

*EUROPA ETHNISIEREN
Hass und Gewalt in
Post-Versailles Europa*

*ETHNICISING EUROPE
Hate and Violence in
Post-Versailles Europe*

6.–8.7.2021

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SIMON WIESENTHAL CONFERENCE

WIENER WIESENTHAL INSTITUT
FÜR HOLOCAUST-STUDIEN (VWI)

Simon Wiesenthal Conference 2021

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Panel I: Von Gesetzes wegen. Staatliche Politik und Ethnisierung in Europa
By Law. State Policies and the Ethnicisation of Europe

Dienstag, 6. Juli 2021
Tuesday, 6 July 2021
15:00–17:30

Chair: Éva Kovács (Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust-Studies – VWI)

eva.kovacs@vwi.ac.at

Prof. Dr., Soziologin. Studium der Ökonomie und Soziologie an der Corvinus Universität Budapest, PhD. 1994, Habilitation 2009. Éva Kovács ist auch Forschungsleiterin im Institut für Soziologie an der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Ihre Forschungsfelder sind Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung des Holocaust in Osteuropa, Gedächtnis- und Erinnerungsforschung, jüdische Identität in Ungarn und der Slowakei und Studien zu Roma und Sinti. Sie hat fünf Monographien verfasst, zehn Bücher herausgegeben, publizierte zahlreiche Artikel in peer-reviewed Journals und kuratierte mehrere Ausstellungen in Budapest, Berlin, Bratislava, Krems, Prag, Warschau und Wien mit. Sie ist die Gründerin des Archivs „Voices of the Twentieth Century“ in Budapest. Sie war Mitglied des Internationalen Wissenschaftlichen Beirats des VWI zwischen 2010-2012 und Forschungsleiterin am VWI zwischen 2012 und 2020.

Alexander Langstaff
(New York University)

“The Foreigners Cannot Work”: Displacement, Antisemitism and the Legal Politics of Postwar Labour

The legal right to work constitutes the fundamental basis of providing a livelihood for families and their dependents. With the precarity of hyperinflation and economic recession, this right was increasingly imperilled for the thousands of Jews who were deemed ‘foreigners’ by the new nation-states in which they lived. This paper explores how labour and minority treaties were entangled through the 1920s. It recovers the forgotten story of how the International Labour Organization and non-state actors were part of efforts to secure the labour rights of Jewish communities across Central and Eastern Europe. From the drafting of treaties to the Bernheim Petition that inspired a new vocabulary of human rights, the issue of who could and couldn’t work never went away. Retracing the circuitry of transnational labour institutions and advocacy, we can better understand how denaturalization went hand in hand with ethnicization after 1918.

The aftershocks of German, Russian and Austro-Hungarian imperial collapse also brought profound changes to the status of migrant labour. In tandem with economic arguments for restricting populations, the twin threats of disease and bolshevism were invoked to selectively “quarantine” Jewish and other minority communities. The rise of Judeo-Bolshevik conspiracy theories alienated sympathetic sectors of the political Left. As minority advocates and national trade unions juggled discourses of internationalism and nationalism, they also had to face the perception of a competition for labour mobility between their different regional constituents.

al5348@nyu.edu

Alexander Langstaff is a PhD Candidate in Modern European History at New York University. He has recently published in the *Yearbook of Transnational History*, the *Journal of the History of Ideas* online and the *International Review of Social History*.

Zofia Trębacz

(Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw)

'Let it happen as soon as possible!'

Polish Governments' Plans Towards Jewish Mass Emigration

In the 1930s, Poland became a place of sharp ethnic conflicts between the Polish majority and Ukrainians, Belarusians and Jews. The latter minority had to deal with everyday violence, verbal and direct. The power of antisemitic resentments had become such a surprisingly powerful tool for political mobilization that none of the major political forces opposed the idea of Jewish emigration from Poland. In the second half of the 1930s, the plan of forced emigration of Jews from Poland became one of the ways considered by the Polish authorities to solve not only ethnic but also economic and social problems. Reducing the Jewish population in Poland was supposed to be a remedy for almost all the problems of the young state, and the beginning of the road to its imperial future.

The change in attitude of the Polish state towards Jews was the most visible sign of the failure of the Treaty of Versailles, and more precisely the Little Treaty of Versailles. However, an openly anti-Jewish policy of the Polish authorities, which led to the creation of a nation-state, meet with little reaction from international public opinion.

Reconstructing the assumptions of the idea of forced emigration towards Jews will be a starting point for me to think about what its intellectual foundations were. An indication of people creating theoretical assumptions of Jewish emigration projects, justifying them to those in power and society, will allow me to recreate the specific intellectual culture of Poland in the 1930s.

ztrebacz@jhi.pl

Dr. Zofia Trębacz is a Historian and an Assistant Professor at the Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute. She published a book *Nie tylko Palestyna. Polskie plany emigracyjne wobec Żydów 1935–1939*, Warszawa 2018, which received a nomination for POLITYKA Prize, and a number of articles on antisemitism in prewar Poland. Her interests focus also on the Holocaust; she was a member of the editorial team of the Underground Archive of the Warsaw Ghetto publication project and a participant in several research projects.

Dieter J. Hecht

(Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften – ÖAW, Wien)

„Von der Unmöglichkeit der Abbeförderung“: Jüdinnen und Juden in Wien nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg – Zwischen nationaler Selbstbestimmung und staatsbürgerlicher Zugehörigkeit

In Wien fand etwa eine Woche vor Ausrufung der Republik Deutsch-Österreich am 4. November 1918 die konstituierende Sitzung des „Jüdischen Nationalrates für Deutsch-Österreich“ statt. Der „Jüdische Nationalrat“ erklärte sich zum Vertreter der Juden Deutsch-Österreichs und versuchte, mit einer breiten, Parteigrenzen überwindenden Basis die Umsetzung der jüdischen Selbstbestimmung, d.h. die Anerkennung der Juden als Nation, in einem demokratischen Staate zu erreichen. Gleichzeitig mit den ‚revolutionären‘ Forderungen nach Anerkennung der Juden als Nation und weitgehender Autonomie betonte der „Jüdische Nationalrat“ die Loyalität der österreichischen Juden zur Republik Deutsch-Österreich. 1919 drohte in Österreich rund 40.000 jüdischen Kriegsflüchtlingen die Abschiebung. Darüber hinaus lebten tausende Jüdinnen und Juden aus den früheren Kronländern seit Jahrzehnten in Wien. Ihr staatsbürgerlicher Status wurde nun ebenfalls in Frage gestellt. Die Mitglieder des „Jüdischen Nationalrates“ nahmen eine führende Stellung im Kampf gegen die Abschiebung jüdischer Kriegsflüchtlinge und für das Optionsrecht ein.

Einer der Hauptgründe für die Nichtanerkennung lag in der Selbstdefinition der Republik Österreich als Nationalstaat, der sich zur „deutschen Nation“ bekannte und sich Deutschland anschließen wollte. Dies bedingte, dass sich seine Staatsbürgerinnen und Staatsbürger zu einer Nation bekennen mussten. Der Friedensvertrag von St. Germain-en-Laye zwang Österreich zwar zur Anerkennung nationaler Minderheiten, wie der Ungarn, Tschechen, Slowaken, Kroaten und Slowenen, d.h. der angrenzenden Nachbarstaaten, für die Anerkennung weiterer Minderheiten, wie z.B. der Juden, war innerhalb dieses Konzepts aber kein Platz. In meinem Vortrag möchte ich einerseits die sozialen und politischen Prozesse untersuchen, die zur Ausgrenzung und Nichtanerkennung der Juden als Nation führten, und andererseits die Strategien der jüdischen Politiker und Funktionäre im Kampf um die staatsbürgerlichen Rechte aufzeigen, um Inklusion und Exklusion der in Wien lebenden Juden und Jüdinnen näher zu beleuchten.

Dieter.Hecht@oeaw.ac.at

Historiker, arbeitet am Institut für Kulturwissenschaften und Theatergeschichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Forschungsschwerpunkte: Jüdische Geschichte 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, Jüdische Presse, Provenienzforschung im Bereich Kunstrestitution und Holocaust Studies.



Devlin M. Scofield

(Northwest Missouri State University, Maryville)

Demarcating the National Family: French Nation-Building and Citizenship Policy in Alsace Following the First World War

The Treaty of Versailles fundamentally shaped the aggressive nation-building and population policies in the Franco-German borderland following the First World War. Even before the Treaty officially went into effect on January 10, 1920, Republican officials commenced an effort to cleanse the former *Reichsland* of the most egregious vestiges of the Imperial period. The reassertion of French sovereignty in Alsace was based on the conviction that an elemental incongruity existed between “Alsatian” and “German.” This officially created dichotomy left little room for national ambiguity and nuance. French officials adopted a two-pronged strategy to police the province’s population through the introduction of identification cards and Triage Commissions. Individuals judged to be potentially disruptive to the process of reintegration were liable for expulsion. This paper will argue that citizenship eligibility transformed from an inclusive, performative, post-Franco-Prussian War model, to a paradigm that prioritized ethnocultural descent, previous nationality, place of residence, and actions under the imperial administration. The Treaty of Versailles codified this more exclusive definition of national belonging, effectively privileging France’s right to claim its ideal citizenry over the inhabitants’ right to choose their ideal state. Another focus of this paper will be to show that French nationality practices in the province challenged existent citizenry legislation and demonstrates the limits of officials’ confidence in the assimilatory power of Republican institutions. Ultimately, the Treaty of Versailles’ postwar order failed to facilitate the reconciliation of Alsace to France and set a precedent that came back to haunt the borderland with a vengeance in 1940.

devlins@nwmissouri.edu

Devlin Scofield is an Assistant Professor of History at Northwest Missouri State University. He has published chapters in edited volumes with Manchester University Press (2017), Berghahn Books (2018), and Routledge Press (2019) and is currently working on a manuscript entitled, *The Vanquished among Victors: Veterans and National Belonging in Alsace, 1871–1953*, that examines Germany and France’s treatment of former enemy soldiers in the Alsatian borderland. The Berlin Program for Advanced German and European Studies, Michigan State University, the Central European History Society, the DAAD, and the German Historical Institute have generously supported his research.

Cristina Florea
(Cornell University, Ithaca)

How the Undeterminable was Determined: The Nationality Principle and the Post-Versailles Order in Bukovina

As the Austro-Hungarian Empire began to crumble in the fall of 1918, hundreds of individuals and groups clamored for the right to ‘national self-determination.’ In this paper, I tell the story of Bukovina, a former Austrian crown land incorporated into the empire in the late 18th century and regarded, by many contemporaries, as a miniature replica of Austria. While most other provinces of the former Austrian Empire splintered off, forming independent states in a pattern that reflected the empire’s administrative divisions, Bukovina was absorbed into Greater Romania. Home to a large Romanian- and Ukrainian-speaking population, Bukovina was also inhabited by Jews, Poles, Slovaks, and Germans. How was the right to national self-determination proclaimed in Paris supposed to be translated into practice here? I argue that the onset of Romanian authority in Bukovina was in part the result of early Ukrainian national mobilization (which alarmed and radicalized Romanian nationalists) and in part the work of a small group of Romanian elites. Romanian-speaking peasants for the most part watched the regime change with indifference. Disorder and chaos also played an important role both in facilitating and in undermining competing national claims to territory in Bukovina. By the time the Great Powers convened to arbitrate between all the conflicting claims, jurisdictions had already been retraced several times in Bukovina. Ironically, it was the radicalism of a small group of Romanian national elites that enabled imperial Bukovina to survive long past 1918, with its physical and demographic makeup almost completely unchanged.

cf476@cornell.edu

Cristina Florea is an Assistant Professor of Modern European history at Cornell University. She is currently writing a book about the East European borderland Bukovina, a study of provincial life at the frontiers of empires over the course of almost two centuries, in which Bukovina underwent several regime changes and revolutions.



Tara Zahra
(University of Chicago)

Keynote: Chutes and Ladders. Racializing Habsburg Central Europe after 1918

It was not that long ago that 1918 was celebrated in nationalist historiography in terms of the triumph of national self-determination and democracy. Collectively scholars have, in the last 20-30 years, effectively created a new paradigm for thinking about 1918 in East Central Europe and globally. Today we have a very different and arguably a much darker view of the legacy of 1918 and the concept of national self-determination. In my talk, I examine these developments, and then argue that we can take our interrogation of 1918 a step further by putting race and racialization rather than “ethnicity” or “ethnicization” at the forefront of the conversation. The transformations surrounding 1918 in East Central Europe reflected more than the dissolution of an empire or the “ethnicization” of populations, but rather the racialization of populations and the consolidation of global racial hierarchies.

Tara Zahra is Homer J. Livingston Professor of East European History at the University of Chicago. She is the author of four books, including, most recently, *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World* (Norton, 2016) and with Leora Auslander, *Objects of War: The Material Culture of Conflict and Displacement* (Cornell, 2018). She is currently co-writing a book with Pieter Judson on Habsburg Central Europe during the First World War and is working on a study of anti-globalism and deglobalization in interwar Europe.

Chair:

Éva Kovács (Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies – VWI)

eva.kovacs@vwi.ac.at

Prof. Dr., Soziologin. Studium der Ökonomie und Soziologie an der Corvinus Universität Budapest, PhD. 1994, Habilitation 2009. Éva Kovács ist auch Forschungsleiterin im Institut für Soziologie an der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Ihre Forschungsfelder sind Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung des Holocaust in Osteuropa, Gedächtnis- und Erinnerungsforschung, jüdische Identität in Ungarn und der Slowakei und Studien zu Roma und Sinti. Sie hat fünf Monographien verfasst, zehn Bücher herausgegeben, publizierte zahlreiche Artikel in peer-reviewed Journals und kuratierte mehrere Ausstellungen in Budapest, Berlin, Bratislava, Krems, Prag, Warschau und Wien mit. Sie ist die Gründerin des Archivs „Voices of the Twentieth Century“ in Budapest. Sie war Mitglied des Internationalen Wissenschaftlichen Beirats des VWI zwischen 2010-2012 und Forschungsleiterin am VWI zwischen 2012 und 2020.



Panel II: ‚Volkstumskämpfe‘. Das staatliche Gewaltmonopol hinterfragen
Ethnic Struggles. Questioning the State Monopoly of Violence

Mittwoch, 7. Juli 2021
Wednesday, 7 July 2021
10:00–11:30

Chair: Raul Cârstocea (University of Leicester)

rc472@leicester.ac.uk

Dr. Raul Cârstocea is Honorary Research Fellow in Modern European History at the University of Leicester, UK. His research interests focus on antisemitism, nationalism, fascism, and more broadly on state formation and nation-building processes in 19th and 20th-century Central and Eastern Europe and their consequences for minority groups. He has co-edited with Éva Kovács a volume entitled *Modern Antisemitisms in the Peripheries: Europe and its Colonies, 1880–1945*.

Zachary Mazur
(College of Europe-Natolin, Warsaw)

**Sovereignty and Legitimate Violence:
Micro-States in East Central Europe, 1918–1921**

Recent historiography has emphasized the violence and chaos that reigned in East Central Europe following the end of official hostilities in 1918. The absence of the state and the collapse of occupation regimes has generally been blamed for the rise in attacks on civilians during this weighty postwar period. However, at the same time there were dozens of “micro-states” that laid claim to legitimate violence in the name of nations, ideologies and localities.

This paper explores the provenance and history of several micro-states in order to understand various, often contradictory sovereignty claims and the mechanisms that led to “legitimate” acts of violence against national and religious groups that were perceived as a hinderance. For example, a German village – led by a virulent Lutheran pastor – declared themselves the Free State of Schwenten (Świętno) against their Polish Catholic neighbors. In Tarnobrzeg, right-wing extremists dispossessed Jews in the name of their own Republic.

Each local claim to authority ran counter to the more famous declarations of independence in Prague, Berlin, Vienna or Warsaw. These local groups collected taxes, printed currency, policed, meted out justice, and even fielded their own armies. Thus, they inhibited the ability of a central government to do the same. Moreover, nearly every micro-state was founded in opposition to another group or an alternative claim to statehood. Therefore, representatives of the “enemy” group found themselves the victims of “legitimate” violence, carried out by a group claiming to be a state.

zacharyamazur@gmail.com

Zachary Mazur is a Research Fellow at the College of Europe-Natolin. He is also a Visiting Scholar at the Polish Academy of Sciences Historical Institute in Warsaw. He completed his PhD at Yale University in 2018 under the direction of Prof. Timothy Snyder. His current book project explores the connection between sovereignty claims and the growth of state power in interwar Poland.

Jagoda Wierzejska
(University of Warsaw)

Ideologization of Violence in the Polish and Ukrainian Propaganda During and After the War for Eastern Galicia (1918–1919)

The paper is dedicated to discursive analyses of a Polish-Ukrainian propagandist campaign, which aimed at exaggerating and interpreting in a peculiar way mutual acts of violence committed by both national groups; a campaign run during and shortly after the Polish-Ukrainian War for Eastern Galicia. The aforementioned war was characterized by a tripartite antinomy. On the one hand, it was run, at least at the beginning, according to relatively “civilized” institutional rules (e.g. the Hague and Geneva conventions). On the other hand, some participants of the war, especially paramilitary units committed acts of brutal violence against civilians, not only, but particularly against Jews. In addition, both Polish and Ukrainian propaganda accused the enemy side of atrocious war offences, including unlikely perverse sexual crimes. The manifestations of the latter phenomenon on the Polish side were e.g. reports of the Polish parliamentary investigation committee for the “Hajdamac crimes” (1919). The Ukrainian “response” to such publications included, among others, *Krvavá kniha* (1920). Discursive analyses of these texts will pave me the way to pose the following problems: To what extent did the Polish and Ukrainian propagandist texts emulate the Western European, especially anti-German, propaganda during WWI? What ideological trends did they represent? Were they climactic manifestations of the ethnicization process, which had tormented the Habsburg Monarchy, including Galicia, since the first half of the 19th century? Or did they rather belong to the wide range of phenomena marking the beginning of what Hobsbawm has called “the epoch of nation states” in East-Central Europe?

j.wierzejska@uw.edu.pl

Jagoda Wierzejska, PhD, is a Historian of contemporary literature and culture, an Adjunct Professor in the Department of Literature of the 20th and 21st century at the Faculty of Polish Studies, University of Warsaw (Poland). Her main academic interests embrace ideological determinants of discourse of (the former) Austrian Galicia, esp. in the interwar period of 1918–39. She is the Principal Investigator of the international research project *(Multi)national Eastern Galicia in the interwar Polish discourse (and in its selected counter-discourses)* (2019-2022, no 2018/31/D/HS2/00356). Her recent publication is *Continuities and Discontinuities of the Habsburg Legacy in East-Central European Discourses since 1918*, eds. Magdalena Baran-Szołtyś & Jagoda Wierzejska.

Tomas Balkelis
(Lithuanian Institute of History, Vilnius)

The Logic of Violence in the Polish-Lithuanian Conflict, 1920–1923

The paper is devoted to violence that took place in the Polish-Lithuanian borderland after the Great War. Using a theoretical approach by Stathis Kalyvas, the author explores violent actors, types and dynamics of violence in the conflict over the neutral zone between Poland and Lithuania during 1920–1923. The zone was created by the initiative of the League of Nations at the end of the Polish-Lithuanian War of 1919–1920 and contained about 30,000 people of various ethnicities. However, the area immediately became an epicenter of irregular conflict between Poles and Lithuanians with high levels of ethnic strife that involved local civilians. The paper focuses on the experiences of civilians and the social impact of violence on the formation of their national identities. It explores the question whether the violence can be seen as nation-making tool used in the disputed areas such as the Polish-Lithuanian neutral zone. The author suggests that violence, effectively, became a nation-making instrument that forced the local people into two hostile networks of self-support (even those who did not have clear-cut, national identities). Thus, visible markers of identity turned the civilians into expected targets, and they were forced to coalesce around their respective groups because of security considerations. In this case, violence may be considered as a critical community building element. However, the process of forced nationalization was limited and may have resulted in the emergence of „indifference“ among certain groups of the population.

tomas.balkelis@gmail.com

Dr. Tomas Balkelis is a Research Fellow at the Lithuanian Institute of History in Vilnius. He received his Ph.D. in History at the University of Toronto in 2004. His major publications include *The Making of Modern Lithuania* (Routledge, 2009) and *War, Revolution and Nation-Making in Lithuania, 1914–1923* (Oxford, 2018).

Panel III: Die Rolle des Überbaus: Ethnisieren mittels Sprache, Religion, Kultur
The Role of the Superstructure. Ethnicising by Language, Religion, Culture

Mittwoch, 7. Juli 2021
Wednesday, 7 July 2021
12:00–14:00

Chair: Gábor Egry
(Institute of Political History, Budapest)

egry.gabor75@gmail.com

Gábor Egry is Director of the Institute of Political History, Budapest. His main research interests are nationalism, politics of memory, everyday ethnicity, state-building in Modern Central and Eastern Europe. He is the Principal Investigator of the ERC funded Consolidator project *NEPOSTRANS – Negotiating post-imperial transitions: from re-mobilization to nation-state consolidation. A comparative study of local and regional transitions in post-Habsburg East and Central Europe 1917–1930.*

Andrei Sorescu

(Research Institute of the University of Bucharest)

Catching Up With Transylvania:

How Romania Imagined Kinfolk as Its Betters, 1890–1918

The present paper seeks to nuance our understanding of Romanian nationalist discourse in the lead-up to Versailles by reflecting on the image of Transylvania as a model for the “Old Kingdom” of Romania. Pre-war Romania was a nation-state, which openly harbored ambitions for the cultural stewardship over kinfolk in its near abroad, lamenting their “de-nationalization” at the hands of the Austro-Hungarian state and lauding their resistance was as much a commonplace as it was predictable. However, my paper will focus on an important yet overlooked discursive thread: the idea that, in spite of oppression, Transylvanian Romanians fared better in terms of economic, educational, moral, and national progress. Indeed, this was a notion, which enjoyed a broad and trans-partisan consensus across the political and cultural sphere. However, if oppressed Transylvanians could be held up as a model for Romanians living in an independent nation-state, this was an implicit critique of the state’s policies and its legitimacy as a space for the optimal cultivation of the nation’s agency. Yet, while at first blush this may appear to be a subversive and radical form of self-criticism, my paper will show that this discourse was also partly domesticated and ritualized by the establishment – while nevertheless entrenching the image of an idealized Transylvania. In sum, the present paper argues that, in order to more properly deconstruct the retrospective teleologies of post-Versailles nation-state-building, scholars must dedicate a more in-depth analysis of foregoing political and cultural anxieties over the (im-)possibility of what, ultimately, only a radically new European order made possible. By refusing to reduce pre-war Romania’s imagined future relationship of Transylvania to one of unbridled expansionism, I aim to show how thinking about the nation beyond the state impelled reflection on the dynamics of nation-building at home.

andredansorescu@gmail.com

Andrei Sorescu is a Postdoctoral Researcher currently affiliated with the New Europe College Institute of Advanced Studies, Bucharest. A graduate of UCL’s School of Slavonic and East European studies, his research interests include transnational conceptual history, the history of nationalism, antisemitism, and colonial/imperial history.

Tim Corbett
(Vienna)

“Deutscher Stamm” or “Staatsvolk”? Unlikely Intersections Between Austro-Fascist and Jewish Discourses on ‘Austrianness’ in the 1930s

This paper examines a discursive intersection in the 1930s that complicates our understanding of Austrian people-, nation-, and statehood then and now: a selection of publications by three of the most prominent Austrians of the 1930s, namely the Jewish/Catholic/legitimist writer Joseph Roth, the Jewish/cosmopolite writer Stefan Zweig, and the Catholic/Austro-Fascist Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg. Unlikely though these ‘textual bedfellows’ may appear, this paper argues that they each mobilised strikingly similar tropes to conceptualise Austrian culture and ‘nationhood’, in particular emphasising the peculiarity of the Austrian ‘people’ not merely as a “German tribe” (as in the title, citing from a review of Schuschnigg’s *Dreimal Österreich* by Joseph Roth from January 1938) but, by recourse to the Habsburg past, as endowed with a unique cultural ‘mission’ in the heart of Europe.

In the aftermath of the Holocaust, Jewish patriotic, nationalistic, and even ‘fascisant’ engagements with Austria have been widely underestimated or dismissed in scholarship, for example as an expression of an ultimately failed attempt to ‘assimilate’ into their ‘host society’ – a problematic, because ethnically essentialising explanatory model. This paper argues that Jewish engagements with the becoming of Austria in this era – especially their intersections with nationalist/fascisant discourses – in fact reveal a lot more: about the processual nature of nation- and state-building in Europe at the time and the role of Jewish intellectuals therein; of competing models of ‘nationhood’ beyond mere ethnicity; and of the continuity of the pluriculturalism of the empire in this short-lived period of Austria coming to terms with its independence.

tim_corbett@hotmail.co.uk

Tim Corbett is a freelance historian and translator based in Vienna, who specialises in modern Jewish/Austrian history. His work has been published in a variety of interdisciplinary journals and he has translated two books and a range of articles on Jewish history and the Holocaust in Central Europe. His first book, a comprehensive 900-page history of Vienna’s Jewish cemeteries, will be published in early 2021. Corbett is an alumnus of the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, having absolved a Junior Fellowship in 2014/15, during which he completed and defended his doctoral dissertation.



Elisabeth Haid
(Institute of Political History, Budapest)

Kampf um die Sprache: Konflikte um Minderheitenschulen in Ostgalizien in der Zweiten Polnischen Republik

Die Schule und insbesondere die Frage der Unterrichtssprache spielten bereits zur Zeit der Habsburgermonarchie eine wichtige Rolle in Nationalitätenkonflikten. Nach der Etablierung neuer Nationalstaaten und den Verträgen von Versailles wurde das Thema im Zusammenhang mit Minderheitenrechten neu aufgegriffen. Einerseits sprachen die Minderheitenschutzverträge nationalen Minderheiten das Recht auf muttersprachlichen Unterricht zu. Andererseits stand dieser Ansatz oft im Widerspruch zu nationalstaatlichen Bestrebungen nach Nationalisierung und Vereinheitlichung. Anhand der multiethnischen Region Ostgalizien wird die Gesetzgebung in der Zweiten Polnischen Republik und deren Umsetzung auf lokaler Ebene beleuchtet. Als Vergleich wird die nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg an Rumänien angeschlossene, benachbarte Bukowina herangezogen.

elisabeth.haid@univie.ac.at

Elisabeth Haid, Postdoc im ERC project *NEPOSTRANS – Negotiating post-imperial transitions: from remobilization to nation-state consolidation. A comparative study of local and regional transitions in post-Habsburg East and Central Europe 1917–1930* am Institute of Political History, Budapest, beschäftigt sich mit der Übergangsphase nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg in Ostgalizien. Ihre Promotion *Im Blickfeld zweier Imperien. Galizien in der österreichischen und russischen Presseberichterstattung während des Ersten Weltkriegs (1914–1917)* ist 2019 erschienen.

Thomas Ort
(Queens College/City University of New York)

**An Ordinary Marriage?
Czech-German Matrimony in Karel Čapek's *An Ordinary Life***

This essay explores the representation of Czech-German marriage in Karel Čapek's 1934 novel *An Ordinary Life*. One of interwar Czechoslovakia's leading writers, Karel Čapek is best-known for his 1920 play *R.U.R. (Rossum's Universal Robots)* in which he introduced the word "robot" and for his 1936 novel *War with the Newts*, an apocalyptic satire of Europe in the age of dictatorship. His critical masterpiece, however, is widely considered to be the trilogy of novels he wrote in 1933 and 1934: *Hordubal*, *Meteor*, and *An Ordinary Life*. These books are often referred to as Čapek's "philosophical novels," and they have been justly praised for their deft handling of complex epistemological questions. What has less often been noted is that at the center of *An Ordinary Life* lies an anything but ordinary portrayal of Czech-German marital relations. Čapek wrote his novel at a difficult time in the history of Czechoslovakia's First Republic, shortly after the Nazi assumption of power in Germany. Hitler's promise to revisit the territorial arrangements of the Versailles Treaty and settle once and for all the Sudeten German question brought the already strained relations between the Czechoslovak state and its German minority population to a new low. Čapek's representation of Czech-German marriage was, I argue, a plea to keep the fragile, ethnically divided new state together, to prevent "divorce." It demonstrates Čapek's conception of harmonious Czech-German co-existence, but also reveals the limitations of that vision.

Thomas.Ort@qc.cuny.edu

Thomas Ort is Associate Professor of Modern European history at Queens College, The City University of New York. He is the author of *Art and Life in Modernist Prague: Karel Čapek and his Generation, 1911–1938* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), which has also been published in Czech translation (Argo, 2016). He is now working on a book concerning the memory of the 1942 assassination in Prague of Reinhard Heydrich.

Panel IV: Brüche in Staatlichkeit. Gewalt, Ethnizität. Konsolidierung, 1918–1921
Ruptures in Statehood. Violence, Ethnicity, and Consolidation, 1918–1921

Mittwoch, 7. Juli 2021
Wednesday, 7 July 2021
15:00–16:30

Chair: Alexander Korb (University of Leicester)

ak368@leicester.ac.uk

Alexander Korb is Associate Professor in Modern European history at the University of Leicester and part of the Stanley Burton Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies. His research focuses on Central and Southeastern European cooperation with the Nazis, on shared European values in the age of fascism, on the ideology and practice of genocide throughout the 20th Century, but also on how the Holocaust can be taught and communicated, e.g. through graphic novels. A study on mass violence as a shared and contested practice between Germans, Italians and Croats is forthcoming with Oxford UP under the title *Intertwined Genocides*.

Allison Rodriguez
(Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut)

**Committing Violence, Practicing Democracy:
Upper Silesia during the Plebiscite Period, 1919–1921**

The Upper Silesian plebiscite period was marked by violence – three bloody uprisings; a series of strikes, both organized and wildcat, in the mines; unrest over food shortages; and a general rise in “banditry.” And yet – in the wake of this violence, the people of Upper Silesia attempted to return to the prewar electoral order. Within a year of the German Revolution and declaration of the Armistice, Upper Silesians were asked to participate in three elections that, aside from some nationalists’ grumblings, were democratic, open and free. To use historian Margaret Anderson’s term, Upper Silesians very quickly returned to “practicing democracy.” This paper focuses on the unique causes and consequences of the three Upper Silesian Uprisings of 1919, 1920 and 1921 and examines how Upper Silesians balanced this violence with an attempt to return to democratic norms. I argue that both Polish and German nationalists were committed to a democratic solution to the Upper Silesian question. It was only after the plebiscite, in which Germany received sixty percent of the overall vote, that Polish nationalists used violence in an attempt to take the region by force in the Third Silesian Uprising of May 1921. That is, violence was only used as a *fait accompli* when it was determined that the democratic process had somehow failed. Thus, this paper complicates the perceptions of violence and its use in Central and Eastern Europe during the immediate post-war period.

allison.rodriguez@trincoll.edu

Allison Rodriguez is a Visiting Assistant Professor of History at Trinity College. She specializes in Central and Eastern Europe, with a focus on Germany and Poland, and is especially interested in issues of gender and nationalism/national indifference. Her dissertation examined the ways in which the 1921 Upper Silesian Plebiscite and its preceding propaganda campaign gave nationalists the opportunity and space to define and refine what it meant to be German or Polish in the borderland region.



Béla Bodó
(University Bonn)

Antisemitism and the Social and Cultural Roots of the White Terror in Hungary, 1919–1921

The presentation examines the rise of right-wing paramilitary violence after the collapse of the Council Republic in early August 1919. The presentation touches on the long-term causes of right-wing militia violence, such as: the birth of the antisemitic and nationalist student militias at the turn of the century; police brutality against labor and peasant leaders and representatives of the ethnic minorities before 1914; bread riots after 1915; pogroms and jacqueries in the final phase and the immediate aftermath of the war; the mistreatment of deserters by the military police in the final stage of the war. However, the focus of the paper is on the short-term causes of right-wing militia violence and its consequences, such as the dissolution of the army in the fall of 1918, the dissatisfaction of the mainly middle-class officers with the democratic regime and their reaction to the Communist experiment and the Red Terror. The presentation locates the sources of right-wing militia violence in pre-war and middle-class youth culture; the war experience of officers rather than common soldiers; the peculiar structure of the officers' detachments; the role of charismatic leaders; and the importance of militia commanders as father substitutes, providers, conduits of social mobility, model gentlemen and instigators of crimes. Finally, the presentation examines ideological motives (nationalism and radical antisemitism) and economic interests (antisemitic violence as a form of social positioning) as unique sources of right-wing militia violence in Hungary after August 1919.

bbodo@uni-bonn.de

Prof. Dr. Béla Bodó teaches history at the University of Bonn, Germany. His latest book entitled *The White Terror: Antisemitic and Political History in Hungary, 1919–1923* was published by Routledge in 2019.

Anca Diana Axinia
(European University Institute, Florence)

Politics as Warfare: The Uses of Violence in the Romanian Legionary Movement

The Legionary Movement represented a major protagonist, in ideology and practice, on the Romanian interwar political scene. In the movement's vision, antisemitism and nationalism were not mere political choices or preferences, but 'existential' features of the 'true' Romanian man and woman. In my intervention, I would like to address the multiple ways in which violence characterized the Legion's conceptualization of politics. The movement's political activity was presented as a war, composed by a series of battles, against the Jewish population, against the corrupted political class, against the democratic system, which 'perverted the essence of the Romanian soul'. The legionary war did not only lead to a general militarization of the Legion's organization, but it was also a state of mind, an active life choice, the awareness that living the legionary life meant a constant, incessant fight against the enemies, by all means deemed necessary. Physical violence was a significant aspect of this fighting but was accompanied by other forms of violence, linguistic, symbolic, cultural. In my presentation, I will address another central aspect of the legionary warfare, the incorporation and participation of women in the movement's political project. The inclusion of women followed complex and sometimes contradictory paths, made of gradual elaborations, sudden changes, and constant negotiations. Legionary women carved their way into politics by adjusting to different and often contrasting roles, from the care-giver woman on the 'home front' of the legionary war, to the image of the woman fighter.

anca.axinia@eui.eu

Anca Diana Axinia is a Ph.D. student at the European University Institute in Florence. She received her master's degree in history at the University of Bologna in 2015, with a dissertation titled *Between Memory and Oblivion. The Legacy of World War Second in Romania*. She is currently writing her doctoral dissertation (temporary title: *Women and Politics in the Romanian Legionary Movement*) under the supervision of Laura L. Downs and Pieter M. Judson.



Panel V: Ethnisierungsprozesse an der Basis. Fallstudien
The Grassroots Dimension of Ethnicising Processes. Case Studies

Donnerstag, 8. Juli 2021
Thursday, 8 July 2021
10:00 – 11:30

Chair: Philipp Rohrbach (Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies – VWI)

philipp.rohrbach@vwi.ac.at

Philipp Rohrbach, MA, Historiker, Studium der Geschichte, Slawistik und Zeitgeschichte an der Universität Wien, wo er gerade an seiner Dissertation arbeitet. Seit 2010 als wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter bzw. Kurator diverser Ausstellungen und Projekte, u.a. *recollecting* (MAK, 2008), *Goldscheider* (LBI NY, 2009), *Kampf um die Stadt* (Wien Museum, 2009), *Schwarz-Österreich. Die Kinder afroamerikanischer Besatzungssoldaten* (Volkskundemuseum Wien, 2016), *Ungarisch-jüdische Zwangsarbeit in Wien 1944/45* (VWI, 2015-2018), *Lost in Administration. Die Geschichte der Kinder afroamerikanisch GIs in Österreich* (Universität Salzburg, 2015-2017), gegenwärtig gemeinsam mit Mag. Adina Seeger und Tom Juncker, MA für das Projekt *Austrian Heritage Archive* (Verein Gedenkdienst/VWI) zuständig. Forschungsinteressen: Österreichisch-Jüdische Emigration in die USA und nach Palästina/Israel, Oral History, Kinder des Krieges, Rassismus nach 1945 und Adoption-Studies.

Tomaž Mesarič

(Andrássy Universität Budapest)

Von der Untersteiermark zur Štajerska. Die Umbruchjahre in den Städten Celje/Cilli, Maribor/Marburg und Ptuj/Pettau, 1918–1923

Der Vortrag diskutiert am Beispiel der Städte Celje/Cilli, Maribor/Marburg und Ptuj/Pettau in der Untersteiermark die deutschsprachige Stadtbevölkerung, die sich mit ihrer mehrheitlich slowenischen Landbevölkerung nach 1918 im neuen SHS-Staat zurechtfinden musste. Ende Oktober 1918 lösten Krain/Kranjska und die Untersteiermark ihre Bindungen an Wien und traten als mehrheitlich slowenisch-sprachige Gebiete dem neu proklamierten, südslawischen Staat bei. Der in Maribor/Marburg stationierte k. u. k. Major Rudolf Meister schuf mit seinen Freiwilligen Fakten und besetzte die Untersteiermark im Namen des SHS-Staates. Somit legte er auch die zukünftige Südgrenze des Bundeslandes Steiermark fest (heute: die steirisch-slowenische Grenze), noch bevor diese im Friedensvertrag von Saint-Germain-en-Laye am 10. September 1919 offiziell gezogen war. War die deutschsprachige Minderheit in der neuen Nachkriegsrealität von den slowenischen Ämtern überhaupt als Minderheit wahrgenommen und dementsprechend behandelt worden? Wie waren die Minderheiten im neuen SHS-Staat rechtlich geschützt und folgte man der Gesetzgebung auch im Alltag? Erzählend aus der Sicht der Stadtverwaltung der eingangs genannten Städte werden die Archivbestände in Stadtarchiven samt Zeitungsberichten und Amtsblättern gesammelt, diskursanalytisch erforscht und wiedergegeben. Der Untersuchungszeitraum fängt vor den Pariser Vorortverträgen mit der Proklamation des SHS-Staates an und endet mit der Gründung und späteren Aufnahme der jugoslawischen Deutschen Partei ins Belgrader Bundesparlament im Jahre 1923 (5 Mandate), was als gewisse Beruhigung und Anerkennung der neuen politischen Realität wahrgenommen werden kann.

tomaz.mesaric@andrassyuni.hu

Studierte von 2011 bis 2017 Geschichte an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität von Ljubljana und schloss sein Bachelor- und Masterstudium im Bereich der Zeitgeschichte ab. Seit Oktober 2018 ist er durch ein Stipendium des BMBWF Mitglied im Doktoratskolleg für Mitteleuropäische Geschichte und Doktorand an der Interdisziplinären Doktorschool der Andrássy Universität Budapest (AUB) mit dem Schwerpunkt Finanz-, und Wirtschaftsgeschichte.



Andrzej Michalczyk
(Ruhr-Universität Bochum)

Politisierung, Nationalisierung und Gewalt. Eine mikrohistorische Perspektive auf die oberschlesische Gesellschaft vor und nach dem Plebiszit 1921

Der Versailler Vertrag bestimmte für Oberschlesien, ein umstrittenes Grenzgebiet zwischen Deutschland und Polen, eine Volksabstimmung über die staatliche Zugehörigkeit der Region. Sowohl für die politischen Entscheidungsträger von damals als auch für die Nationalismus- und Oberschlesienforscher von heute schien es die sinnvolle Lösung eines schon länger andauernden Konfliktes. Beide Gruppen gingen bzw. gehen von der Prämisse aus, dass ein Großteil der betroffenen Bevölkerung in der Lage (gewesen) sei, auf der Grundlage von nationalen Zugehörigkeitsgefühlen eine solche Entscheidung zu treffen. Es war schon damals ein Irrtum und wird noch fast 100 Jahre später kaum korrigiert. Aber genau vor diesem Hintergrund möchte ich die Frage aufgreifen: “What was the long-term impact of the Paris Peace Conference in defining peoples as members of an ethnic, cultural, or national group, and in shaping their responses?”

Oberschlesien wurde im 19. Jh. mit den wichtigsten Erscheinungen der Moderne konfrontiert: industrialisiert, mobil, kommunikationstechnisch erschlossen und vergleichsweise gebildet (dichtes Volksschulnetz). Die in der Nationalismusforschung anvisierten Bedingungen zur Entstehung einer modernen Industriegesellschaft wurden spätestens vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg erreicht, was zwangsläufig zur Verbreitung und Festigung eines Denkens in nationalen Kategorien führte. Was aber dabei unterschätzt wird: Kann nationale Indifferenz auch in Industriegesellschaften eine dominierende Haltung einnehmen?

Diesem Themenkomplex möchte ich mikrohistorisch nachgehen und schaue quellenah auf kleine Gemeinden. Es ist durchaus eine legitime Frage, ob der Versailler Vertrag die ethnische Diversität der umstrittenen Räumen Ost- und Mitteleuropas reflektierte, oder aber erst und entscheidend dazu beitrug, rigide und vermeintlich nicht wandelbare Kategorien zu schaffen und sie durchzusetzen.

Andrzej.Michalczyk@rub.de

Andrzej Michalczyk, akademischer Rat für Neuere, Neuste und Ostmitteleuropäische Geschichte an der Ruhr-Universität Bochum; forscht mikro- und alltagshistorisch zu Nationalismen, Gruppenbildungsprozessen, Migrationen und Erinnerungskulturen; veröffentlichte 2020 als Mitautor *Migrationsgeschichte Oberschlesiens. Globale Mobilität in regionaler Perspektive*.

Edina Gál
(Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca)

Raising the Orphans of Transylvania. Child Protection and Nationalism After 1918

In ethnically diverse regions, the upbringing of orphans was considered crucial in order to strengthen the ethnic communities they belonged to, by passing on the language and the cultural values. In pre-war Transylvania, where religious denomination was closely related to ethnicity, the ecclesiastical orphanages played an important part in preventing the acculturation of children. In 1903, the state established the Children's Asylums in the major cities of Hungary, offering protection to any child declared abandoned by the authorities. They were accepted regardless of nationality and religion but were regularly placed in the care of Hungarian foster parents, thus resulting in the Magyarization of the children. After the Great War, Transylvania became part of Romania and a series of changes occurred in the relation of the state and the ethnic communities. The press and the archives offer an insight into these processes of ethnicization following the war. The state asylums started the Romanianization of the supposedly Magyarized children by replacing the foster parents. Jews, culturally assimilated with Hungarians, founded the Association for Protecting Jewish Orphans in order to strengthen the Jewish community in Transylvania. Denominational orphanages associated with the Hungarian community gained an even more important role in preventing the acculturation of the orphans, as shown through the conflicts between the Roman Catholic Church and the state for the Theresianum orphanage in Sibiu/Hermannstadt/Nagyszeben.

edina92tunde@gmail.com

Edina Gál, PhD student at the Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca. Interested in the history of orphanages and the child protection system in Transylvania, Banat and Eastern Hungary. Publications include papers about orphanages and the survival strategies of orphans after epidemics.



Panel VI: Ethnisierung von Unten. Aktivismus, Populismus und die Intellektuellen
Ethnicising from Below. Activism, Populism, and the Intelligentsia

Donnerstag, 8. Juli 2021
Thursday, 8 July 2021
12:30–15:00

Chair: Gerhard Baumgartner
(Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes, DÖW)

gerhard.baumgartner@doew.at

Gerhard Baumgartner ist ein österreichischer Journalist und Historiker. Er studierte von 1977 bis 1984 an der Universität Wien Geschichte, Anglistik und Uralistik, war von 2000 bis 2003 Projektleiter bei der Österreichischen Historikerkommission und leitete zudem zentrale Projekte zur Geschichte der Roma und Sinti bzw. zur Aufarbeitung der NS-Vergangenheit, wie bspw. von 1998 bis 2000 *Roma und Sinti im Burgenland 1945 - 2000. Zur aktuellen Situation einer Volksgruppe* oder von 2003 bis 2008 die *Namentliche Erfassung der im Nationalsozialismus ermordeten Österreichischen Roma und Sinti*. Seit Mai 2014 ist Gerhard Baumgartner wissenschaftlicher Leiter des Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes (DÖW).

Zu seinen Forschungsschwerpunkten zählen: Widerstand und Verfolgung 1938–1945, Verfolgungsgeschichte der Roma und Sinti, Umgang der Republik Österreich mit der NS-Vergangenheit und die Geschichte der nationalen Minderheiten des Burgenlands.

Alexander Korb
(University of Leicester)

An Anti-Paris New Order. Ideology and Practice of *Völkisch* Activists Working Towards a New European Order, 1919–1939

The paper argues that the wide-spread resistance against the Paris Peace Treaties in Central and Southeastern Europe created a moment of nationalist internationalism. Nationalist and irredentist elites throughout Europe came to realize that their vision of an ethnically homogenized nation-state was more likely to be realized in the framework of an anti-liberal and anti-minority “New European Order”. German nationalist activists were paramount in promoting that notion throughout Europe and connecting nationalists, who were equally unhappy with the outcome of World War I for their country as the Germans were with Versailles. Nationalism thus created a moment of European connectedness and contributed greatly to German soft power in the 1920s and 30s. The paper will explore those anti-Paris networks, their discourses and their activities up until WWII (and beyond).

ak368@leicester.ac.uk

Alexander Korb is Associate Professor in Modern European history at the University of Leicester and part of the Stanley Burton Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies. His research focuses on Central and Southeastern European cooperation with the Nazis, on shared European values in the age of fascism, on the ideology and practice of genocide throughout the 20th Century, but also on how the Holocaust can be taught and communicated, e.g. through graphic novels. A study on mass violence as a shared and contested practice between Germans, Italians and Croats is forthcoming with Oxford UP under the title *Intertwined Genocides*.



Pauli Aro
(European University Institute, Florence)

„In Our Viennese Swabian Village“
Banat Swabian Activism, Loyalty and Empathy in Austria, 1918–1938

In the interwar years, German ethnonationalist entrepreneurs would propagate a distinct German *Volksgruppen*-mentality in countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Romania. Yet, historians have hardly considered the First Austrian Republic as an arena of *Volksgruppen* activism. By looking on the activities of Banat Swabian nationalists in Vienna, this presentation is an open invitation to do just that.

Usually, post-1918 *landsmannschaftliche Vereine* are remembered for their bellicose language, demanding the liberation of the lost homeland. Yet, in order to mobilize people *Volksgruppen*-activists in Austria could equally express their nationalism in terms of empathy. The most successful actor in this field was an originally small association formed by hairdressers with roots in the Banat, the so-called “Verein der Banater Schwaben in Wien” (Association of Banat Swabians in Vienna). These Banat Swabian activists sent Viennese children – regardless of whether they were Swabian or not – to the rural area around Temesvar to spend some weeks of relaxation and fun but also to strengthen the ties to the former homeland.

In doing so, the “Verein der Banater Schwaben” was able to transform from a small community of professionals into an association that effectively claimed to represent the whole of the Banat Swabian community to the Austrian society. They were ethnicising but not through hate and violence. This legacy of empathy could effectively be invoked by expellee activists and their sympathizers after 1945.

pauli.aro@eui.eu

Pauli Aro is a PhD candidate at the Department of History and Civilization at the EUI, Florence. Before moving to Florence, he got a BA in history and a MA in contemporary history from the University of Vienna. His MA thesis dealt with the autobiographical writings of the Sudeten German Nazi Ernst Frank. Aro had the opportunity to participate in two public history projects: the multimedia project *Zeituhr 1938* on 24 hours during the ‘Anschluss’ of Austria in 1938; and *Nur die Geigen sind geblieben – Alma und Arnold Rosé*, one of the opening exhibitions at the House of Austrian History in Vienna in 2018/19.

Nikolaus Hagen
(University of Innsbruck)

Inventing 'Grenzlanddeutschtum'. Richard Bahr and his Legacy

The Paris treaties of 1919 left a significant number of German-speakers outside of the borders of the newly established Republics of Germany and Austria. These communities, reimagined as *Grenzlanddeutsche* ("frontier-Germans"), quickly turned into the primary object of German foreign-policy of the interwar period. The invention of the *Grenzlanddeutschtum* was both a political and an intellectual endeavor. Networks of researchers and activists engaged in the production of knowledge, in order to substantiate political revisionist and expansionists claims and to forge an idea of a common 'Germanness'. Richard Bahr, a Baltic German publicist, leading journalist in Berlin and member of the liberal German Democratic Party, was one of the most influential activists in these pan-German organizations. He maintained publications networks through which knowledge on these communities was flowing into Germany and Austria – and, likewise, German political thought back into the communities. While initially based on a liberal agenda, these networks became increasingly entangled with the rising Nazi movement. Originally promoting an idea of 'Germanness' based on culture and self-identification, they ultimately succumbed to *völkisch* concepts.

nikolaus.hagen@uibk.ac.at

Nikolaus Hagen was Fortunoff Fellow at the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies and lecturer at the University College for Teacher Education Vorarlberg. He was previously EHRI Fellow at the Arolsen Archives and Curatorial Fellow at the Jewish Museum Munich.

Zsolt Vitári
(Universität Pécs)

Gesteuerte Jugendemanzipation bei den Ungarndeutschen als Teil des Gruppenbildungsprozesses in der Zwischenkriegszeit

In den mit den ungarischen Homogenisierungstendenzen kollidierenden Gruppenbildungsprozessen der Deutschen in Ungarn kam der Jugend als neuer Akteur eine erstrangige Rolle zu. Doch um die Wahrnehmung dieser neuen Position war eine zweifache Emanzipation nötig – eine Emanzipation als Jugend im sozialen Sinne und eine Emanzipation als Minderheit im ethnischen Sinne. Um die Gruppenbildung der Deutschen zum Erfolg zu führen, war also eine Gruppenbildung der ungarndeutschen Jugend ebenfalls nötig. Diese Emanzipation musste jedoch von außen angekurbelt und mobilisiert werden und war, da es sich um einen politischen Kampf handelte, auch mit einer Politisierung und weil man die ganze Volksgruppe organisieren wollte, auch mit einer Uniformierung verbunden.

Diese Bestrebungen zeigten Anfang der 1940er Jahre klare Ergebnisse, doch die sich allmählich verschärfende Desintegration, der Missbrauch im Krieg und die sich rasch ändernden Identitätsvorgaben (von deutschungarischer über die *völkische* bis hin zur nationalsozialistischen) und insbesondere die in der letzten Etappe forcierte, ausschließliche Hinwendung und volle Angleichung an Traditionen im Reich, haben die vorerst erreichten günstigen Ergebnisse der Ethnisierung wieder rückgängig gemacht. Dies brachte zugleich diverse Bruchlinien in den ungarndeutschen Milieus hervor und verursachte eine innere Verfremdung und einen kompletten Loyalitätsbruch gegenüber Ungarn.

vitarizsolt@hotmail.com

Zsolt Vitári ist Universitätsdozent und Lehrstuhlleiter am Lehrstuhl für Zeitgeschichte im Historischen Institut der Universität Pécs (Ungarn). Forschungsschwerpunkte: Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus, Geschichte der Ungarndeutschen, Publikationen zur Geschichte der Hitlerjugend und deren Auslandsbeziehungen sowie zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Ungarn im 20. Jahrhundert.

Dr. Adrian Brisku
(Charles University, Prague)

Renegotiating the Empire, Forging the Nation State: The Albanian Case through the Political Economic Thought of Ismail Qemali, Fan Noli, and Luigj Gurakuqi, 1890–1920s

This talk examines historical positions regarding the question of the small nation-(state) of Albania remaining “in” the larger Ottoman supranational entity and “out” as independent nation-state during the late 19th and early 20th century. It does so mainly, but not only, through the language of political economy (wealth creation and redistribution) as articulated in the thoughts and deeds of three founding intellectual and political figures of the Albanian nation-(state): Ismail Qemali, Fan Noli, and Luigj Gurakuqi. While lacking a clear political-economic perspective for this emerging nation in the late Ottoman period, all three figures maintained that – as an independent, small nation-state – Albania could survive and perhaps thrive, if its wealth and national economic development remained anchored within a larger political and economic space. More than Qemali, Gurakuqi, and Noli envisaged a greater state role in the country’s “national economy-building” process. But while Gurakuqi was more of a ‘nationalist’ on wealth creation, Noli sought to pursue a more ‘radical’, redistributive path to national development.

adrian.brisku@fsv.cuni.cz

Adrian Brisku is an Intellectual and comparative Historian at the Institute of International Studies of Charles University, Prague. His academic work includes *Bittersweet Europe: Albanian and Georgian Discourses on Europe, 1878-2008* (New York: London, Berghahn Books, 2013) and *Political Reform in the Ottoman and Russian Empires: A Comparative Approach* (London: Bloomsbury Academics, 2017).

