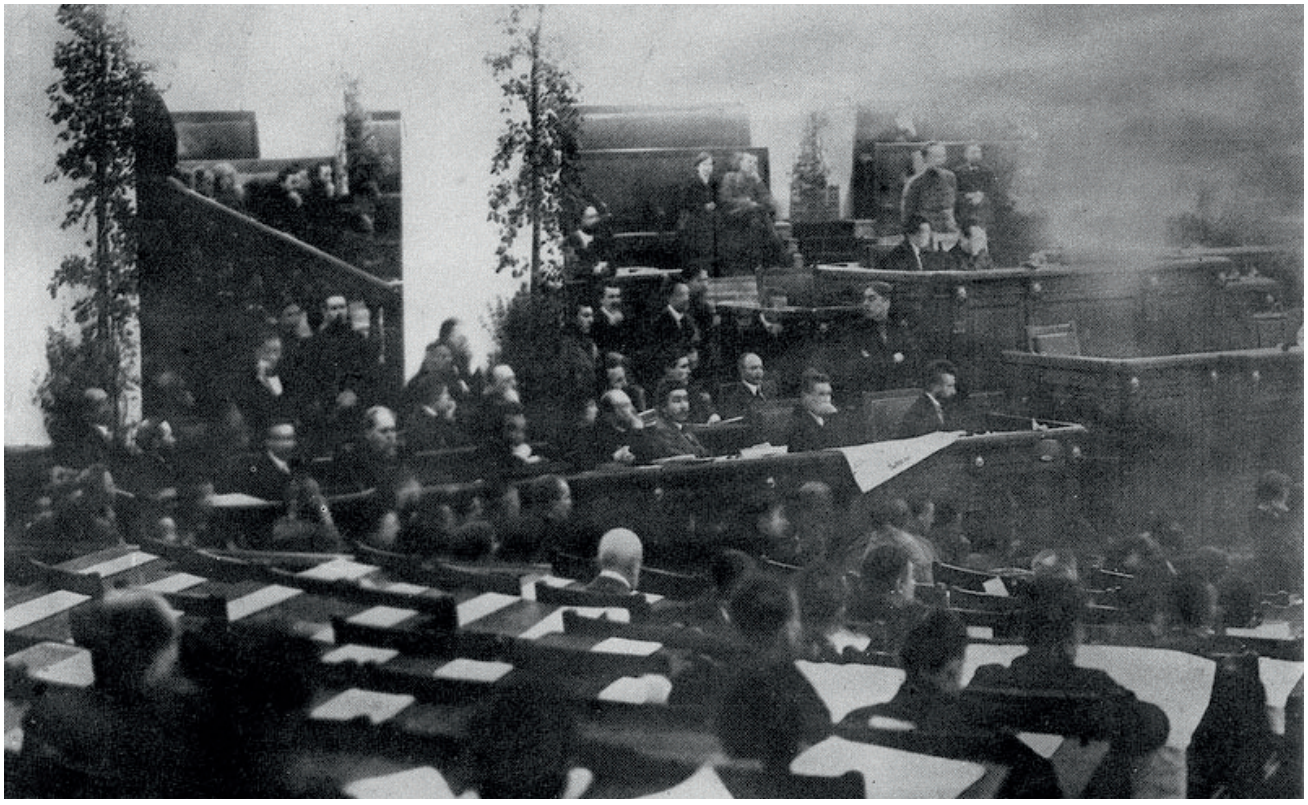


Fig. 44: V.I. Lenin in the box of the Tauride Palace in Petrograd during the session of the Constituent Assembly, 18 January 1918.

leaning circles, and with astonishment and horror among right-wing politicians and soon also among liberals. The Entente governments encouraged these reactions because they were seriously concerned at the loss of Russia's involvement as their ally on the Eastern Front. They were no less surprised when the Bolsheviks managed to hold on to power for longer than a couple of weeks or even months – even the majority of Bolsheviks themselves had hardly expected it.[164]

War-weary members and adherents of socialist parties welcomed the news from the banks of the Neva. This was especially true of the German social democrats, where both wings of the party viewed the Bolsheviks positively. This favourable perception was helped by the earlier enmity with the previous Russian government. In the view of Philipp Scheidemann (1865-1939), an important supporter of the MSPD, the revolution was a step towards freedom; the USPD spokesman Hugo Haase (1863-1919) expressed similar views.[165]

Red October offered a particular challenge to the socialist workers' parties in France, the United Kingdom and Italy in their self-perception and their traditions, as they had supported the International until 1914.[166] In France, both the left and the bourgeois right wing referenced the October Revolution, but events in Russia had less influence in the United Kingdom. The Labour Party, since its inception, had wanted to be a popular party under a social democratic banner. Unlike their French and Italian comrades, they avoided ideologically driven debates and on the whole were happy to follow the pragmatic Russia policies of the government under David Lloyd George (1863-1945).[167]

Socialists in France had undertaken to support the national war effort at the start of the war but had rescinded this support by early September 1917, and the October Revolution and its consequences polarised their numbers. It seemed possible that Russia and the Central Powers might sign a peace treaty that could lead to a prolongation of the war on the West-

ern Front – an appalling prospect for the majority of French workers. However, they were unwilling to support the nationalist and anti-Bolshevik policies of Clemenceau and his new cabinet.[168]

The news from Petrograd divided opinions among members of the Italian Socialist Party (PSI). To most delegates and union representatives, the revolutionary fervour was a red rag to a bull, but they were concerned that the radical Bolshevik drive to achieve peace might bring Austro-Hungarian divisions to the hard-fought Italian front. Revolutionary PSI members, however, saw the Bolsheviks as harbingers of pacifism and of revived Marxism. The theoretician Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) wrote that Lenin had liberated Marxism from its positivistic and naturalistic 'incrustations'.[169]

The Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly: A Litmus Test

When the Bolsheviks violently dissolved the constituent assembly as a constitutional body on 19 January 1918, because they had lost control of the majority, this was experienced as an ideological caesura for the international workers' movement. The dividing line between democracy and dictatorship had been crossed, giving rise to an international problem of deep and immediate significance.[170]

In the eyes of German social democracy, for both the MSPD and the USPD, socialism and democracy were inextricably linked. Majority socialists such as Otto Braun (1872-1955) accused the Bolsheviks of 'putschism' and anarchy.[171] The independents, who counted the theorists Karl Kautsky and Rosa Luxemburg among their number, made different arguments. Kautsky maintained that socialism could only win through democracy, not against it. The proletarian revolution, he asserted, could in the long term only be the revolution of the vast majority if it was in the interests of that majority, not as an armed dictatorship of a minority over the majority. This assertion was in direct contradiction to Marx and led directly to the civil war.[172]

Rosa Luxemburg was keenly aware of the Bolsheviks' delicate position vis-à-vis the peace negotiations for Brest-Litovsk, issues of nationality, and other difficulties, but she was nevertheless critical of their use of force. It is against this background that we can understand her most famous utterance as a left-wing socialist in criticising a self-declared dictatorship by the proletariat: 'Freedom only for the members of the government, only for the members of the party – though they are quite numerous – is no freedom at all. Freedom is always the freedom of the one who thinks differently.'[173]

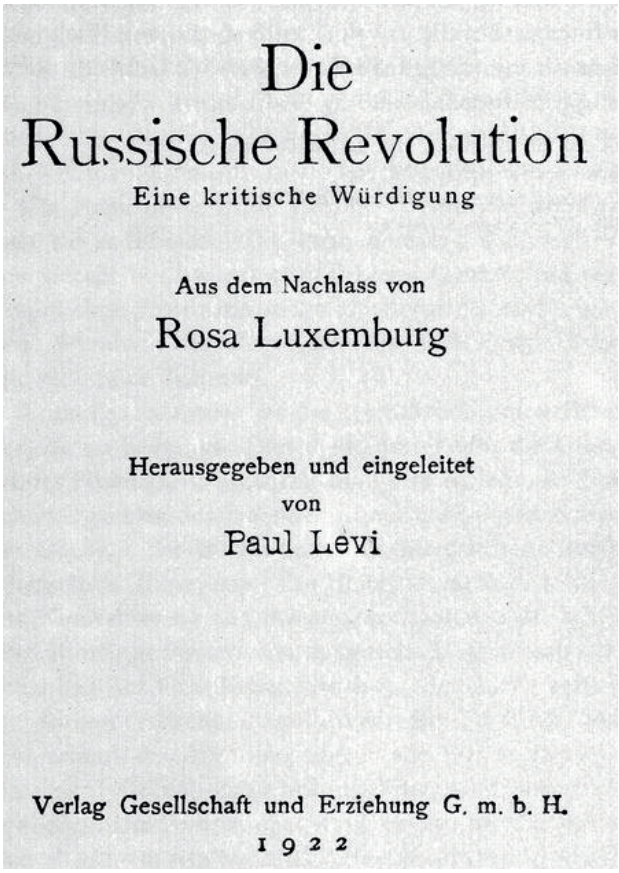

Die
Russische Revolution
Eine kritische Würdigung
Aus dem Nachlass von
Rosa Luxemburg
Herausgegeben und eingeleitet
von
Paul Levi
Verlag Gesellschaft und Erziehung G. m. b. H.
1922

Fig. 45: German edition of Rosa Luxemburg's book *Russian Revolution*, published as a book after her death by Paul Levi in 1922.

In April 1919, the French Section of the Workers' International (SFIO) made an explicit and positive statement on the consequences of the October Revolution, though they included a 'pragmatic' proviso that revolution should not be confused with violence.[174] Among French socialists 1917 revived the idea of revolution, which they closely linked to the storming of the Bastille in 1789 and the Paris Commune of 1871.[175] From 1920 onwards, they faced a strong communist wing within the movement, which two years later would give rise to the French Commu-



Fig. 46: A stamp of the Austro-Marxist Otto Bauer on the 100th anniversary of his birth in 1981.

nist Party (PCF), but unlike many other left-wing parties in Europe the SFIO remained true to traditional Marxism.[176]

In Eastern Europe, the Czech Social Democratic Party became a state-supported party in 1918, fully and unconditionally supportive of the independence of the new Czechoslovakia, but not in favour of revolutionary experiments on the Russian model. When the Communist Party was set up in 1921 as an offshoot of the social democrats, it was inspired by original left-wing socialist ideas rather than the Bolshevik guidelines that aimed to spark off revolution in Central and Western Europe.[177]

The Polish Communist Workers' Party (KPRP) was set up in 1918 and opposed Polish independence. In the war between Poland and Soviet Russia (1919-1921), it took the side of Soviet Russia, thus ensuring its own marginalisation within Polish society. Conversely, the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), on the other hand, pragmatically adopted a position in support of the national state and of Józef Piłsudski during the post-war years, and was thus able to rely on its very broad intellectual base among the nation's cultural milieus.[178]

Developments in the lands of the former Habsburg Monarchy took a different course from their neighbours. The social democrats in Austria developed their own specific 'Austro-Marxist' policies: republican, anti-Habsburg, revolutionary and consistent with the constitution. This complex mix prevented the development of a communist party in Austria where it was the forlorn hope of Otto Bauer (1881-1938), the founder of Austro-Marxism, that his integral form of socialism would provide a basis for the reunification of the two competing Internationals.[179]

It was a significantly different story in Hungary. The Károlyi government resigned in November 1918 in response to the incursion of Czechoslovak, Romanian and Serb troops into Hungarian territory. In the face of dissatisfaction among the wider population and among the returning soldiers, the social democratic and communist parties joined forces in March 1919 to become the Hungarian Socialist Party and declared the Soviet Republic; given their decisive response to the territorial claims of neighbouring countries, this was initially well received even in bourgeois circles.[180] Contrary to the widely circulated 'legally vindicated' claims of the counter-revolutionary government of Miklós Horthy (1868-1957) that subsequently overturned the Soviet Republic,[181] it was not being directed from Moscow.[182]

The Establishment of Communist Parties in 1919 and of the Third International

Under Lenin's leadership, the Third International (the Comintern) was set up in March 1919 in Moscow. The prevailing optimistic mood that followed the October Revolution produced a favourable blend of pacifism, revolution and modern democracy, and provided apparent links to scholarship influenced by Marxism. The new association offered an inviting, unencumbered alternative to the spirit of compromise of the Second International's ideology, as well as to the war policies approved by many of the social democratic parties that had led to the social and psychological destruction suffered by many European countries. Following the years of national narrow-



Fig. 47: Delegates to the Comintern's second congress at the Uritsky Palace in Petrograd, 19 July 1920. Those identifiable are: Lev Karakhan (second from left), Karl Radek (third, smoking), Nikolai Bukharin (fifth), Mikhail Lashevich (seventh, in uniform), Maxim Peshkov (Maxim Gorky's son, behind the column), Maxim Gorky (ninth, shaved), Vladimir Lenin (tenth, hands in pockets), Sergey Zorin (eleventh, with hat), Grigory Zinoviev (thirteenth, hands behind his back), Charles Francis Phillips (pseudonym Jesús Ramírez) (white shirt and tie), Manabendra Nath Roy (jacket and tie), Maria Ulyanova (nineteenth, white blouse), Nicola Bombacci (with beard) and Abram Belenky (with light hat).

mindedness and 'patriotic' demands, many socialists found the prospect of freedom for the working classes under the banner of a worldwide revolution attractive, especially since the revolutionaries in Soviet Russia were inspired by both Marx and Engels.[183]

In those socialist parties where the majority opted to remain in the Second International, polemical disputes about ideology often led to splits and then to the creation of communist parties.

For Moscow, Germany and its sophisticated social democracy was of key importance: Comintern officials widely understood that the world revolution they were expecting and loudly proclaiming could only succeed if it started with Germany, a central European country where the workers' movement had such a strong tradition. The Bolsheviks consequently promoted the independent German social democrats (USPD), especially since the more recently established KPD in its early years followed Rosa Luxemburg in opposing statements emanating from Moscow, and refused to join the Comintern.[184]

A split among the social democrat/socialist groups between those who supported the Third International and those who rejected it was not only an inescapable evil, but was actively encouraged in the case of the USPD and other parties. As Karl Radek (1885-1939) said at the Second Comintern Congress in the spring of 1920, it was right to hound those of timid and weak revolutionary spirit out of the party with a red-hot iron.[185] Those wishing to join the Third



Fig. 48: Bertha von Suttner, portrayed in 1906 by Carl Pietzner.

International had to fulfil 21 conditions, some of them restrictive, and the USPD's resulting break-up was exactly what the Comintern had been intending. Moscow expected that the pure socialists who were fit and ready for revolution would join their cause, but this cost them dear: many European socialists – such as Paul Levi (1883-1930), Boris Souvarine (1895-1984) and Charles Rappoport (1865-1941) – became disillusioned.[186] These and other independent intellectual minds became prominent critics of Soviet Russian communism, yet managed to avoid becoming tainted by the anti-Bolshevik thinking that circulated widely in bourgeois and conservative circles and had quickly developed in the early 1920s into a form of integral nationalist ideology laced with blatant anti-Semitism.[187]

The critics mentioned above were discredited as renegades and pursued. Within a few years the Comintern was disparaging those social democrats who stuck by the Second International as 'social fascists', and this – among other factors – undermined the democratic basis of the Weimar Republic and paved the way for the rise of the National Socialists. It did not take long for the antagonism between social democracy and communism to become so fundamental that their common roots, and the danger from the rising force of National Socialism, were both disastrously disregarded.[188]

The Role of Pacifism

Since long before the First World War, a group of intellectuals in various countries had been supporting a philosophy that opposed military confrontations on principle and campaigned for peaceful solutions to disagreements. They held this ethical position on the grounds of humanistic, religious or political conviction, and those whose position was political ranging from bourgeois to left-wing revolutionaries and anarchists. Those described as pacifists thus expressed a huge variety of opinions.

People such as the Austrian peace activist Bertha von Suttner (1843-1914), who had written the novel *Lay Down Your Arms (Die Waffen nieder!)*; fellow Austrian and writer Alfred Hermann Fried (1864-1921); the Russian novelist Lev N. Tolstoy (1828-1910); the Alsatian theologian and doctor Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965); the left-wing German writer Kurt Tucholsky (1890-1935); the Scottish Labour politician Ramsay MacDonald (1866-1937); the French socialist Édouard Herriot (1872-1957) – these all held very varied social and world views, but were united in their strongly held principle of peace.

The experience of world war served as a catalyst to those who held both nationalist and pacifist convictions. The veteran organisations the Fédération interalliée des anciens combattants (FIDAC, Interallied Federation of War Veterans) and the Conférence Internationale des associations de mutilés de guerre et anciens combattants (CIAMAC, International conference of associations of war disabled and veterans) had considerable influence on the issues of military and moral disarmament among former soldiers. Among campaigning veterans in Eastern Europe, memories of suffering and deprivation sustained the pacifist cause; pacifists distanced themselves from militarism and expressed their support for international cooperation, for example under the aegis of



Fig. 49: Anti-war demonstration of SPD and USPD on the Schlossplatz in Berlin, 31 July 1921.

the League of Nations, as part of a proactive peace movement.[189]

In May 1920, the International Congress of War Wounded met in Tours; participants attended from France, Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy, Austria and Belgium. There were no veterans present from Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic states or Soviet Russia. These countries were involved in wars over disputed borders and to establish new states, and moreover they set little store by matters to do with wellbeing and pensions. From the mid-1920s, however, veterans from these East-Central European countries began to take an active part in the pacifist work of the FIDAC, the CIAMAC and the International Congress of War Wounded. The Poles were reluctant to reject violence fully; aware of Germany's widespread revisionism of borders, and of the need to ensure that their country could defend itself, they promoted a defensive pacifism.

In the nations of Eastern Europe, the political implications of developing pacifism were very different from those in Western Europe. Those who expressed their pacifist views in public were to a large extent adherents of various Christian confessions. They were even isolated within their churches, of which many were more or less official state churches and therefore supportive of the military policies of the country concerned. Pacifism also enjoyed a significantly lower level of support among the intellectual elite in Eastern Europe than it did, for example, in Germany or in France.[191] The Polish writer Józef Wittlin, mentioned above, had experienced the First World War as a young man; he expressed his criticism of war in numerous essays and poems, and especially in his novel *Sól ziemi* 1935 (published in English translation as *The Salt of the Earth* in 1939). It was surely no coincidence that the historian Stanisław Estreicher (1869-1939) wrote about the love of peace in Poland



Fig. 50: French pacifist film 'J'accuse', directed by Abel Gance, France 1919.

in early modern times, but in his contemporary context of the military cult of the year 1930.[192]

Even in Czechoslovakia, where the leading politicians engaged conceptually with the idea of the new peace order in Europe that was an essential safeguard for their country, realistic expectations predominated in day-to-day decisions. The foreign minister Edvard Beneš (1884-1948) worked together with the League of Nations to design a security system that relied on arbitration and support agreements.[193] In Romania, the concept of pacifism was associated only with well-known individuals. One of these was the artist Octav Băncilă (1872-1944), who worked at the Academy in Iaşi. His socialist views influenced his choice of artistic subjects: the war, social injustice and the anti-Semitism that was endemic to Romanian society. Generally speaking, pacifism in Eastern Europe was found only among marginal groups and those who espoused left-wing politics, and it never gained the status of a mass movement.

In the immediate post-war years, there was a widespread sense of war-weariness in Germany, including among intellectual circles. It did not, however, evolve into a larger political movement. The journalist Carl von Ossietzky (1889-1938), who described himself as a pacifist, complained about this and wrote in a disenchanted essay on 4 October 1924 that German pacifism was 'always illusory, raving, obsessed by attitude, suspicious of the means used in politics, and suspicious of leaders who made use of these means'.[194] It was, he wrote, 'a world view, a religion, a dogma', and was therefore significantly different from the pacifism practiced in other countries.

In countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary and Romania, and indeed in the early USSR, it became especially popular to learn and speak Esperanto, a language devised by the Polish Jewish doctor Ludwik Lazar Zamenhof (1859-1917) in the year 1887.[195] Zamenhof, inspired by a utopian vision in which all peoples understood each other, had created Esperanto to serve as an international language that would serve to create and preserve peace. Esperanto was most widely spoken during the 1920s, yet even then, Esperantists were unable to promote their language sufficiently as a serious competitor to French and English, which were spoken across the world. The Esperantist conference in Prague in 1921 and the setting up of an Esperanto museum in the Vienna Hofburg in 1927 were also unable to raise the language's profile as much as they had hoped.

Revisionism

One of the greatest threats to peace in Eastern Europe arose from a particular form of political revisionism that consisted in querying the provisions of the Paris Peace Conference and calling them into question. The term 'revisionism' is used here to describe a tendency to interrogate a particular situation and to seek to re-examine it. Patterns of thought and interpretation can, for example, be reinvestigated in terms of philosophy, historiography or sociology. In the context of the history of Eastern, East-Central and South-Eastern Europe in the years immediately following the First World War, revisionism was a political endeavour to invalidate established agreements (treaty revisionism) and/or to reverse territorial losses (territorial revisionism). The countries most concerned in such practices during the interwar years were the former Central Powers: Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria.

The Entente nations stipulated that the German Empire should cede territory to Poland (the Poznań region, West Prussia, Eastern Upper Silesia and some smaller portions of Lower Silesia), Czechoslovakia (Hlučín), France (Alsace-Lorraine), Belgium (Eupen and Malmédy) and Denmark (Northern Schleswig). The Treaty of Saint-Germain forced Austria to cede South Tirol and the Val Canale to Italy; and Lower Styria, the Mieß (Meža) river valley south of the Karawanks mountain range to the kingdom of the



Fig. 51: 'Die Zerstückelung Deutschlands' (Germany's Amputation), a map published by the Gea Verlag in Berlin in 1919 during the Paris Peace Conference, showing Germany's territorial and economic losses.

Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Politicians during the Italian Risorgimento had already tried, in the second half of the 19th century, to incorporate into the Italian kingdom territory as far north as the Brenner. As one of the victor nations in the First World War, Italy succeeded in forcing Austria to make the concession at the Paris Peace Conference. The territorial cession to Italy included the parts of Tyrol south of the main alpine ridges, including Bolzano, Bressanone and Merano. The description 'South Tyrol' has only been in general use since that time. The other description of the area was 'Oberetsch', the equivalent to the Italian 'Alto Adige', itself derived from the French 'Département du Haut-Adige' that had existed between 1810 and 1813. Austria retained its claim over South Tyrol, arguing that the majority of the area's population spoke German as their mother tongue.[196]

The Entente powers were especially hard on Hungary, as part of the Habsburg Empire, for its participation in the war on the side of the Central Powers. In military confrontations with Serb, Croat, Czechoslovakian and Romanian units during 1918/19, Hungary

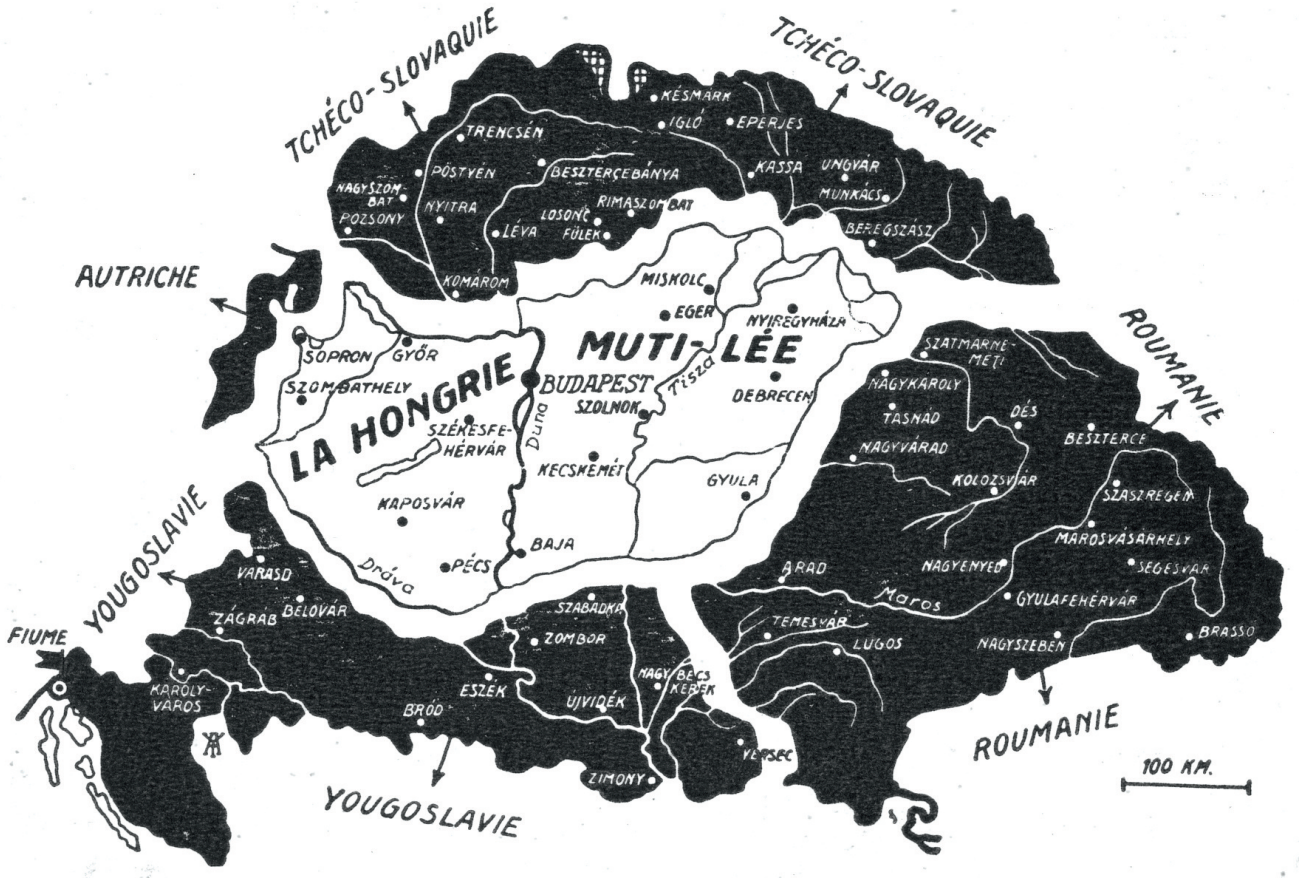


Fig. 52: 'La Hongie mutilée' (Mutilated Hungary), Propaganda map published after the Trianon Treaty, illustrating the lost Hungarian territories.

had already de facto lost more than two-thirds of its original territory. The peace agreements at Trianon on 4 June 1920 in effect confirmed the status quo, with the exception of Burgenland, which was to be ceded to the Republic of Austria in 1921.

Bulgaria was required by the Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine to cede Northern Thrace to the Entente (and subsequently to Greece) and the regions around Caribrod, Bosilegrad and Strumica to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; the treaty also confirmed that Southern Dobruja was to be returned to Romania.[197]

These territorial changes all had long-term demographic, human and psychological implications, and this in turn provoked attempts at revisionism. The methods used to underpin these revisionist efforts ranged from diplomatic negotiations through to persuasive propaganda, territorial claims, paramilitary action and military threats. A country making such claims often had to start by convincing its own population of the need to make the claim. Private individuals and national figures alike used media such as political speeches, books, leaflets, postcards, films and large display maps to convince those both in the country and abroad of their cause. Following 1918, the government used local folklore associations and scholarly institutes in the German Reich as significant political tools, as their actions would not be seen as officially representing the state, even though they might receive governmental support. Two such organisations were the German Foreign Institute (Deutsches Ausland-Institut, DAI), founded in Stuttgart in 1917, and the newly created Stiftung für deutsche Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung (a foundation for research into German folklore and cultural lands) in Leipzig; the Association for Germanness

Abroad (Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland, VDA) and the Deutscher Schutzbund für das Grenz- und Auslanddeutschtum (a German defence league for Germans moved from borderlands and other nations, DSB) encouraged revisionist aims among many population groups. In 1925, the geographer Albrecht Penck (1858-1945) developed a map of 'German settlement and cultural lands', in which he identified many areas that had never belonged to Germany even before the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. The map, and the intention behind it, revealed the desire for an outright revision and was the harbinger of future expansionist aims.[198]

In Austria, the League of Sudeten Germans (Sudetendeutscher Heimatbund, SHB) and the Southern March Association (Verein Südmark) were influential as ethnic community groups. Both maintained close links with similar organisations in Germany. The idea of reuniting 'German Austria' with Germany had been broached in 1918, but it was rejected by the Allies as well as Prussian German politicians and wide sections of Austrian society, who feared that they would be diminished as an appendix of the German Reich.

In Hungary, the government declared territorial revisionism a key principle of official policy. Magyar flags stood at half-mast until 1938, and school children had to pray daily before the start of lessons for their nation's rebirth. The geographer Pál Teleki (1879-1941), the acting prime minister, referred to a suggestive ethnic map – the 'carte rouge' – in which the bright red colour used to indicate the distribution of Hungarians in the Danube and Carpathian region made them far more prominent than members of other ethnic groups in the area.[199] Any revisionist claims Hungary made, however, stayed within the bounds of the areas that had belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary before 1918.

The Bulgarians found it hard to get over the loss of Southern Dobruja, which included the two districts of Durostor and Kaliakra and the Black Sea coast near Kap Kaliakra and Balčik so beloved by artists. Bulgarian authorities engaged in lively propaganda activity in support of the allegedly 'ancient' Bulgarian claim to the region. Paramilitary units were active in Southern Dobruja in the 1920s, mainly terrorising Romanian residents and offices in the area, and these caused particular concern.

The political rhetoric in the affected areas was infused with a range of nostalgic, historical and economic arguments as the situation required, drawing on biological and medical imagery of 'mutilation', 'amputation' and 'viability' to support them. From the 1920s onwards, English Labour politicians such as David Lloyd George (1863–1945) were increasingly inclined to support the claims for revision, whereas France was one of the least inclined nations to do so. Revisionism ultimately paved the way for the violent reordering of Europe during the 1930s: the return of the Saar in 1935, the occupation of the demilitarised Rhineland in 1936, the Austrian Anschluss, the Munich Agreement and the First Vienna Award in 1938, the occupation of the Memel region and of the remaining parts of Czechoslovakia in 1939 – and, as a consequence, the outbreak of the Second World War.

Modernisation

What people understand by 'modernisation' is inconsistent, fluid and at times contradictory due to the number of, often divergent, attempts to define the essential nature of the process of 'modernising' societies. They have thus far produced a great deal of literature, which cannot be adequately cited at this point due to the diversity of formulated research proposals. Max Weber's classic proposition, which often serves as a reference point for ruminations on modernity, is inherently complex. It simultaneously emphasises the primacy of the rationalisation of the human place in the world, crucial for European modernity and the way in which human activities are undertaken within it, and also the specificity of the Protestant ethic.[200] The way in which modernisation is defined is also influenced by differing assessments of its impact. Some envision modernity as an era in which human societies aim to democratically organise the framework in which they function, where technical and scientific progress removes the obstacles to development. Others, however, emphasise the dark side of modernisation – a break with traditional values, the loss of sources of identity, the excessive influence of technology and the dehumanising effect of rationalisation on the lives of individuals and human communities. Regardless of these differences, as Charles Taylor, a key theorist of modernity, has pointed out, it is still vital to distinguish between see-



Fig. 53: Painting 'Iron and Coal' by William Bell Scott, 1855-1860.

ing modernisation as a process that in effect creates different civilisations with their own specific cultures: from regarding it as a process of change which, in any culture is always characterised by increasing secularisation of the prevailing worldview, by domination of instrumental reason and by an increase in scientific awareness.[201] In the former case, one thinks of the pluralism of various forms of human civilisation, among which European modernity is only one of many, with a specific culture understood as a regulatory system. In the latter, the focus is on the cultural neutrality of the modernisation process leading to a modern model, regardless of the cultural specificity of the community subject to modern development.

The main purpose of this publication is to describe the reality of Europe after the First World War, so we will omit here more detailed deliberations on the nature of modernisation, its sources and the impulses that trigger and sustain it. The transformation of a traditional agricultural society into an urban society experiencing industrialisation is complex. In determining the way of life of individuals and communities, we are therefore assuming that post-war modernisation was a continuation of the complex modernisation process of the 19th century. It consisted of an entire range of interconnected and interacting phenomena: industrialisation, technical progress, social mobility (migration for work, development of public transport), the development of communication systems (post, radio, telegraph), the development of soft economic infrastructure (technology and the logistics of financial transactions), growth of urbanisation, transformation of the family and the roles of its members, as well as social emancipation, which now casts social contrasts and tensions in a different light. In the cultural realm, on the other hand, the dynamic relationship between science and religion shaped modernisation's main front, bringing about clear progress in secularisation, but also a seemingly paradoxical intensification of theological debate and the search for ways of satisfying spiritual needs as an alternative to traditional religions.[202]

Economic and political liberalism, usually considered a manifestation of modernisation, did not always coincide in political theory and practice, and the relationship between them varied among European countries. This obviously increased tensions between traditional power structures and the economic activity of individuals and social groups. At the same time, it entailed a reshuffling of the social structure, especially given the rapid development of the bourgeoisie and its importance to the power structure. Intellectual perspectives of these reshuffles were, in turn, formed by the simultaneous development of various conflicting and interrelated political ideologies: conservatism, nationalism and socialism.

Describing the modernisation process in such general terms makes it possible to investigate the nature of the changes that determined its shape during the war and in the post-war period. As for the progress of political and economic modernisation in post-war Europe, the expected democratic revolution, as Norman Davies put it, proved to be an illusion, and technological and economic acceleration was severely hampered by the economic crisis at the end of the 1920s.[203] As Davies recalls, although the number of European republics increased from three before 1914 to sixteen after the end of the war, most of them soon repealed or abolished democratic principles in various ways.[204] The war was obviously an important impulse for the development of military technology. For example, the first tank was constructed in 1916, the first liquid fuel rocket in 1926 and an aircraft turbojet engine in 1930. However, there was also technologi-

cal progress in many other areas after the war: the electric refrigerator appeared in 1917, the wristwatch in 1919, BBC radio in 1922, the small format camera (the 35 mm Leica, for example) in 1925, experimental television in 1926, the use of penicillin in 1928, and in 1931 the electron microscope enabled people to see previously unknown aspects of reality.

Europe's industrialisation nevertheless followed an irregular course, with a growing chasm in post-war years between industrialised and rural areas throughout the entire continent, and particularly in some specific countries. At times, the divisions deepened: Italy, for example, had an economically developed modern north and poor south. Moreover, the post-war recession caused high unemployment, which vitally affected the newly formed post-war republics that had an agricultural rather than an industrial profile, and faced tension between retained elements of an economic structure inherited from the past and the dynamic conferred by a new geography and the global economy. For example, the loss of the Russian market due to the revolution and the appearance of a border between independent Poland and Russia led to a 75% loss of production at the thriving textile centre in Łódź which, before the war, had been within the former Russian partition.[205]

However, the most important feature of post-war modernisation – in the widest sense, including political, social, economic and cultural phenomena – was the culmination in the years between the start of the war and the mid-1930s of criticism of the course of modernisation and its effects, which had been increasing over several decades. Modernisation processes had come to be perceived and described in terms of demise and degeneration in all its aspects: physical, social and spiritual. As Roger Griffin states, calls were made within the broad discourse at that time not only to reverse the negative consequences of modernisation, but also to shed its Enlightenment roots that degraded the environment of the individual, depleting him of vital strength and depriving him of physical and spiritual health.[206] There was a simultaneous proliferation of projects and ideological, political and social movements whose main motto was to regenerate degraded reality and fallen humanity.

The term 'regeneration' itself can, in some sense, be considered a key word to define this specific mod-



Fig. 54: Leica Model Ia, produced 1925-1936.

ernisation formula, which Griffin termed modernism, and covering a very diverse and broad front of regenerative projects and activities, including artistic ones. Their main goal, however, was not historical regression or rejection of modernity in general with its technological progress, scientific development and egalitarian tendencies in transforming society. On the contrary, as probably the most characteristic feature of Griffin's concept, those who advocated regeneration on many fronts sought to create a new version of modernity devoid of the flaws of its initial post-Enlightenment wave: to create a modernised world that was healthier, fairer and more rational. Perhaps, above all, they attempted to create a 'New Man', a more perfect embodiment, both intellectually and spiritually, who was both subject and object of an efficient social organisation. The time of the First World War particularly increased the sense that a re-generational cure for the world was needed, because this was a liminal and transitional time. It was experienced as a period of spiritual chaos that should be overcome in a new way, because religion was being called into question as the world's foundation.

Negative assessment of the first wave of modernity and its effects produced another consequence crucial to understanding the dynamics of modernism, namely the regenerators' specific attitude toward time and tradition. Contrary to popular belief, modernisers of the world and in art did not reject the past as such, but rather focused on what was to come. Criticism, in its most intense form, was levelled at the most recent past (even if it meant the Renaissance

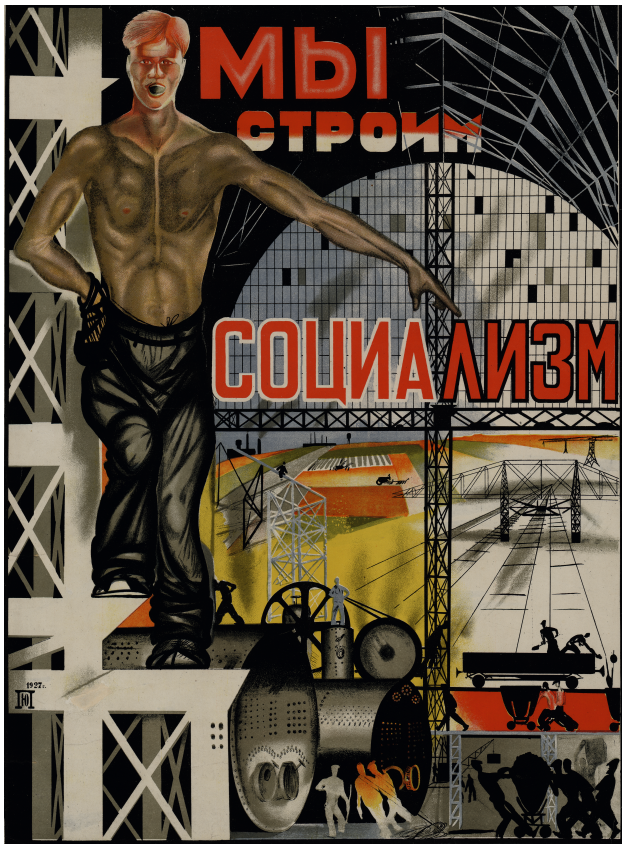


Fig. 55: A futuristic poster: 'We are building socialism', painted by Yuri Ivanovich Pimenov, 1927.

era). In fact, regeneration-oriented reformers directed their attentions toward a distant past in which they sought sources of regenerative energy in the form of forgotten patterns, principles and values that they intended to discover, extract and, very significantly, adapt and build a better version of the modern world. Accordingly, modernists considered the past to be crucial for building the future. This aspect of modernist thought thus makes it possible to understand the role (and importance) that the reformers' understanding of primeval [primordial] societies, the imaginary worlds of primitive and folk culture, as well as assumptions on the nature of childish creativity played in their projects.

In the sphere of art, the nature, scope and degree of radicalisation that artists undertook in response to the multifaceted call for regeneration can adequately be called 'modernism'.[207] Such an understanding of modernism would, naturally be diverse given the variety of regenerative ideologies, political orientations and social initiatives that artists chose to associate themselves with, and the intensity of this association: the various forms of poetry and the styles they chose; what aspects of tradition they accepted or negated; and how they expressed and attained their artistic objectives. However, artists were always concerned with the need, conceived in re-generational categories – to renew society, people and their environment. Artistic modernism, in this sense, is thus an element of a broader re-generational front of countless renewal initiatives, a collection of social movements focusing on various forms of art interspersed with other non-artistic social initiatives. Obviously, the multifaceted European reform movement comprised of a vast number of reform campaigns is not the same as modernism according to Griffin. However, there is no doubt that this movement increasingly stridently referred to the positive and negative effects of civilisational development over time in the post-war period, and began to be influenced by various progressive political ideologies, national ideas, and achievements in many areas of contemporary science. The latter frequently assumed orderly organisational forms; these were then often institutionalised by state agendas and implemented via systemic social reconstruction instruments such as cooperatives.

Griffin's interpretative perspective also allows us to see variants of modernisation arising from the incredibly radical intensity of many of its intertwined aspects: rejection of a metaphysical basis, logistic rationalisation, conviction of the need for a regenerative mission, and utopian projects organising social reality within a properly ordered space prepared to welcome a 'New Man'. From this standpoint, the most radical experiments of planned modernisation in history were the revolutionary Soviet political and social reconstruction of the country as well as the Nazi and fascist revolt: both, in some aspects, equally as radical as each other.

Russian communists sought to destroy the existing social structure and create a new one, in its essence regenerative, because the classless society of Marxist ideology in some ways echoed the simplicity of prehistoric societies. A 'New Man' was to be created through a revolutionary process as a member of the new society: physically and spiritually superior, while intellectually comparable to Aristotle (384-322 BC),

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) and Karl Marx – as envisioned by Leon Trotsky (1879-1940).[208] The Soviet modernisation plan covered all areas of life, eliminating private ownership, destroying family structure, collectivising agriculture and emphasising heavy industry such as machine manufacturing and chemical processing. The state pursued a forced growth rate without regard for social costs, whereas militarisation and widespread terror became the tools for radical modernisation. The symbol of this Faustian modernisation was the network of Soviet labour camps, the Gulag, whose prisoners worked on large construction projects (the White Sea Canal, the reconstruction of Moscow). In the 1930s, they made up 10% of the entire Soviet population, thus rendering the Gulag the largest employer in Europe in 1939.[209]

Nazism can also be characterised as the outcome of a similarly radical modernist project of total change, especially addressing culture in its broadest sense as a tool for forging a 'New Man' with the help of state power. In many European countries, modern artists and supporters of their art were linked with this general idea.

In June 1933, for example, the German National Socialist Students Association began a campaign to grant official recognition to German modernists such as Emil Nolde (1867-1956), Ernst Barlach (1870-1938), Erich Heckel (1883-1970) and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff (1884-1976) as an embodiment of the culture-forming mission of National Socialism, wholeheartedly supported by Joseph Goebbels – a proponent of artistic modernism at the time.[210] Hitler, who indulged in a modernised academism and did not share Goebbels's modernist aesthetic preferences, swiftly quashed these modernist impulses. However, it was not Goebbels' aesthetic preferences that characterised him as a modernist but, as Griffin writes, his deep conviction that the institutional and organisational might of a modern state could be employed to create a new national culture and a new historic era.

Germany's rebirth was to be unified by a total culture not only expressing the race's genius, but also embodying a new 'nomos' while also and laying the foundations of an organic community mandating solutions to problems created by the modern world. A central element of Goebbels' vision was the power of the latest mass communication technology at the



Fig. 56: Barbara and Stanisław Brukalski, Warsaw Housing Cooperative, unit no VII, house B, 1932-1937 in Warsaw.

time, which proved to be an ideal tool for bringing the new culture to life.[211] Its novelty was its paradoxical nature, because it stemmed from the alleged need to restore the previously functioning world order – now depraved by Christianity, the Enlightenment and industrialisation – which, as we have seen, had to be rejected and tamed to regain the original state of culture.[212]

In this perspective, Nazism, like modernism in general in the sense proposed by Griffin, proved to be a product of Europe's spiritual crisis. It was caused, people thought, by materialism and rationalism, which, in the face of the collapse of confidence in traditional religions, led to the expansion of theosophy, alternative medicine, neo-paganism, and yoga; as well as various aspects of life reform such as in the areas of body culture, changes in sexuality and social hygiene.

Italian fascism was perhaps less radical in terms of reconstructing society. However, here as well, as Giovanni Gentile (1875-1944) clearly states, was the idea of the state imposing an ethic of regeneration that was to overcome the atomisation and egoism that had emerged during the first phase of modernity in a



Fig. 57: Russian refugees walk on a rural road in November 1915.

liberal society.[213] From this standpoint fascist doctrine was to be a new secular theology, whose task was to spiritually form the 'New Man' – the main goal of its civilisational mission.[214] Evident in all of these three cases – Russian communism, German Nazism and Italian fascism – are local manifestations of pan-European modernism that in the wake of the First World War proved to be an ideological charge leading to another catastrophic conflict.

Fourth Section

Flight and Emigration to the West

Those who fled and emigrated from Eastern Europe, bringing with them their memories of home, were both numerically and socially significant. A particular aspect of the violence experienced during the First World War was that within a few weeks, hundreds of thousands of civilians who had been living in the theatres of war lost their homes and had to flee. At the start of the war, large numbers of expulsions and deportations stemmed particularly from Russia. The Tsarist authorities suspected not only Germans but also Jews in the Western provinces of being disloyal. By the end of 1915, they had either deported or forced 2.7 million people into inland Russia; by July 1917, the number had grown to at least 7 million refugees and evacuees.[215]

The resettlements, deportations and expulsions that occurred in Eastern Europe after the First World War were largely due to nationalist ideas fuelled by the concept of homogeneity and a strong need for security; few people felt comfortable with the idea of living with those who were ethnically or politically 'other'. Other major factors were increased poverty and the danger of illness in the years following the war. For millions of Jews, Armenians and other similar groups disadvantaged by their ethnic or religious affiliations, emigration seemed the only way out of their difficulties, especially when they did not have the option of moving back to a kin state.[216]

Many who had been uprooted from home were seeking to flee Russia and move to Western Europe or the USA. This conflict dynamic also encompassed regions in Eastern Europe where those related not only to minority but also to majority ethnic groups

wished to escape from the violence caused by political and ethno-nationalist differences; they moved either to their kin state or to a state where they thought they would find better economic opportunities and political security.[217]

The territorial changes resulting from the Paris Peace Treaties, and from the establishment of new states in East-Central Europe, meant that hundreds of thousands of people lived in states where the titular nationality did not correspond to their own ethnic origins. The countries where this was the case were the particular targets of revisionist claims. The Minorities Treaties, which the Entente nations energetically promoted, obliged Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Yugoslavia and Romania to ensure that minority ethnic groups were given basic human rights protection. There were, nevertheless, also large migration movements by the ethnic minority groups concerned about being unable to carry out their chosen profession – for example in public service if they were not sufficiently fluent in the state language – or their children could not be educated in their mother tongue.[218]

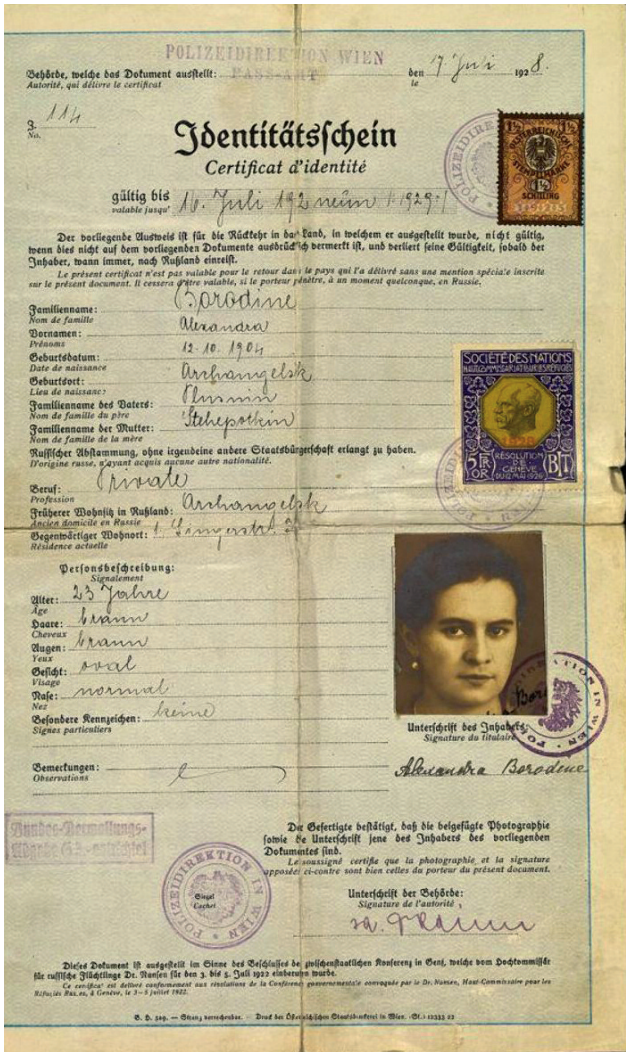


Fig. 58: Jewish refugees in Rowne, Poland, 1921.

In the early 1920s, for example, over 600,000 Germans left the Polish region that had formerly been part of Prussia. At least 100,000 migrated into the German Reich from Eastern Upper Silesia which, in 1922, was awarded to Poland. Around 150,000 Bulgarian refugees from the surrounding nations sought safety in the reduced state of Bulgaria.[219]



Fig. 59: Crowd of emigrants in the shipping office of the Red Star-American Line, Warsaw, 1921.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Familienname: Borodine
Nom de famille

Vornamen: Alexandra
Prénoms

Geburtsdatum: 12. 10. 1904
Date de naissance

Geburtsort: Archangelsk
Lieu de naissance

Familienname des Vaters: Plusnin
Nom de famille du père

Familienname der Mutter: Stehepotkin
Nom de famille de la mère

Russischer Abstammung, ohne irgendeine andere Staatsbürgerschaft erlangt zu haben.
D'origine russe, n'ayant acquis aucune autre nationalité.

Beruf: Private
Profession

Früherer Wohnsitz in Rußland: Archangelsk
Ancien domicile en Russie

Gegenwärtiger Wohnort: 1. Singerstr. 24
Résidence actuelle

Personsbeschreibung:
Signalement

Alter: 23 Jahre
Âge

Haare: braun
Cheveux

Augen: braun
Yeux

Gesicht: oval
Visage

Nase: normal
Nez

Besondere Kennzeichen: keine
Signes particuliers

Bemerkungen:
Observations

Unterschrift des Inhabers:
Signature du titulaire

Alexandra Borodine

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Dieses Dokument ist ausgestellt im Sinne des Beschlusses der zwischenstaatlichen Konferenz in Genf, welche vom Hochkommissär für russische Flüchtlinge Dr. Nansen für den 3. bis 5. Juli 1922 einberufen wurde.
Ce certificat est délivré conformément aux résolutions de la Conférence gouvernementale convoquée par le Dr. Nansen, Haut-Commissaire pour les Réfugiés Russes, à Genève, le 3–5 juillet 1922.

B. H. 549. — Strenge vorrechnen. — Druck der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei in Wien. (St.) 12333 22

Fig. 60: Nansen passport of a Russian refugee, 1922.

In Hungary, however, political upheavals following 1918 caused much less migration. After the signing of the Trianon Treaty in June 1920, 425,000 Hungarians migrated from Slovakia, Romania, Serbia and Croatia into the part of the region that was still Hungary.[220] After the Hungarian Soviet Republic came to a violent end, however, several tens of thousands fled for fear of the 'white terror'. These political refugees, which included bourgeois intellectuals, often had to leave the country via adventurous routes and using false documents. Most were heading for Austria, althoug many also went to Czechoslovakia, and some to Romania and Yugoslavia, especially if they had been born in those places and could still claim citizenship.[221]

Furthermore, it was not only from Hungary that people 're-migrated'. Miners who had moved from Upper Silesia to the Ruhr then moved back in their thousands after 1918. They were inspired not only by the expectation of a boom in the coal-mining industry in their 'old home', but also by the establishment of the new Polish state.[222]

The collapse of the Tsarist Empire and the subsequent revolution and devastating civil war gave rise to the largest-ever movement of refugees and emigrants in European history. By 1922, around two million Russian civilians had left their home country, and about six million war refugees and evacuees moved to a different region within Soviet Russia.[223] In the confusion of the revolution, more than a million Poles fled from house and home in Russia.

The Russian Revolution was a social revolution, but it was also a call to egalitarianism – to creating a widespread homogenisation within the former Russian Empire. The vision of a 'new' society induced a levelling of living conditions and life ambitions. Here people felt compelled to adapt to new expectations in order to avoid being identified as a 'class enemy'.[224] This led to serious social, political and cultural consequences across the country. A large number of the most competent and independent minds had emigrated; this loss of much cultural wealth, combined with the political backwardness so long attributed to Russia, hindered any chance it might have had to develop an alternative democratic identity.

Russian emigrants principally settled in the capital cities of Germany, France, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, and in Harbin in China. They were mainly from the upper classes of former Russian society, and in Soviet Russia had been under threat of repression: dispossession, imprisonment or even the death penalty. The first wave of emigrants as a result were from the nobility, a large number of the administrative and cultural elites, as well as senior military officers. They had fought on the side of the White Russians in the civil war and had been almost as deeply involved as the Red Russians in pogroms, mass shootings and other acts of extreme violence. The emigrants also included First World War Russian prisoners of war, ethnic Germans and many others who emigrated to escape extreme poverty.[225]

There were disproportionately high numbers of Eastern European Jews among the emigrants, fleeing



Fig. 61: Russian Balalajka Orchestra in Berlin, 1920s.

poverty, want and pogroms. Countries next to Russia were unwilling to receive them and instead treated them with hostility and moved many on to other countries.[226] Hundreds of thousands of Jews were helped by Jewish charitable organisations, and many were helped to emigrate to the United States.[227] A full spectrum of political views from Tsarist Russia was to be found among the Russian émigrés: representatives of the left and of liberal democracy, and many monarchists, but no Bolsheviks. The émigré communities were held together by little more than their shared rejection of Bolshevism, which barely concealed the social and political differences among them.[228]

These new arrivals, especially when they did not speak the local language (well), were more severely affected than the local populations by the worldwide economic and employment crisis in the years following 1918. Their status became even more fragile when in December 1921 the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars deprived exiles of their Russian citizenship, making them stateless overnight. Given this situation, in 1922 the League of Nations created a high commission for refugees, led by the highly respected former polar explorer, diplomat and Nobel Peace prize-winner, Fridtjof Nansen (1861-1930), who introduced the famous 'Nansen passport' for stateless refugees. The passport was recognised by 32 governments until 1923, and it offered considerable help to those who were granted one.[229]

Russian emigration and its consequences cannot, however, be adequately described only in terms of their deficiency and difficulties. In Paris, Berlin and Prague especially, but also elsewhere, cultural and intellectual life between the wars was tremendously enriched by Russian artists, academics, writers and musicians, and an authentic interest in Russia was kept alive in these places. Groups of émigrés also maintained political activity in the vague hope that they might one day be able to return to Russia. Their conspicuous anti-Bolshevism attracted some attention and support, especially in conservative circles in Central and Western Europe, and among the *Freikorps*, whose anti-Bolshevism was tainted with anti-Semitism and inspired by an ideology of integration that targeted both internal and external enemies.[230]

Endnotes

1. For a changing perception, see for instance Robert Gerwarth, *The Vanquished. Why the First World War failed to end, 1917-1923* (London: Allen Lane, 2016); translated version into German, Die Besiegten. *Das blutige Erbe des Ersten Weltkriegs* (München: Siedler, 2017).
2. After the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin, which British authorities violently suppressed, the supporters of Irish independence gained the upper hand in Irish politics. The opposition of pro-British, mostly Protestant forces in Ulster and mostly Catholic independentists led to the Irish War of Independence (1919-1921), followed by the civil war (1922-1923) between forces of the Provisional Government and the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The government won this conflict, which led to the emergence of the Free State of Ireland – and the ongoing split of (British) Northern Ireland and the republican South. For further reading, see for instance Tim Pat Coogan, 1916: *One Hundred Years of Irish Independence: From the Easter Rising to the Present* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2016).
3. Jay Winter's keynote at the conference 'Central and Eastern Europe after the First World War,' 31 January-2 February 2018 in Berlin.
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7. Frithjof Benjamin Schenk, 'Tannenberg/Grunwald,' in *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* vol. 1, eds. Étienne François and Hagen Schulze (München: C.H. Beck 2001), 438-453.
8. Paweł Kutaś, *Cmentarze z I wojny światowej w powiecie gorlickim. Przewodnik* (Zakrzów: Wydawnictwo PROMO, 2015). See also Isabel Röskau-Rydel, 'Die Wahrnehmung des galizischen Kriegsschauplatzes in Kriegsberichten, Tagebuchaufzeichnungen und Erinnerungen von Deutschen und Österreichern,' in *Mutter: Land – Vater: Staat. Loyalitätskonflikte, politische Neuorientierung und der Erste Weltkrieg im österreichisch-russländlichen Grenzraum,* eds. Florian Kührer-Wielach and Markus Winkler (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2017), 19-40.
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12. George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers. Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1990)*; see *Liulevicius, Kriegsland im Osten;* Piotr J. Wróbel, 'The Seeds of Violence. The Brutalization of an East European Region, 1917-1921,' *Journal of Modern European History 1* (2003), 125-149.
13. Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Die Kultur der Niederlage: Der amerikanische Süden 1865/ Frankreich 1871/ Deutschland 1918* (Berlin: Alexander Fest Verlag, 2001).
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15. Gerwarth, Horne, 'Paramilitarismus in Europa,' 14.
16. See Burkhard Olschowsky's article in this volume.
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34. Stephan Lehnstaedt, *Der vergessene Sieg. Der Polnisch-Sowjetische Krieg 1919-1921 und die Entstehung des modernen Osteuropa* (München: C.H. Beck, 2019), 14; Leonhard, *Der überforderte Frieden*, 566.

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215. Eric Lohr, *Nationalizing the Russian Empire: the campaign against enemy aliens during World War* I (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Jonathan Frankel, Crisis, *Revolution, and Russian Jews* (Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Peter Gatrell, *A Whole Empire Walking. Refugees in Russia during World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 3-32; Piotr. J. Wróbel, 'Foreshadowing the Holocaust: The Wars of 1914-1921 and Anti-Jewish Violence in Central and Eastern Europe,' in *Legacies of Violence*, 169-208, here 180-192.
216. The concept of 'kin state' could be misunderstood in the sense that all minority populations in Eastern Europe might have a 'kin state' they could claim as their own. For certain minorities in the interwar years, however, the idea of a 'kin

state' was an almost mythical idea, as it was for the Jews where the state of Israel was not yet in existence, and the British Palestinian Mandate was not a territory that Zionist sympathisers felt especially drawn to. Minorities with a nomadic way of life, such as the Tatars, Circassians and Roma, had no link to any specific state. Prior to the First World War, quite a few minority population groups had multiple identities and integrated day-to-day into the state where they lived. During and after the First World War, minorities were often required to commit to a national identity, or they were allocated a notional nationality that did not correspond to their ethnic reality.

217. Beyrau, *Krieg und Revolution*, 190-193.
218. Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy. Explaining Ethnic Cleansing* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 67; Diner, *Das Jahrhundert verstehen*, 61-62; Gerwarth, Die Besiegten, 274-275.
219. Joachim Rogall, *Die Deutschen im Posener Land und Mittelpolen* (Berlin: Langen/Müller, 1998), 130; Antoni Czubiński, *Wielkopolska w latach 1918-1939* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznański, 2000), 80; *Lexikon der Vertreibungen. Deportation, Zwangsaussiedelung und ethnische Säuberung im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Detlef Brandes, Holm Sundhaussen and Stefan Troebst (Köln et al.: Böhlau, 2010), 92-94.
220. István Mócsy, *The Effects of World War I: The Uprooted: Hungarian Refugees and Their Impact on Hungary´s Domestic Politics, 1918-1921* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 12.
221. Eszter P. Gantner, *Budapest – Berlin. Die Koordinaten einer Emigration 1919-1933* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2011), 159.
222. The numbers are estimated at over 150,000 between 1918 and 1939. David Skrabania, 'Arbeitsmigrationen und Mobilität zwischen Oberschlesien und dem Ruhrgebiet und Reichsinneren (1860er-1920er Jahre),' in *Migrationsgeschichte Oberschlesiens. Globale Mobilität in regionaler Perspektive*, ed. Claudia Kraft (to be published).
223. Michael R. Marrus, *Die Unerwünschten. Europäische Flüchtlinge im 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin et al.: Schwarze Risse/Rote Strasse, 1999), 68-72.
224. Jochen Oltmer, 'Kleine Globalgeschichte der Flucht im 20. Jahrhundert,' in *Flucht historisch, Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 26-27 (2016), 18-25, here 19.
225. Bettina Dodenhoeft, *Lasst mich nach Russland heim: russische Emigranten in Deutschland von 1918 bis 1945* (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1993), 10-11; Irina Mchitarian, *Zum bildungspolitischen Umgang mit den pädagogischen Initiativen der russischen Emigranten in Deutschland, der Tschechoslowakei und Polen (1918-1939)* (Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2006), 37.
226. About Polish anti-Semitism see the conversation between the Polish politician Roman Dmowski and the co-founder of the 'American Jewish Committee', Louis Marshall (1856-1929), held in New York, 6 October 1918. in Collection Woodrow Wilson Papers: Series 5: Peace Conference Correspondence and Documents, 1914-1921; Subseries A: Policy Documents, 1914-1919, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/mss46029.mss46029-384_0018_1148/?sp=649&r=-0.975,-0.071,2.95,1.413,0> (access 15 May 2020).
227. Oleg Budnitskii, *Russian Jews Between the Reds and the Whites, 1917-1920* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 243-248; Bruno Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism, 1918-1924* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 143-154, 163-164; Philipp Ther, *The Dark Side of Nation-States: Ethnic Cleansing in Modern Europe* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2014), 66; Borodziej, Górny, *Der vergessene Weltkrieg*, 184-190.
228. Karl Schlögel, 'Einführung: Die Zentren der Emigration,' in *Der grosse Exodus. Die Russische Emigration und ihre Zentren 1917-1941*, ed. Karl Schlögel (München: C.H. Beck, 1994), 9-20, here 12-13.
229. Cabanes, *The Great War and Humanitarianism*, 135-139, 168-173.; Marrus, *Die Unerwünschten*, 99-104.
230. Fritz Mierau ed., *Russen in Berlin. Literatur Malerei Theater Film 1918-1933* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1991); Zdenek Sládek, 'Prag: Das "russische Oxford",' in *Der große Exodus*, 218-233; Robert Harold Johnson, 'Paris die Hauptstadt der russischen Diaspora,' in *loc. cit.*, 260-278.