EASTERN EUROPE AND THE WEST

**SELECTED PAPERS FROM THE FOURTH WORLD CONGRESS FOR
SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES, HARROGATE, 1990**

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Eastern Europe and the West

**Selected Papers from the Fourth World Congress for Soviet and
East European Studies, Harrogate, 1990**

Edited by

John Morison

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University of Leeds*

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St. Martin's Press

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General Editor's Introduction

The Fourth World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies took place in Harrogate, Yorkshire, in July 1990. It was an unusual congress in many ways. It was the first of its kind to take place in Britain, and the first to take place since the launching of Gorbachev's programme of *perestroika* and the revolutions in Eastern Europe (indeed so rapid was the pace of change in the countries with which we were concerned that the final programme had to incorporate over 600 amendments). It was the largest and most complex congress of Soviet and East European studies that has yet taken place, with twenty-seven panels spread over fourteen sessions on six days. It was also the most representative congress of its kind, with over 2000 participants including – for the first time – about 300 from the USSR and Eastern Europe. Most were scholars, some were activists, and a few were the new kind of academic turned part-time deputy: whatever their status, it was probably this Soviet and East European presence that contributed most directly to making this a very different congress from the ones that had preceded it in the 1970s and 1980s.

No series of volumes, however numerous, could hope to convey the full flavour of this extraordinary occasion. The formal panels alone incorporated almost a thousand papers. There were three further plenary sessions; there were many more unattached papers; and the subjects that were treated ranged from medieval Novgorod to computational linguistics, from the problems of the handicapped in the USSR to Serbian art at the time of the battle of Kosovo. Nor, it was decided at an early stage, would it even be desirable to attempt a fully comprehensive 'congress proceedings', including all the papers in their original form. My aim as General Editor, with the strong support of the International Council for Soviet and East European Studies (who cosponsored the congress with the British Association for Soviet, Slavonic and East European Studies), has rather been to generate a series of volumes which will have some thematic coherence, and to bring them out as quickly as possible while their (often topical) contents are still current.

A strategy of this kind imposes a cost, in that many authors have had to find other outlets for what would in different circumstances have been very publishable papers. The gain, however, seems much greater:

a series of real books on properly defined subjects, edited by scholars of experience and standing in their respective fields, and placed promptly before the academic community. These, I am glad to say, were the same as the objectives of the publishers who expressed an interest in various aspects of the congress proceedings, and it has led to a series of volumes as well as of special issues of journals covering a wide range of interests. There are volumes on art and architecture, on history and literature, on law and economics, on society and education. There are further volumes on nationality issues and the Ukraine, on the environment, on international relations and on defence. There are Soviet volumes, and others that deal more specifically with Eastern (or, perhaps more properly, East Central) Europe. There are interdisciplinary volumes on women in Russia and the USSR, the Soviet experience in the Second World War, and ideology and system change. There are special issues of some of the journals that publish in our field, dealing with religion and Slovene studies, émigrés and East European economics, publishing and politics, linguistics and the Russian revolution. Altogether nearly forty separate publications will stem from the Harrogate congress: more than twice as many as from any previous congress of its kind, and a rich and enduring record of its deliberations.

Most of these volumes will be published in the United Kingdom by Macmillan. It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge Macmillan's early interest in the scholarly output of the congress, and the swift and professional attention that has been given to all of these volumes since their inception. A full list of the Harrogate series appears elsewhere in the Macmillan edition of this volume; it can give only an impression of the commitment and support I have enjoyed from Tim Farmiloe, Clare Wace and others at all stages of our proceedings. I should also take this opportunity to thank John Morison and his colleagues on the International Council for Soviet and East European Studies for entrusting me with this responsible task in the first place, and the various sponsors – the Erasmus Prize Fund of Amsterdam, the Ford Foundation in New York, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the British Council, the Stefan Batory Trust and others – whose generous support helped to make the congress a reality.

The next congress will be held in 1995, and (it is hoped) at a location in Eastern Europe. Its proceedings can hardly hope to improve upon the vigour and imagination that is so abundantly displayed on the pages of these splendid volumes.

Preface

The Fourth World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies took place in the Yorkshire spa resort of Harrogate, England, from 21 to 26 July 1990. The recent revolutionary events in East Europe and the continuing changes in the Soviet Union, as Stephen White has noted, added considerable excitement to the proceedings. The presence of large numbers of scholars from East Europe and the Soviet Union added greatly to the liveliness and quality of the discussions. The programme was wide-ranging in terms of the disciplines, periods and geographical areas covered. One of the many streams of which it was composed consisted of a large number of panels on East European history. Many of these, as befitted a Congress taking place in Britain, related to relations between East Europe and the West. The variety and quality of these papers is reflected in those selected for this volume. The fact that the authors come from six countries is a tribute to the degree of international cooperation manifested at the Congress.

World Congresses are by their nature large-scale ventures which depend for their success on voluntary contributions from many people, and in this case not least from the participants who travelled from all corners of the world to contribute in a lively and constructive manner to the proceedings and informal discussions. Special thanks are due to Stanislav Kirschbaum for his work in organising the section of the programme which included East European history and politics, and to Barbara, Alison and Peter Mayo who did so much of the practical work without which the Congress could not have taken place. Gratitude is also due once again to the bodies which, through their generous grants, made possible the attendance of so many scholars from East Europe: the Erasmus Prize Foundation of Amsterdam, the Ford Foundation of New York, the Stefan Batory Foundation of Warsaw, the British Council, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Great Britain/East Europe Centre and many others. Their help is greatly appreciated. Without it, the Congress could not have taken place and this volume could not have appeared.

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JOHN MORISON

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Osvaldo Croci taught History and International Relations at Concordia University, Montreal, Canada, having completed his doctoral studies at McGill University in 1991 with a thesis on the Trieste Crisis, 1953. In the winter of 1991, he was Visiting Assistant Professor in Political Science at Bishop's University at Lennoxville in Quebec, and now teaches at the Memorial University of Newfoundland.

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Hans Henning Hahn currently teaches at the Historical Seminar of the University of Cologne, Germany, and has also taught at the Universities of Heidelberg, Warsaw and Bielefeld. He specialises in modern Polish history, German-Polish relations, international relations in the nineteenth century and the representation of history in feature films. His many publications include *Aussenpolitik in der Emigration*.

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John Morison is Senior Lecturer in Russian and East European History at the University of Leeds, England, and is President of the International Council for Soviet and East European Studies. Among his publications are several articles on Russian and Czech educational history.

Peter Pastor is Professor of History at Montclair State College, New Jersey, USA. His many publications on Hungarian history include the book, *Hungary between Wilson and Lenin: the Hungarian Revolution of 1918–1919 and the Big Three*.

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Adam Walaszek is a member of the Polish Research Institute of the Jagiellonian University of Cracow, Poland, and has published widely on Polish history.

Introduction

John Morison

The history of East Europe's relationship with the West is long and complex. The essays in this volume shed light on some aspects of this story in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They are divided into six sections.

The first of these examines the struggle of Polish patriots to keep their national idea alive in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a period when the Polish state had been extinguished by the partitioning Western powers. From his base in the Hotel Lambert, secure in France from the attentions of the occupying powers, Prince Czartoryski exploited his personal prestige and wide range of contacts to conduct a Polish foreign policy in exile. He rejected the idea of a Polish parliament or united government in exile, preferring to be responsible only to himself. Hans Henning Hahn explores the possibilities and limitations of such a foreign policy in exile. Czartoryski used propaganda effectively to influence public opinion, and was listened to by the French and British Foreign Ministries. However, he was not allowed to establish a Polish Legion abroad, and failed to persuade Britain and France to use the Treaty of Vienna to try to obtain autonomy for the Kingdom of Poland. By using his own agents to meddle in the Eastern Question, Czartoryski hoped to exploit the recurring crises to the Poles' advantage. In his case-study of these activities, Robert A. Berry shows that he aimed to turn the *Porte* against Russia, hoping that the reward from the other powers would be the restoration of the Polish state. However, Czartoryski's policy was ultimately contradictory. On the one hand, he wanted a strong Turkey, to keep the Great Powers out of the Balkans; on the other, he actively stimulated activity from below by the local Balkan peoples, thereby encouraging the nationalism that would undermine the Ottoman Empire. Although the Hotel Lambert did exert some influence on Turkish policy, Polish independence remained only a dream, but not one that was to be forgotten. The outbreak of war between Russia and Japan in 1904 awakened hopes that a Russian defeat might lead to the restoration of the Polish state, or at very least allow the Polish question again to be put on the international agenda. Frank Thackeray relates how both Piłsudski and Dmowski went to Japan to plead the Polish cause from their differing perspectives, but

found the Japanese only really interested in using the Poles to gather intelligence. Polish disunity and the lack of international support for the Polish cause deterred the Japanese from offering help. The diplomacy of a stateless people had again proved fruitless.

In contrast to the Poles in the nineteenth century, the Hungarians after Trianon found themselves independent but greatly diminished in territory and influence. The essays in Part II examine Hungarian attempts to interact with the West in order to secure redress. Thomas Sakmyster elucidates Britain's leading role in the establishment of the Horthy regime. After the short-lived Soviet republic, many of Britain's political and military élite favoured the installation of a responsible conservative regime. The anglophile Horthy seemed to fit the bill. To Hungarian disappointment, English economic support was not to extend to help in securing territorial revisions. British support for Horthy evaporated in the Second World War when Hungary allied itself with Hitler. Peter Pastor breaks new ground in his study of the activities of the small Hungarian émigré community in Britain during the war which, for all its efforts, failed to make any headway in British official circles. In Hungary itself, the wartime Foreign Ministry was ambivalent in its attitudes, some diplomats supporting the pro-German orientation, but others carrying out secret negotiations with the Anglo-Saxon powers in the vain hope of recovering the lost territories. Gyula Juhász's valuable study clearly describes the individual diplomats involved and their contrasting policies. In his case-study of László Velics, Hungary's ambassador to occupied Greece between 1941 and 1944, Peter Hidas gives further substance to this view of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry as a centre of opposition to the German orientation. Although Velics remained on outwardly good terms with the Germans, his diplomatic reports criticised them and he did his best to protect Hungarian Jews in Greece. His friendly relations with the Greek resistance ultimately enabled him to escape to Turkey in 1944.

Part III provides two case-studies of active Western intervention in the Balkans during and immediately after the Second World War. Bernd Fischer unravels the tangled story of British support for Abas Kupa, an illiterate Albanian tribal chieftain, whom some wanted to build up as a counter-weight to the communist-dominated partisan movement. Lack of knowledge on the part of British Intelligence led to a flawed and inconsistent policy which undermined any hopes of good relations and influence with the partisans.

Even in the modern world, ambassadors can occasionally exercise decisive influence on Great Power policies. As Osvaldo Croci shows,

this was certainly the case in October 1953 when the Americans and British decided to return the administration of Zone A of the Free Territory of Trieste to Italy. Clare Booth Luce, American ambassador in Rome, was certainly no ordinary diplomat. Married to a press baron, she enjoyed a close relationship with President Eisenhower. Ardently pro-Italian, she appealed directly to the President to overrule Dulles and the professional diplomats, to forget America's sympathy for Tito in his conflict with the Soviet Union and to impose partition as a solution to the tortuous and fierce war of words over the future of Trieste. The USA thereby joined the list of Great Powers prepared to intervene actively in the Balkans to force the adoption of their preferred solutions to internal disputes.

An important aspect of East Europe's relations with the West has been the waves of migration which have led to large communities of East Europeans finding new homes in the Americas, Western Europe and Australasia. The three essays in Part IV focus on the Polish experience. Lech Trzeciakowski assesses the experience of the Polish population of Prussian Poland between 1772 and 1918 as it confronted an inflow of German migrants, coming to administer the Poles and to settle on their lands. Generally friendly relations between Poles and Germans had passed to hostility and political conflict between the beginning and the end of the nineteenth century. John Kulczycki examines relations between Polish and German coal-miners in the Ruhr. The first Polish miners were recruited in the 1870s and by the early twentieth century Poles had come to make up 25–33 per cent of the area's miners. The indigenous miners were hostile to the outsiders and in response the Poles set up their own organisations and maintained their own national identity. This, however, did not stop them from supporting striking German miners in 1905, even if they had been left to strike alone in 1899. Adam Walaszek analyses the problems encountered by the large return migration of Poles from the USA between 1880 and 1924. With their generally urban American experience, they were not expert agriculturalists and tended to spend their money on house improvements rather than better agricultural practice. Frustrated by the bureaucracy, attacked by the priests and resented for their American fashions, they nevertheless held fast to a view of a free, democratic and independent Poland which made them active in the Polish Peasant Party, but which clashed with Polish reality. Migration was a far from satisfactory experience which caused more problems than it solved.

Western ideas have had a profound effect on the intellectual history

of East Europe. In more recent years, the ideas of Marx as relayed through the Russian distorting mirror have had a deep if far from beneficial impact. The fifth section studies this process with regard to Poland. It has generally been believed that the Marxist political organisation, the SDKPiL, the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, was from its inception in 1894 committed to a hard-line ideological stand against the restoration of an independent Poland, a clear case of Marxist analysis taking precedence over political realities. Robert Blobaum, however, shows that the situation was far more complex and that this stance did not definitively triumph until the 1905 Revolution had been suppressed. It was only after the Second World War that Marxism triumphed in Poland with the help of the Red Army. Nevertheless, this Western creed, further modified by Stalin, could in reality claim only the formal allegiance of the Polish people. Richard Lewis shows how the Polish historical profession maintained vestiges of independence in thought and outlook and non-conformity in practice even during the Stalin years in Poland.

Part VI scrutinises the formation of British attitudes towards Poland and Czechoslovakia during and after the First World War. Considerable attention has recently been given by historians to the formation of public opinion and its influence on official policy. In the interwar period, the Beaverbrook press and *The Times* consistently showed sympathy towards the Soviet Union and argued that its leading role in East Europe should be recognised so as to overcome its legitimate sense of insecurity. Britain should not be seen as fighting for an independent East Europe. Future friendship with the Russians was more important than respecting the sensitivities of the Poles. Alan Foster's chapter analyses these arguments in depth.

Expert advisers can be of great importance in forming official policy, particularly when professional diplomats lack knowledge about the area concerned, as was the case with the British Foreign Office and East Europe during and after the First World War. Paul Latawski scrutinises the flawed and prejudiced views on Poland and Czechoslovakia of Sir Lewis Namier, the distinguished historian who was himself born in Russian Poland of gentry stock. Namier took a very pejorative view of Polish political culture, dismissed Dmowski for clericalism and anti-semitism and turned against Piłsudski as a 'Polish imperialist'. Namier was much more favourably disposed towards the Czechs, 'the Englishmen of Central Europe', who could serve as a bridge between Russia and the Western powers. Since Namier was in British government service between 1915 and 1920, providing expert analysis for the

Foreign Office on Central and East Europe, his views had a significance which went beyond his personal biography.

The essays in this volume demonstrate that relations between East Europe and the West extend far beyond the diplomatic and military spheres, important though these have been. Public opinion and the media, ideas and ideology, migration and the interaction and experiences of individuals have all played a significant role. Although culture and education, commerce and industry are other areas fully worthy of coverage in separate volumes, these essays illuminate vital sections of this rich mosaic.

List of Abbreviations

AM CA PZPR	Central Archive of Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party
AMG	Allied (US and UK) Military Government (in Yugoslavia)
B.Cz.	<i>Biblioteka Czartoryski</i>
BK	<i>Balli Komitare</i> (non-Communist, anti-Zogist, political and military group) (Albania)
CDF	Central Decimal Files (US)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (USA)
DBFP	Documents on British Foreign Policy
EAM	National Liberation Front (Greek)
EDES	National Republican Greek League
ELAS	Greek Resistance Army
EPON	United Panhellenic Liberation Organisation
FO	Foreign Office
FRUS	Foreign Relations (USA)
FSP	Foreign Service Posts
FTT	Free Territory of Trieste
GR	(captured) German records
HFMA	Hungarian Foreign Ministry Archives
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office (London)
HNA	Hungarian National Archives
ICSEES	International Council for Soviet and East European Studies
IRC	International Red Cross
KZ	<i>Komitet Zagraniczny</i>
LNC	National Liberation Movement (partisans, Albania)
LSDP	Lithuanian Social Democrat Party
MC	memorandum of conversation
NAUSSD	National Archives of the US State Department
PNCC	Polish National Catholic Church
PPS	Polish Socialist Party
PSL	<i>Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe</i> (Polish Peasant Party)
RSDRP	Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party
SDKPiL	Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania
SOE	Special Operations Executive (British)

UJ	unpublished journal
UP	United Press
YMG	Yugoslav Military Government
ZZP	<i>Zjednoczenie Zawodowe Polskie</i> (Polish Trade Union)