

jeudi 14 juin – samedi 16 juin 2018

Inalco

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75013 Paris

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LOCAL PERSPECTIVES ON POST-WAR AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN TERRITORIES

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Comité d'organisation :

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Académie polonaise des sciences (PAN), Centre scientifique de Paris

Événement soutenu par le Conseil scientifique de l'Inalco.

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Ce colloque est soutenu par le Conseil scientifique de l'Inalco

Jeudi 14 juin

15.45

Welcome and opening speech (Étienne Boisserie)

16.00

KEYNOTE SPEECH

Mark CORNWALL (University of Southampton)

Czexit? Expectations and Exits during the Disintegration of Austria-Hungary

17.30

PANEL 01

FROM WAR TO PEACE: AN OVERVIEW ON SOME REGIONAL CONTEXTS

chair: Antoine Marès, Université Paris-I, Panthéon-Sorbonne

Borut KLABJAN (European University Institute, Firenze)

Adriatic tensions. Post-WWI violence in Trieste and the former Austrian Littoral

Tamás RÉVÉSZ (University of Vienna)

Victory in the German night". The transformation of the Habsburg Army in the
Kärtner Abwehrkampf in 1918-1919

Jiří HUTEČKA (University of Hradec Králové)

Home and Back To War Again: Czech World War I Veterans Narrative of Coming Home

Borut KLABJAN (European University Institute, Firenze)

Adriatic tensions. Post-WWI violence in Trieste and the former Austrian Littoral

This paper analyzes forms of political violence in the Northern Adriatic area in the first post-World War I period. The existing international scholarship has been concentrated mainly on national cases, while the regional and transnational perspectives remained often neglected. This study intends to re-direct the attention from the national to the regional level and analyze the case of the former Austrian Littoral (renamed Venezia Giulia after 1918), where "cultures of defeat" of two victorious allies overlapped, intertwined and clashed. If on one side victorious Italy developed a culture of defeat defined mutilated victory (*vittoria mutilata*), on the other side Slovenes and Croats in the new Kingdom of Yugoslavia considered the region their "Alsace-Lorraine".

These two attitudes provoked a long-term period of bilateral tension on the international level and several forms of violence based on ideological and ethnic confrontation on the local level. Special emphasis will be dedicated to aspects of continuity and change before and after World War I. Especially the postwar period has been characterized by extreme political instability, economic insecurity and violence. The transition lasted several years and has been characterized by precarious military and cultural demobilization of heart and minds and the region became a laboratory for new forms of military and paramilitary violence. This occurred in the vacuum left by the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, however at the same time violence served as an adjunct to the new state power and its legitimization.

Tamás RÉVÉSZ (University of Vienna)

Victory in the German night”.

The transformation of the Habsburg Army in the *Kärtner Abwehrkampf* in 1918-1919

After the collapse of the Habsburg Empire borderland wars broke out all over in Europe. These conflicts and the consequent revolutionary upheaval played a crucial role in the emergence of many paramilitary movements all over in East and Central Europe. One of the most significant of these wars was undoubtedly the so called *Kärtner Abwehrkampf* fought between the south Slavic and the local Austrian Carinthian forces in 1918-1919. The paper focuses on the transformation of the Habsburg military in this conflict through contrasting the most important claims of the memoir literature with the analyses of still less-known primarily sources. The first part of the study examines the demobilization of the Austro-Hungarian army in the region and the reactions of the local government to the massive crisis caused by the thousands of retreating soldiers. The second part the paper analyses the process of remobilization against the south-Slavic forces. This section examines particularly how civilian actors – like the local village communities, the social democratic trade unions and school fraternities – were able to mobilize a relatively large part of the population. In the end, the paper discusses the discipline of these newly formed “local” and “civilian” units and demonstrates the limits of these mobilizations.

Jiří HUTEČKA (University of Hradec Králové)

Home and Back To War Again: Czech World War I Veterans Narrative of Coming Home

The issue of post-war transitions in the newly established Czechoslovakia is hardly debatable without mentioning the “elephant in the room” of three military conflicts that beset the state in the first months of its existence: a “quasi-war” for Bohemian and Moravian frontier against local Germans; a struggle for Slovakia against ex-Hungarian authorities and then, later, Hungarian Bolsheviks; and, in the meantime, an international conflict with Poland over the Těšín/Teschen/Cieszyn border region. Using personal accounts, mostly memoirs, the paper will try to assess the way Czech soldiers returning from the battlefields of World War One felt about the fact that they were often quickly sent to new fronts in their new country. It will also focus on the way they subsequently tried to use this experience to either round off, or completely redefine the meaning of their war experience as a whole.

Vendredi 15 juin

9.30

**URBAN AND REGIONAL APPROACHES:
HOW PERIPHERAL AREAS FACED THE POST-WAR TURMOIL?**

PANEL 02

Chair : Balázs Ablonczy, ELTE University – MTA, Budapest

Marcin JARZĄBEK (Jagiellonian University of Krakow)

From symbolic to real conflict. Cieszyn Silesia and its population between Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia

Etienne BOISSERIE (Inalco-CREE, UMR SIRICE)

Bratislava in turmoil: from the *Prevrat* to the transfer of the Šrobár's government

Marcin JARZĄBEK (Jagiellonian University of Krakow)

From symbolic to real conflict. Cieszyn Silesia and its population between Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia

Cieszyn/Teschen/Těšín Silesia, part of Austrian province "Schlesien", was a multiethnic Polish-German-Czech borderland, where national identities coincided or competed with regional, religious (Lutheran or Catholic) and imperial. Crisis and later a dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian empire in the Autumn 1918 revealed and accelerated Polish and Czech(Czechoslovak) national movements there. Both started from rejecting the Habsburg framework and, on the basis of self-determination principle and Slavic brotherhood, underlining the nation-state principle. However, the initial agreement from November 1918 became very soon highly problematic for both sides: a short Polish-Czechoslovak war at the end of January 1919 and then long-lasting period of a violent "cold war" (until the division of Cieszyn Silesia in July 1920) opened the "Cieszyn issue" that was not closed before the late 1940's.

In 1918 and 1919, both national projects' protagonists had to mobilize social support in the region; post-war crisis, multiethnic and borderland character of the territory were additional obstacles. The paper focuses on that national rivalry and its social background in the Cieszyn Silesia during the aftermath of WWI. I underline the fact that the fall of Austro-Hungary was a big challenge for local populations, which had to invent and adapt new tactics of behavior and self-identification. People's tactics (especially of those who felt as Austrian orphans and openly declared their attachment to pre-1914 reality) tried to fit into strategies of the competing national projects. Many aspects of people's existence became nationalized and politicized, including also everyday life. Therefore Cieszyn Silesia is a good example how national projects in post-1918 Europe used the post-war conditions and transformed borderland regions.

Etienne BOISSERIE (Inalco-CREE, UMR SIRICE)

Pressburg/Pozsony/Prešporok in turmoil: from the *Prevrat* to the transfer of the Šrobár's government

Dans le géographie historique et mentale du royaume de Hongrie, la ville de Pressbourg/Pozsony/Presporok présente des caractéristiques uniques, notamment celle d'être une ancienne capitale, située totalement à la périphérie du royaume et en même temps en lien étroit avec son cœur par le Danube.

Dans la configuration de la sortie de guerre, la ville connaît un processus de transition particulier en plusieurs temps dans lequel les élites locales hongroise et allemande jouent un rôle moteur aussi bien dans la définition de leurs objectifs que dans les moyens mis en œuvre pour les atteindre. À une phase initiale de rejet pur et simple de l'option tchécoslovaque succède une approche plus pragmatique qui repose sur une combinaison de patriotisme local et d'intérêt économique habilement utilisée par les autorités tchécoslovaques.

La période qui s'étend d'octobre 1918 aux premières semaines de février 1919 peut ainsi être fractionnée en trois grands temps que nous observerons successivement : celui de la confrontation à l'hypothèse du détachement de la ville du royaume, celui de la recherche d'un modus vivendi municipal et de recomposition des alliances, celui enfin, de la mise en place d'une autorité tchécoslovaque rapidement contestée pour tarder à mettre en œuvre les promesses ayant permis de stabiliser la situation.

11.30

PANEL 03

Chair : Tamás Révész, University of Vienna

Marco MONDINI (University of Padova – ISIG-FBK Trento)

La transition de la guerre à la paix dans les Provinces irrédentes

Peter ŠVORC (University of Prešov)

The formation of Czechoslovakia (1918) and the German population of Spiš. Ideas and reality

Marco MONDINI (University of Padova – ISIG-FBK Trento)

La transition de la guerre à la paix dans les Provinces irrédentes

L'intervention sera composée de trois parties. J'esquisserai d'abord rapidement histoire conceptuelle du terme « *irredentismo* » et, surtout, du rôle que ce concept – par ailleurs assez minoritaire, même dans l'opinion publique bourgeoise patriotique – joue dans la mobilisation culturelle de l'Italie entre l'été 1914 et l'entrée en guerre de mai 1915.

Puis, je proposerai un panorama schématique de la sortie de la guerre en Italie, surtout en ce qui concerne les derniers jours du conflit dans les « *Terre Irredente* », le Trentin et Trieste. Je me focaliserai notamment sur la dimension symbolique de l'annexion des objectifs idéaux de la « dernière guerre du *Risorgimento* », qui étaient aussi au cœur de ce que l'on appelait l'interventionnisme « démocratique », mais aussi sur le statut ambigu d'une « Victoire » qui permet au Royaume d'Italie de s'emparer des territoires (le Tyrol du Sud ainsi que une partie de la frontière orientale) qui n'est pas majoritairement italophone, au contraire. L'ambiguïté qui marque la fin de la guerre italienne est bien représentée par le cas de la ville de Fiume, oubliée dans le Pacte de Londres, le traité secret sur la base duquel l'Italie était entrée en guerre en 1915, et devenue d'un coup, grâce surtout à une extraordinaire remobilisation médiatique de la culture de guerre à la fin du 1918, le symbole même du sens de la lutte pour les italiens.

J'aborderai enfin certains aspects de la gestion politique de la transition. En premier lieu, l'administration d'urgence de la première phase de l'après-guerre – confiée à l'armée – avec la création (1918-1919) des trois *Governorati militari* (gouvernorats militaires) pour Trento (général Pecori Giraldi), Trieste et la Vénétie Julienne (général Carlo Petitti di Roreto) et la Dalmatie (amiral Enrico Millo). Les « gouverneurs » furent assez différents en ce qui concerne le rapport avec la population et les anciens pouvoirs, Pecori Giraldi en étant plutôt un général « diplomatique », disposé à entretenir de bonnes relations avec les élites locales et à garantir, au début, le respect des principes de l'autonomie traditionnelle, tandis que Petitti di Roreto et surtout Enrico Millo firent preuve d'un nationalisme radical qui les poussèrent à gérer des persécutions systématiques à l'encontre de chaque association, mouvement, parti politique ou communauté ethnique soupçonnée d'être bolchevique, antipatriotique ou simplement anti-italien.

Dans tous les cas, ces gouvernorats étaient les sièges d'un pouvoir politique largement autonome, hors du contrôle du gouvernement civil de Rome. Les militaires y étaient libres de mener leur politique au nom de l'urgence de la transition, et ils en tirèrent profit pour soutenir les associations paramilitaires patriotiques, se mêler à la lutte politique et utiliser la violence pour combattre les « ennemis de la patrie » : Trieste et la Dalmatie surtout furent ainsi les incubateurs d'une guerre après la guerre qui préconisait la guerre civile et la conquête fasciste du pouvoir.

Peter ŠVORC (University of Prešov)

The formation of Czechoslovakia (1918) and the German population of Spiš. Ideas and reality

The outbreak of World War I was welcomed by the (German and Magyar) middle class of the Spiš/Szepes/Zips in the same way as in Budapest or Vienna. All the greater was their disappointment at its close in 1918. The Germans of Spiš refused the Czechoslovak state, which is why, when the war was over, they conducted activities aimed at preventing Spiš from becoming part of ČSR. The declaration by Woodrow Wilson, the American president, that every nation has the right to self-determination gave them hope it would not happen. Germans founded a seven-member *National Council of Hungarian Germans* in Budapest, where the Germans of Spiš had two representatives.

In Spiš, Germans founded local national councils that were committed to the integrity of Hungary, referring to each nation's right for self-determination. On November 18th, 1918, they established the Upper-Hungarian German National Council in Kežmarok that declared an independent Republic of Spiš on December 9th, 1918. The Republic of Spiš was supposed to be a "small Switzerland" of sorts; it included the entire territory of Spiš County and was to be a condominium of Hungary. As a small state, it was only supposed to last while the immediate post-war territorial, state and political changes took place, leaving Spiš out of the Czechoslovak state and, when the situation stabilised, returning to Greater Hungary. Its existence was, however, short. It ended with the arrival of Czechoslovak troops in Spiš on December 14th, 1918.

In the first years of its existence, it was, as a rule, dismissive. Germans had a hard time coming to terms with Slovaks becoming members of city and village councils; they refused to communicate in the new official language and sabotaged many a governmental regulation. In the town Veľká, the local German adherents of the Evangelic faith even refused for Slovak services to be held in their church; they wanted to divide the town Spišská Belá into a Slovak and a German part, etc. The older, and partially middle, generation of Spiš Germans did not accept ČSR during the entire interwar period. It was reflected in the activities of the political party Zipser Deutsche Partei. The Czechoslovak Republic was only accepted later on by the young generation, politically engaged in the Karpathendeutsche Partei. This generation, nevertheless, also took a long time to accept Slovaks and Rusyns as equals to the German inhabitants of Spiš.

PANEL 04

Chair: Frédéric Dessberg, Saint-Cyr Coétquidan, Paris-I Panthéon-Sorbonne

Mariusz WOŁOS (Pedagogical University of Krakow – IH PAN)

La Galicie en 1918. Une perspective polonaise

Rok STERGAR (University of Ljubljana)

A Periphery in Transition: The Territory of Present-Day Slovenia in 1918

Mariusz WOŁOS (Pedagogical University of Krakow – IH PAN)

La Galicie en 1918. Une perspective polonaise

Suite aux partages de la Pologne, la Galicie appartenait à la monarchie des Habsbourg depuis la fin du XVIII^e siècle. Cette province était divisée en trois parties – la Galicie occidentale, où prédominaient les Polonais, la Galicie orientale, où prédominaient les Ukrainiens (Ruthéniens) et la Silésie de Teschen, située sur la frontière ethnique polono-tchèque, avec une majorité de Polonais. À l'automne 1918, lors de la chute de l'Autriche-Hongrie, des centres de pouvoir polonais apparurent en Galicie.

À terme, ils furent soumis au gouvernement central de Varsovie. À l'exception peut-être d'un petit groupe de conservateurs loyalistes auparavant influents à Vienne, les Polonais accueillirent sans regrets la séparation avec l'Autriche-Hongrie. La fin de l'empire austro-hongrois marque le début des luttes nationales entre Polonais et Ukrainiens en Galicie orientale et Polonais et Tchèques en Silésie de Teschen. L'intervention avance la thèse selon laquelle, dans ces circonstances, les conflits nationaux dominent les conflits de caractère social ou de classe en Galicie. Cela ne signifie pas que la Galicie n'a pas été atteinte par les mots d'ordre et les idées de la Révolution russe, ce qu'illustre la « République de Tarnobrzeg », rébellion paysanne radicale se référant à l'idée bolchevique, existant dans le nord de la Galicie de novembre 1918 à janvier 1919.

Rok STERGAR (University of Ljubljana)

A Periphery in Transition: The Territory of Present-Day Slovenia in 1918

In 1918, World War I stopped, and Yugoslavia was established on the territory of present-day Slovenia. However, telling a story of the year 1918 by focusing on these two events only, would be too reductionist. Not only was the war still going on—and the Habsburg Empire still existed—for much of 1918, but many continuities marked the year almost as much as those two breaks. In many respects, the transition from Austria-Hungary to Yugoslavia was not a transformation at the same time; the citizens of the new state were mostly still governed by old laws, kept using the old currency, and were fighting in the old uniforms.

FRIDAY 15 JUNE

14.00

PM SESSION

POPULATION TRANSFERS AND REPATRIATIONS

PANEL 05

Chair: Catherine Horel, UMR SIRICE

Urška STRLE (University of Ljubljana)

"Why are we away from ours?" Early post-war period in the notes of a Slovene housemaid

Kamil RUSZAŁA (Jagiellonian University of Krakow)

The repatriation of refugees and situation in Galicia in 1918

Urška STRLE (University of Ljubljana)

"Why are we away from ours?" Early post-war period in the notes of a Slovene housemaid

The focal perspective of the paper, whose empirical core presents a written heritage of a woman from the Italo-Slovenian ethnic border area, is a personal perspective with the ambition of a cultural-historical study. Interpretations of historical processes are built from below, stemming from the available ego-documents of Neža Rejec (1886-1966), who served as a housemaid to a local priest in a North-Istrian village. Her writings are a precious historical source of everyday life of a mid-war rural population, which contains almost no political comments. With the Italian occupation of the area in 1918 her writings transform considerably and start to demonstrate political ideas and Slovene national awareness. Her case study paradigm reflects the specific trend of growing nationalisation of masses by the border, which spread quickly also among rural population at the dawn of the post-war. This trend did not bypass women, traditionally considered as apolitical social agents.

Kamil RUSZAŁA (Jagiellonian University of Krakow)

The repatriation of refugees and situation in Galicia in 1918

The paper investigates the situation of Galician Refugees in the Habsburg Empire during the last year of the First World War. The majority of the refugees returned home following the eastward movement of the frontline in 1915 (*i.e.* after the Gorlice-Tarnów campaign). However, many others stayed deep within the Austro-Hungarian Empire till the end of the war. According to official reports of the Ministry of Interior, there were still 90 thousands refugees (25% of Poles, 28% of Jews and 46% of Ukrainians, then known as Ruthenians) receiving social benefits from the state in Austrian part of the Empire on September the 1st, 1918. Moreover, one can add countless refugees who stayed in the interior of the Empire at their own expense.

The situation became even more complicated when the feelings of enmity on the part of the local inhabitants escalated. Pressed by the society, the local authorities started expelling the refugees. As a consequence, some of them returned home, while others still stayed in exile in search of a better life. What is even more interesting, some of them (mostly Jews) emphasized a lack of bond with the new Polish state born in November 1918.

PANEL 06

Chair: Catherine Horel, UMR SIRICE

Balázs ABLONCZY – (ELTE University Budapest – MTA)

Les déracinés. Trajectoires d'exilés du Zips et du Pays sicule

Francesco FRIZZERA (University of Trento / University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt)

Repatriation policies in the Habsburg Empire during WWI. Italian-speaking refugees from the Alpine area

Balázs ABLONCZY – (ELTE University Budapest – MTA)

Les déracinés. Trajectoires d'exilés du Zips et du Pays sicule

Suite à la chute de l'empire austro-hongrois et à l'émergence des États successeurs, un grand nombre de rapatriés et de réfugiés se déplacent dans l'aire de l'ancienne monarchie des Habsbourg. Ce fut le cas pour la Hongrie où 400 000 à 450 000 personnes ont été rapatriées entre 1918 et 1924. Le papier proposé tente de cerner deux modèles complètement différents d'intégration et de montage de réseaux d'influence. Celui de la diaspora du Zips/Spiš /Szepesség du Nord de la Slovaquie déplacée en Hongrie. Leurs rites, les pratiques mémorielles et leur organisation spatiale seront confrontés à ceux des exilés du pays Sicule. Venus des confins de la Transylvanie devenue roumaine, les Sicules/Székely/Szeklers sont, aux yeux de l'opinion publique hongroise, un groupe ethno-régional bien défini, s'appuyant sur la tradition d'une communauté de paysans libres, de gardes frontières, avec des mythiques ascendances Hunniques, une sorte de « super-Magyars ». Les deux constructions identitaires ont survécu à différents régimes politiques et continuent à persister sous différentes formes. Entre luttes pour l'émancipation et l'influence, hantise de la pureté et un semblant de multiculturalisme; entre modèle de « cour princière » et « communauté masculine », notre questionnement portera essentiellement sur le rôle du traumatisme né de la Grande Guerre, sur l'héritage qui en découle et sur les différents acteurs qui forgent cet héritage.

Francesco FRIZZERA (University of Trento / University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt)

Repatriation policies in the Habsburg Empire during WWI. Italian-speaking refugees from the Alpine area

During the WWI, about 140.000 Italian-speaking civilians living in Tyrol and in the Littoral were evacuated from their homes and forced by the Austro-Hungarian military authorities to settle in the inner regions of the Empire. This population displacement is not a singular event in the Alpine area during the war.

To the north and east of the military front at least 70.000 Slovenians and 12.000 Croats were evacuated. South of the front line, 73.000 Italian-speaking and 12.000 Slovenian-speaking civilians were evacuated by the Italian military authorities, since they were Austrian citizens living near the front line. Moreover, other 70.000 civilians fled from the Asiago plateau after the Austrian offensive in May 1916 and at least 135.000 people were displaced from the province of Udine after the battle of Caporetto. Finally, some 340.000 Italian refugees fled from Veneto after November 1917.

This paper focuses on the group of 14.000 Italians evacuated by the Austro-Hungarian military authorities. The fate of this group allows indeed interesting evaluations regarding the experience of population displacement in Austria-Hungary. In fact, the repatriation policies that involved this group clearly show three important aspects: first, it highlights the structural limits achieved by the Habsburg administrative apparatus during the war; secondly, it shows how the cohabitation between refugees and host populations have become over time unbearable; finally, this story clearly highlights the policies of the successor States regarding refugees of minority nationalities.

The paper will divide the issue of the repatriation of these refugees in three moments. In the first period, between March 1916 and September 1917, only the repatriations of self-employed farmers and workers subject to military authority was permitted. These circumstances weakened the resilience of internally displaced people, who were increasingly perceived as poor, unfit for work and dependent on public charity.

After September 1917, the government organized a repatriation plan for refugees from the South. The implementation of the plan shows however the inadequacy of the Habsburg administrative apparatus in managing the matter. Moreover, the local authorities that hosted refugees took advantage of the repatriation plan to remove refugees from the settlement areas, although some of them came from completely destroyed regions.

After the signing of the armistice, the authorities of the successors states soon redefined the legal boundaries of the right of citizenship, excluding refugees from public subsidies. In many cases, a forced and violent expulsion of refugees from settlement areas was recorded. Only the intervention of an Italian Military Commission allowed organizing the logistics of repatriation and limited violence and pillaging.

As a consequence, the Italian-speaking refugees who had been evacuated as Austrian citizens - and that in most cases were loyal citizens - had in the meantime been rejected by their state that refused to recognise them any citizen right, and moreover expelled from the host communities.

Samedi 16 juin
9.30

AM Session

The social and political transitions: some contexts and their consequences

PANEL 07

Chair: Étienne BOISSERIE, Inalco-CREE, UMR SIRICE

Maciej GÓRNY (Académie polonaise des sciences, PAN)

A Fertile Ground. East Central Europe Societies and the Russian Revolutions

Zsombor BÓDY (Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Department of Sociology),

Dissolution de l'intérieur? Patronat, mouvements ouvriers et action publique pendant la dissolution de l'Empire Austro-hongrois

Maciej GÓRNY (Académie polonaise des sciences, PAN)

A Fertile Ground. East Central Europe Societies and the Russian Revolutions

It would be an overstatement to say that the Russian workers' protests of the year 1917 inspired social riot in the whole East Central Europe. The latter had reasons enough to burst even without the example from Petrograd. Yet, there were some parallels and they were becoming even more obvious with time. First, food shortages were (almost) as dire in Vienna as in Russian industrial centres. Second, longing for immediate peace was common on both sides of the front. Third, fear for consequences (administrative measures, punitive mobilization, state violence) evaporated visibly. Despite distance and communication blockade the reactions of East Central Europe's working class, early 1918, resembled what was known about Russia's events one year before.

Structural analogies aside, popular unrest in East Central Europe had its own background and mechanisms different from Russia. Consequently, the outcome of social crisis was not a revolution. This paper will analyse the specificity of this phenomenon and try to identify the role both Russian revolutions had on local protesters and the policy of post-1918 national states. Focused on the territory of Austria-Hungary and the successor states it will also attempt at more general conclusions concerning the whole East Central Europe.

Zsombor BÓDY (Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Department of Sociology),

Dissolution de l'intérieur? Patronat, mouvements ouvriers et action publique pendant la dissolution de l'Empire Austro-hongrois

Tandis que pendant les trois premières années de la guerre le gouvernement hongrois a réussi à garder un certain état d'équilibre entre le patronat et les syndicats, à partir de l'hiver 1917/1918, son aptitude à réguler les conflits entre les entreprises et les mouvements ouvriers s'est affaibli. Ce déclin de capacité du gouvernement hongrois à réguler les conflits sociaux a abouti à une escalade d'affrontements dans les usines, qui a non seulement diminué le niveau de la production, mais aussi contribué au renforcement d'un clivage politique général entre classes populaires d'un côté et classes moyennes ou bourgeoises d'un autre. Des conflits particulièrement aigus se sont développés autour de la question de l'approvisionnement, qui, au-delà de son importance physiologique, avait également aux yeux des ouvriers et des classes moyennes, une signification symbolique et centrale dans les conflits sociaux.

En retracant les dynamiques de ces conflits et de l'action publique qui tenta de canaliser les affrontements entre les différents acteurs du monde du travail industriel, il est possible d'observer un déclin graduel de la compétence du pouvoir hongrois, qui a abouti à un effondrement de l'intérieur du système politique hongrois, devenu en automne 1918 incapable d'assumer son rôle régulateur dans les conflits internes à la société hongroise.

PANEL 08

Chair: Borut Klabjan, European University InsQtute, Firenze

Gabriela DUDEKOVÁ KOVÁČOVÁ (Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava)

From Northern Hungary to Slovakia, from Pozsony to Bratislava. The problems of legitimacy and the loyalties in post-war transition

Veronika Szeghy-Gayer (Štátnej vedeckej knižnice - State Scientific Library, Košice)

Le renouvellement des élites locales dans les villes de Slovaquie orientale, 1919–1923

Jernej KOSI (University of Ljubljana)

Creating facts on the ground: Untersteiermark/Spodnja Štajerska in Autumn and Winter 1918/19

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From Northern Hungary to Slovakia, from Pozsony to Bratislava. The problems of legitimacy and the loyalties in post-war transition

Recently, the new debates on character of post-war political and social transition after the fall of Habsburg Monarchy have appeared. Some historians even argue the period starting in fall 1918 could be called "war after the war" until very early 1920s, because of the growing radicalism of returning soldiers, workers and peasants, which culminated in several demonstrations, protests and violent attacks against "Lords" (mainly against the local administrators, shopkeepers, and specifically Jews).

Additionally, in the case of Czechoslovakia, military operations in order to confirm the new state-borders of lasted until June 1919.

In fact, the interpretation of the short period between fall 1918 and June 1919 in today's Slovakia was one of the most striking in the historiography, especially because of the attempt to create a communist regime (Soviet Republic) in the (Czecho)Slovak and Hungarian border-territories. During the interwar period, it was evaluated as an anti-Hungarian and anti-bolshevist struggle for the new Czechoslovak republic; but since 1948 until 1989, the Marxist interpretation was the only possible explanation, declaring the bolshevist attempt as the first step on the road to the worldwide rule of communists.

The aim of the paper is to question the character of power transfers and changes in declared loyalties of inhabitants in this period in the regions of today's Slovakia. From the perspective of local actors and regarding regular daily life, there have been significant differences depending on the timing and patterns of power-changes in particular counties and cities, even in concrete villages. In some localities, inhabitants had to undergo several military- and political-power changes in the name of the different regimes (pre-war- and post war regime of Hungary, Entente military units, Czechoslovak administration, communist military and administrative units), which resulted in questioning of the legitimacy of the representatives and establishments of particular regimes as well as questioning loyalties which had to be declared. Inhabitants affected by the economic and social consequences of WWI, reacted to the new challenges according to the quickly evolving situation, while their declared loyalty was often used as a strategy of preserving one's position, sometimes even one's life. The paper will bring an overview with the examples of different patterns in particular regions of today's Slovakia as well as the case of city Pressburg (renamed Bratislava during the transition).

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Le renouvellement des élites locales dans les villes de Slovaquie orientale, 1919–1923

L'étude vise à examiner les élites locales sur le territoire de la Slovaquie orientale après la formation de la première République tchécoslovaque. Le terme d' « élite » désigne ici les membres du conseil municipal des villes examinées, dont la composition se restructure au cours de la période observée. L'analyse se concentre principalement sur les villes mixtes sur le plan national et confessionnel, Košice, Prešov, Bardejov et Kežmarok en particulier. L'objectif est d'identifier les différents types de stratégies des élites dans cette région. Comment ont-elles réagi à la formation du nouvel État ? Comment se sont-elles réorganisées ? L'exemple des villes examinées est intéressant à plusieurs titres. Elles ont survécu à la formation des petits États de courte durée à la fin de 1918 (Košice, Kežmarok), ou ont été occupées par les troupes militaires de la République des conseils de Hongrie (Košice, Prešov, Bardejov).

Ici, l'élite minoritaire hongroise et allemande – comme l'élite juive – avaient une forte représentation politique qui commença à se regrouper sur une base nationale dans la nouvelle République. Ce territoire fut donc considéré comme très problématique par l'État tchécoslovaque. Le renforcement du pouvoir étatique y fut beaucoup plus difficile qu'en Slovaquie occidentale.

Par conséquent, un aspect important de l'intervention est la question de la continuité. En 1923, les organes du conseil municipal démocratiquement élus comptaient un grand nombre de membres de l'ancienne élite (hongrois ou allemands). À côté des Slovaques, seules les élites juives locales soutenaient l'État tchécoslovaque. L'étude met en valeur le fait que les villes examinées auraient pu également être des bastions de l'opposition et que la consolidation tchécoslovaque y fut beaucoup plus lente, aspect qui a été jusqu'ici négligé dans les historiographies nationales.

Jernej KOSI (University of Ljubljana)

Creating facts on the ground: Untersteiermark/Spodnja Štajerska in Autumn and Winter 1918/19

The aim of the paper is to describe the circumstances in the months after the collapse of the Habsburg empire in the region known as “Untersteiermark” or “Spodnja Štajerska” until 1918. Since 1918, the southernmost part of the former *Kronland* Styria has been known as “Štajerska” or “Slovenska Štajerska” (Slovene Styria) and formed a part of the newly founded Yugoslav state.

The political agenda of the Slovene national activists from the imperial period conditioned the partition of the *Kronland*. The Slovene national narrative dominated the regional political or public discourse since the late 1860s onwards. The idea of southern Styria being a part of the Slovene national space was propagated since 1848, and especially since the constitution from December 1867, which gave citizens the right to assemble and form associations. However, despite decades long national struggles, the actual territorial delimitation between what belongs to the Slovenes, that is to Yugoslav state, and what to Austrians, was established only in autumn 1918 by creating facts on the ground. As such, it was a result of contingency and (un)favorable political circumstances.

L'analyse partira des indices et phénomènes de l'affaiblissement de l'autorité autrichienne, et de l'idée de partage d'un destin commun dans les derniers mois d'existence de la Double monarchie. À l'échelle locale se manifestent ainsi des changements d'autorités, leurs possibles concurrences, les effets combinés sur les populations locales de la poursuite – sinon l'amplification – des difficultés matérielles, de la démobilisation des forces armées et du *vacuum* partiel du pouvoir. L'approche consistera à observer plusieurs reconfigurations à l'échelle impériale et royale, mais surtout régionale et locale afin d'obtenir une vision plus fine et contrastée des phénomènes observés. Les régions privilégiées seront les régions de friction : zones périphériques, en particulier lorsqu'elles sont touchées par les combats (Galicie, Littoral, Trentin, Transylvanie), zones mixtes nationales ou religieuses, conflits locaux d'autorité ou de souveraineté, voisinages/alentours des lignes de démarcation ou régions frontières soumises à des occupations « provisoires ». Le colloque prendra également en compte les effets différés de la révolution d'Octobre sur les populations dans cette phase transitoire. L'analyse inclura les trajectoires de certaines catégories de population « migrantes », réfugiés, mais aussi populations déplacées au cours de l'automne 1918.



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