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studies

England and the Promotion of Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries

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Generally speaking, commercial activities within every state are the essential concern and the matter of national importance. As far as the position and role of trade in the English history is concerned, we shall begin by posing more questions than just how the English state of the 16th and 17th centuries wanted to promote it. Another question arises: to what extent was trade in general important for the development of the state and therefore, was it worth to make an effort to promote it? In this essay, the issue of significance of commercial activity and its impact on the state will be discussed, as well as the means which early modern England used to support trade, protect merchants and sought new markets where English goods could be exported. There are several reasons which demonstrate positive effects of flourishing trade on the growing prosperity of the state: the first one is the increase of employment which is directly linked to a better welfare of people. It brings money and consequently, food for families, better living conditions and possibly, the rising number of population. This can lead to more taxes being withdrawn from the people and finally, it results in more money for the state itself, which can be further invested back into the people and improvement of their living conditions. Clearly, all which have been stated above correlate to successful trade.

Secondly, international trade also brings money to the state treasury by imposed toll on the imported goods to England. Again, this contributes to the better condition of the state. Then, another significant advantage of the

developing trade is a variety of goods that can be offered to people. This includes not only the common products which were accessible within Europe, but it covers also exotic and luxurious products that enabled higher comfort and level of utility for people and eventually a better welfare system. In fact, this is the goal which every state should aim for: to have satisfied people with a good standard of living.

Finally, the stimulation and increase of the trade affected the development of certain skills and craft. The most significant one in this sense is the increase of shipping and ship-making. Thanks to the growing importance of overseas trade and long distance voyages, ships must have been altered accordingly. As a result, trade “*stimulated a large demand for shipwrights, carpenters, carvers, blacksmiths, glaziers, sail-makers, gunmakers, instrument-makers, and other craftsmen needed for the annual refitting of several hundred ships, as well as the more fundamental task of initial building*”.¹ Apart from that, more people were required to work in this industry because the fact that the ships were bigger meant that it demanded also more people to be hired as crew. Also, sailors and workers were on the journey for a longer period of time than if they were shipping just to the Mediterranean or Baltic Sea. Again, it resulted in higher number of workers needed. This was most remarkable especially during the 17th century when the value of trade increased fivefold and trade, which had been carried until that time mainly between London and Antwerp or Hamburg, spread almost all over the world.² This factor is associated with the first argument mentioned before, that employability grows thanks to the flourishing trade.

All that has been listed above declares the significant role of the trade for development of a state in general and explains the reason why government had a tendency to support and promote it. It might be argued that in the early modern period, it was one of the basic responsibilities of the Monarchy.

¹ N. ZAHEDIEH, *Overseas Expansion and Trade in the Seventeenth Century*, in: N. CANNY (Ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Origins of Empire*, Oxford 1998, p. 408.

² R. DAVIS, *English Overseas Trade, 1500–1700*, London 1973, p. 9.

However, sometimes the role of trade within English foreign policy is said to be exaggerated, as historian Jeremy Black suggests in his book where he discussed the extent to which the government adjusted its foreign policy to the commercial needs with a presumption that it did have a particular importance but we should be careful about sticking to the idea too much.³ On the other hand, what should be kept in mind is that it can be just partly applicable on the period of Tudor and Stuart England as at the end of 17th and mainly in the 18th century, the situation about international significance of England, respectively Britain, and the commercial interests and success on the global scale was different; it was more progressed. The fact that trade played a crucial role in various spheres of life of English people can be declared by the following words: *“By 1700 ships and portorage occupied a very important section of the urban labour force, especially in London; overseas trade supplied goods that went into nearly every household and sold the products of an important part of the nation. Finally, it was the most common path to great wealth for individuals, and provided examples to encourage ambition and enterprise.”*⁴

Based on what has been mentioned above, it could be assumed that the English state had several considerable reasons why to promote trade. The way England of the 16th and 17th century tried to support it was various. The first and probably one of the key factors which helped to maintain the commercial interests of the Monarchy was a successful foreign policy and amicable international relations. Avoiding wars should have been a priority as they destroy stability of the state, they force people to focus on other issues than commerce, they cause a loss of goods because it can be damaged during fights and also, they limit the range of market where the particular products could be offered. It means that if a state is in a war with another country, it will probably decrease the number of goods which would be imported to its enemy. For example, for traders themselves, it poses a high risk to send

³ J. BLACK, *Trade, Empire and the British Foreign Policy, 1689–1815: the Politics of a Commercial State*, London 2007, pp. 3–4.

⁴ DAVIS, p. 10.

their ships into hostile waters as it is likely that they will be attacked and the bulk would be lost by either sinking or being taken by the enemies. As a reasonable consequence, traders would be careful about spending money on such a business and they would hesitate to invest a capital in it. This is a concern of primarily the overseas trade but generally speaking, war affects negatively even the internal trade.

Essentially, international tensions influenced the level of trade in these two centuries of Tudor and Stuart monarchs several times. It already started with the reign of Henry VII who signed *Intercursus Magnus* in 1496 which was an important trade treaty between him and Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I about the commercial cooperation and free trade with the Netherlands.⁵ Later on, during the reign of Henry VIII, there were the wars of 1542–1543 and 1547 which brought about the collapse of trade because the city of Antwerp, where the majority of English wool was exported, dyed and processed for further sale into European cities, was cut from its continental markets.⁶ On the other hand, Henry VIII was careful in his foreign policy towards Charles V, ruler of Holy Roman Empire and Spanish Empire. In spite of the fact that the relations between the two monarchs were tense, they were both aware of the importance of the Anglo-Netherlands trade connection that they did not let it destroy completely for example by the conflict caused by Henry's divorce from Catherine of Aragorn (who was the aunt of Charles).⁷

On the other hand, a deteriorating effect on trade was also caused by the English state itself by the quarrel with Hanseatic traders at the beginning of 1550's. Apart from that, in the half of the 16th century, the state failed to promote the trade by currency devaluation in 1546 and a harsh intervention came also in 1551 when the English isles were struck by a severe epidemic of the sweating sickness. It occurred in this year for the fifth time in England

⁵ S. ADAMS, *England and the World under the Tudors, 1485–1603*, in: J. MORRILL (Ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of Tudor & Stuart Britain*, Oxford 1996, p. 397.

⁶ DAVIS, p. 11.

⁷ ADAMS, p. 402.

and had a very quick progress resulting either in death or recovery of a patient within one day and caused the death rate of 1.2% of the English population.⁸

For English trade of the early modern period, the crucial point was the connection to Antwerp. This town had a trading affiliation with Cologne from where the goods could have been sold in Europe. Therefore, it represented the strategic destination for further sell of the key exportable commodities: wool and woollen cloth. To maintain a good relation to this town was supposed to be a highest interest of the English state. This alliance was worth especially since the half of the 15th century when central European regions as Bohemia, Moravia, Bavaria or Hungary grew rich thanks to the extraction of the following minerals: silver, copper, lead and zinc. These regions started to prosper and demanded an exchange of these metals for manufactured products. The trade of these regions increased not only with Middle East or Italy, but also with the Netherlands and above all, England.⁹

The second half of the 16th century meant the decline in the English trade because of several reasons. One of them was directly associated with the policy of Elizabethan government and hostile relation to Spain, which was partly caused by religious antagonism between catholic Spain and protestant England, but also the clash of interest in overseas areas, and also privateering in the Channel. Apart from that, the growing number of silver being imported predominantly by the Spanish from America devaluated its price in the Old Continent and it resulted in the decrease of demand for this metal from central Europe. In addition, the Netherlands of the 1560's onwards became a place of revolution against Habsburg monarchs and struggle for independence which negatively influenced the possibility of maintaining a stable commerce between the continent and England. The decline of Antwerp meant for English traders that they needed to seek a new route to the inland, which was eventually found

⁸ A. DYER, *The English Sweating Sickness of 1551: an Epidemic Anatomized*, in: *Medical History*, 41 (July 1997), <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1044802/?page=1>, pp. 362–379, [2014–01–03].

⁹ DAVIS, p. 12.

in the port of Hamburg, from which the river Elbe could have been used for shipping products to central Europe.¹⁰ However, similarly as Henry VIII cared about the preservation of commercial connection to Spain and its territories, Elizabeth I altered its foreign policy as well: “*The strongest arguments in favour were commercial, both the older Anglo-Netherlands trade and the expanding trade with Spain itself (both domestic products and colonial re-exports).*”¹¹ Still, the antagonism between both countries was so strong that it eventually resulted in the trade war in 1570’s.

The period of 17th century and England under the rule of Stuarts brought about several strategic moments as far as the war affairs are concerned. After the trade boom of 1630’ (resulting also from successful foreign policy embodied in isolating England from the major European conflict of that time: the Thirty Years War), the most significant moment in that sense was undoubtedly the civil war. This event created unstable conditions for the trade. However it complicated the situation, it caused rather temporary decline in trading and in the long run “*the civil war apparently did no enduring damage to Britain’s world trade*”.¹² After the war, the state sought to re-establish the good commercial connections and in 1650’s it focused on the region of Baltic Sea and signed commercial treaties with Sweden and Denmark.¹³ Apart from that, growing attention was of course paid to the continents distant from Europe, both westwards and eastwards: the trade with America and Asia (primarily with China and India) was highly encouraged and the English state made an effort to maintain intra-Asian commerce in which the textile industry would play an important role.

In the second half of the 17th century, the foreign policy was more complicated as the scope of European powers all over the world spread and the trade was getting to the centre of attention more intensively. The Monarchy

¹⁰ DAVIS, pp. 15–16.

¹¹ ADAMS, p. 406.

¹² Ibidem, p. 426.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 425.

in that era openly rebelled against its rivals. The most dangerous one were the United Provinces which were very successful in expanding their influence, as far as its commercial interests are concerned. This is the reason why England fought against this country in three Anglo-Dutch wars in years 1652–1654, 1664–1667 and 1672–1674. Another military conflict of the 17th century in which Britain participated was the Nine Years War, which took place between years 1688–1697 and was supposed to ease the aggression of Louis XIV' French state.

Secondly, closely related to the topic of international relations, another sphere of promoting the trade shall be discussed: the support of navigation and colonial activity. In particular, the 16th and 17th century was a central point for future English dominance of the sea and its full demonstration of power later in the 18th and 19th centuries. The support of navigation and the search for new territories in the world had several reasons. Probably the most important one was a matter of trade. The state looked for new markets where English products could be exported and also from where the local products could be imported back to England. Consequently, the exchange of goods might be perceived as a core stimulus for English effort to spread its power.

In comparison with Iberian empires of Portugal and Spain, England started to support the exploratory voyages quite late. Its beginnings date back to the reign of the first Tudor King, Henry VII. He supported navigation, production of ships and consequently, the quest for the western passage to the Orient which was in abundance of many various spices as the most tempting exotic goods among Europeans. Henry VII initiated the navigation of John Cabot in 1497 with the expectation of getting to Asia by going westwards. The ships reached shores in the area of Newfoundland or Labrador and meant the first proven English contact with American soil (even though a speculation exist that English sailors, who hunted cods in waters around Iceland and Greenland had already got there in 1480's but without any reliable evidence¹⁴). The destination of North America was also reached later when the Crown

¹⁴ S. BINKOVÁ, *Čas zámořských objevů*, Praha 2008, p. 117.

stimulated the search for the Northwest Passage to Asia. This included the journeys of John Rut in 1527, who probably navigated alongside the American shore from Labrador to Antilles. Then, Martin Frobisher's voyage in 1576 brought back to England loads of stone which was supposed to contain gold. This initiated another two voyages in the following years with the purpose of simply getting this stone even though previous confirmation of presence of the noble metal in it was absent. Unfortunately, it ended as fiasco because gold was not found. In 1580's, there were also navigations of John Davis whose primary success was an import of a huge amount of cods from the sea near Labrador. The Arctic destinations were searched even later during Stuart age, into which the navigations to Canadian and North American areas by Henry Hudson and William Baffin are dated.

It would be a mistake to presume that the English state was only interested in finding the western passage to the Orient and would ignore other areas in the world, which could bring about new products and stimulate the trade. Apart from Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor's navigation to the White Sea and territories in the north of Russia in 1553, the huge interest was found in the Pacific areas where the English tried to oppose Spanish and Portuguese dominance and initiated many privateer attacks by Francis Drake, John Cavendish or Richard Hawkins in the second half of the 16th century. For these activities, they received certain extent of support from the Crown. In the 17th century, the continuing trend of exploratory navigations could be noticed; apart from Hudson's and Baffin's success, also the southern parts of the Atlantic Ocean got into the centre of attention. John Narborough's research of Patagonia could be mentioned. Moreover, William Dampier, who first was a buccaneer in the Pacific, reached the shores of Australia and New Guinea as the first Englishman in history.¹⁵

More importantly, the Stuart age is not only the time of expeditions to the unknown parts of the Earth but it is primarily the age of core overseas settlements. The Crown definitely had an interest in colonisation of the New World. Not only did it increase its power but it also helped to establish new

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 149.

commercial connections between Americas and Europe, from which England enormously prospered. The first settlement in North America was established in 1580's, however, it soon disappeared. The first official English settlement is considered to be in Jamestown in Virginia and is dated to 1607. The eastern coast of the latter United States of the America was a preferred destination of the Crown's interest and the expansion of colonisation continued to territories of New England (associated with the arrival of Pilgrim Fathers in 1620), Maryland, Carolina, New York (originally the Dutch city called New Amsterdam), New Jersey, and also Pennsylvania, last one mentioned to be established in 1681. Furthermore, this century was also the time of continual settlement in the Caribbean, namely Jamaica, Bermuda islands and Lesser Antilles (Barbados, Saint Kitts and Nevis and the others). These territories, which had not been settled by the Spanish yet, were fundamental for establishing the sugar trade. Sugar eventually became the most important commodity for export to Europe, interestingly enough, even more demanded than tobacco. Another commercial impact of English expansion to the New World was the creation of the slave trade. First English attempts to make money from this prosperous activity are associated with John Hawking in 1562 who tried to sell slaves from Guinea to Spanish colonizers in Caribbean.¹⁶ For the following 250 years it played a very important role that had an impact on the commercial activities between the Old and the New World. The rise of slave trade was intimately connected to the production of sugar, as the American economic historian Robert Fogel remarks, "*it was Europe's sweet tooth, rather than its addiction to tobacco or its infatuation with cotton cloth, that determined the extent of the Atlantic slave trade*".¹⁷

If other mechanisms of promoting the trade are to be discussed, apart from altering the foreign policy and support of markets all over the world, the Crown enabled creating of trading companies, whose establishment is closely

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 136.

¹⁷ R. FOGEL, *Slavery in the New World*, in: L. B. GOODHEART – R. D. BROWN – S. G. RABE (Eds.), *Slavery in American Society*, Lexington 1992, p. 23.

related to the expansion of English power and possible foreign markets. Both in the 16th and 17th, centuries, a number of trading companies were chartered by the Monarch and participated in commercial activities which took place nearly all over the world (the world that had already been discovered and known to Europeans). *“The trading companies chartered in the period between 1550 and 1640 represented a technique whereby national government, at little cost to the exchequer, could act to promote the expansion of English commerce. In fact, so successful was the strategy that by 1580’s it was only trade with France, Scotland and Ireland that was not in the hands of a company.”*¹⁸ Such words declare the extent to which chartered companies were fundamental for the development of the trade and what role the state played in it. There was also an important combination of the state and individual interests. Since 17th century, many courtiers had their own private commercial intents and they tried to merge the state and private interests to take advantage.

Generally speaking, in the early modern period, the significance of the overseas trade was remarkably growing. However, there was a big issue connected to its development: a high risk of profitability resulting from several reasons. First one was the uncertain demand for the offered goods. Then, it was a possible complicated political relation between the two areas where the trade was carried. Last but not least, it was the commercial competition between traders from other countries.¹⁹ For this reason, English traders tended to band together and share the risk in the trading companies of which there two types: first one was a regulated company in which every merchant traded individually under the auspice of the particular company. This was the older type which mainly worked since the late Middle Ages until the sixteenth century, the most famous example being the Company of Merchants Adventurers of England which held monopoly on export of woollen cloth to Antwerp.²⁰

¹⁸ M. BRADDICK, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550–1700*, Cambridge 2000, p. 398.

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ DAVIS, p. 44.

On the contrary, in joint-stock companies each trader invested an amount of money to the shared capital and based on his investment, the profit was derived. They became effective since 17th century onwards in connection to the trade with distant territories. Clearly, the support of the commercial activities from the Crown, for instance by granting charter right or monopoly rights, was required as the rivalry with foreign traders was increasing. This was the case in the 17th century relation between England and the United Provinces (concretely due to the spice trade from Orient) which resulted in the conflict called the “Amboyna massacre”. It happened in 1623 on the Indonesian island of Amboyna where ten English merchants were beheaded from the command of the Dutch governor of the island. This incident made James I very angry and affected the relations between the two countries.²¹

To concentrate more on the trading companies themselves, first of them were established already in the second half of the 16th century. It was the Guinea Company, which provided the commerce between Africa and Caribbean after the voyages of John Hawkins and his father William. Then, it was the Russia Company, sometimes called Muscovy Company, which was based on the joint-stock as well. Another one of the earliest companies was the Levant Company which was established in 1581 by London merchants with the purpose of carrying the trade with Turkey, Syria and Egypt.²²

The companies which were established after the year 1600 were of more importance. Predominantly, it was the East India Company, which will be discussed later, but in 1606 the Virginia Company received its charter and it operated in the territory of North America as well as Massachusetts Bay Company or Bermuda Company (created in 1684). In 1663 the Royal African Company was established to raise the importance of England within the slave trade between Africa and Americas. Seven years later, the Hudson’s Bay

²¹ K. CHANCEY, *The Amboyna Massacre in English Politics, 1624–1632*, in: *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 4, 1998, <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/4053850?uid=3737856&uid=2&uid=4&sid=21103199522431>, p. 585, [2014–01–04].

²² DAVIS, p.18.

Company was established to challenge France and its dominant position in the fur trade in North America.²³ Some of the companies were tightly associated with London merchants and they had their headquarters in the capital of England. It was the East India, Royal African and Hudson's Bay Companies.²⁴

Undoubtedly, the most crucial position among all the commercial companies had the East India Company which was established by the Elizabeth's royal charter on 31st December 1600. Its purpose was to carry the trade with Asia (specifically with Indonesia and Indian subcontinent, even though there were tendencies to establish the commercial connection to Japan in 1620's and also to China towards the end of the century). It primarily sought to trade with oriental spices which were one of the most demanded commodities in Europe. If it started as a group of merchants who wanted to share the risk of uncertain trading and long distances voyages, it eventually became closely associated with the state itself and represented not only the interests of individuals but of the Crown itself as well: "*Since investment in the Company proved attractive to monarchs, ministers, lesser officials, and MPs, its activities both by sea and on land should not be seen as a private enterprise in the conventional sense, but rather as a kind of state imperialism by proxy.*"²⁵ This trend continued further in to modern age and "*the Company became involved in politics and acted as an agent of British imperialism in India from early 18th century to the mid-19th century*".²⁶ It was convenient for merchants to become a part of such a company as for the sake of the collective trading, they seemed more powerful in negotiating with local rulers or other traders. Moreover, it was given political support of the state. In return, the Company annually granted gifts to the state. Thanks

²³ E. MANCKE, *Empire and State*, in: D. ARMITAGE – M. J. BRADDICK (Eds.), *The British Atlantic world, 1500–1800*, Houdmills 2002, p. 206.

²⁴ G. E. AYLMER, *Navy, State, Trade, and Empire*, in: N. CANNY (Ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Origins of Empire*, Oxford 1998, p. 477.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 470.

²⁶ Encyclopaedia Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/176643/East-India-Company>, [2014-01-04].

to the fact that the Company was guaranteed the monopoly in East-India trading, it eliminated the competition among traders and consequently, it held prices higher than if they would be forced to compete with other English merchants.²⁷ As a consequence of that, their biggest rivals were Dutch and Portuguese traders.

In addition, another way the state tried to promote the trade was by imposing trade laws and establishing state institutions dealing with trade issues. The outstanding position within English commercial legislation had the Navigation Act of 1651. It was passed as a response to growing rivalry between English and Dutch traders and was supposed to eliminate the direct impact of Dutch merchants on English market. These laws were improved after the Restoration and in the 1660, the new Act was passed with the following impact: *“All good carried to and from colonies were to be carried in English or colonial ships, masters and three-quarters of the crew were to be English; no tobacco, sugar indigo, ginger, fustick, or other due-wood produced in English colonies was to be exported to any place other than England, Ireland, or an English possession.”*²⁸ Moreover, certain restrictions about the import of goods from Baltic and Mediterranean seas were set and goods from Russia and Turkey needed to be imported on the English ships or on the ships of the country of origin. Several other acts governing the colonial trade were imposed in the second half of the 17th century and the Act of 1696 codified it definitely and remained valid without major changes for more than another 150 years.²⁹ Even though this Navigation Act is the most well-known form of English legal support of its traders, other legal attempts were made even before, as Dutch traders grew in their importance. The government was asked by merchants for official protection against their foreign rivals. Hence, Order of Council of 1615 was applied and commanded that goods from Mediterranean could be imported

²⁷ ZAHEDIEH, p. 400.

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 406.

²⁹ Ibidem.

to England only on English ships and similarly, the order which was passed in 1622 introduced the same restrictions on the goods from the Baltic Sea.³⁰

The growing expansion of overseas territories and more intense trade among England and its colonies required an activity from the Crown to support the merchants and have a good outlook as far as the commercial development is concerned. Consequently, since 1620's committees within Privy Council were established to provide the king with advice in such matters. In 1675 the Lords of Trade was created as a governmental body which was later on replaced by the Board of Trade in 1696. Its purpose was to give advice in legal affairs of the commerce and also to supervise the relation to the colonies. It had sixteen members in total, eight of them were appointed commissioners with regular salary with the aim of "*promoting the trade of our Kingdom and for inspecting and improving our plantations in America and elsewhere*".³¹ The remaining eight positions were unpaid as the members were chosen from the Privy Council whose members did not traditionally receive any money for their service to the Crown.³²

Finally, the English state, being aware of importance of a successful trade, tried to protect the merchants against the external danger and enemy attacks. To do that, it was necessary to have a powerful navy which would represent the threat for potential aggressors and posed dominance on the sea. The beginnings of the English fleet fall into the time of first Tudors – Henry VII's, and predominantly Henry VIII's reigns. They encouraged construction of fleet for the state purposes, so the standing Navy is dated into 1540. However, the most important development came in Stuart's era when Charles I imposed ship-money which financed Royal Navy and the clearer distinction between merchant and fighting ships emerged. Broadly speaking, its significance for securing the trade is obvious. Nevertheless, a kind of exception in this case

³⁰ DAVIS, p. 29.

³¹ The National Archives, <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http://www.berr.gov.uk/aboutus/corporate/history/outlines/BT-1621-1970/page13919.html>, [2014–01–05].

³² Encyclopaedia Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/601629/Board-of-Trade>, [2014–01–05].

was the East India Company. Its ships were both able to carry a heavy bulk of goods but they were also armed.³³ As a consequence, the Company did not require the same extent of protection on the sea as other trading companies.

To conclude, the trade in the early modern England represented a crucial element of the state economy. Thus, the Crown had to make an effort to support it in various ways to. Due to the fact that traders needed protection, it maintained Navy and altered its foreign policy so that it did not destroy the commercial relations between states even though they were temporarily antagonized. It was undoubtedly the Crown's interest to support the navigation and mainly colonisation as it opened the ingenious possibilities to export and import goods, initiate new trading opportunities and find more commodities to trade with. As a result, England expanded its power all over the world and created a starting point for becoming a world superpower of the modern age.

The approach of the state towards its merchants was supportive but to certain extent it was benevolent in comparison to the attitude of the French state. England used an approach of *laissez-faire* towards the trade and the role in the controlling it was less important than in France, where “*economic circumstances, social structures and social ethos were less favorable to consumer-driven economic growth than in Britain*”.³⁴ The Crown did not try to dominate or to control the traders and their effort very strictly. It rather relied on the individual achievement of its merchants to make money. However, it does not mean that it would not be interested in such matters. Reversely, “*combined with a centralization of power in the state after the Reformation, this emphasis on the accumulation of the nation's treasure elevated commerce from a local to a national concern*”.³⁵ And this national concern deserved particular attention from the Crown, which was expressed by certain legal steps in commercial affairs such as passing Navigation Acts and also creating

³³ AYLMER, p. 470.

³⁴ BLACK, p. 2.

³⁵ A, NEILL, *British Discovery Literature and the Rise of Global Commerce*, Basingstoke 2002, p. 4.

advisory councils within English governmental institutions, particularly the Board of Trade. The 16th century could be considered as the time when the potential for future British commercial expansion was established but it was primarily during the Stuart Age when the state tried to promote the trade. This effort can be summarized as successful and having a formidable impact on the eventual development of English, respectively British, empire in 18th and 19th centuries.

Abstract

The trade in the early modern England represented a crucial element of the state economy and the Crown had to make a particular effort to support it. Therefore, the main point of the article is to describe several ways which the English state used to promote the trade in the era of Tudor and Stuart monarchs. Also, the significance of trade in general is discussed as well as its impact on economy of the state. Key points in the international relations are pointed out and so is the activity of the Crown in the encouragement of navigation and colonial activity. Also, the role of trade companies, the trade laws which were imposed, and the growing importance of the Navy are highlighted. Therefore, the article concludes all the fundamental moments of the 16th and 17th centuries which impacted further development of the English trade.

Keywords

England; Trade; Tudor Age; Stuart Age; Colonial Activity; International Relations

Thomas Paine or the Defender of the World Revolution

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Thomas Paine was born on January 29th 1737 at Thetford in Norfolk, England. His father, a Quaker, Joseph Paine was a staymaker (maker of corsets – J. B.). Paine, under the influence and education of his father, inclined to the Quakers. Many of his works and central ideas were influenced by Quaker beliefs.¹ If he had decided not to leave England and not to travel to North America in autumn 1774, maybe he would never have become famous in his homeland. It was during the American Revolution that Paine became famous for the first time as an outstanding theoretician. In the course of this Revolution he launched his lifelong career as a “professional revolutionist”. It was from that time that he began an open struggle against his former homeland and against the monarchical establishment which lasted until the end of his life. In America Paine became famous especially for his work on, *the Common Sense*, which was published anonymously on January 10th 1776. It was an immediate success but originally, mistakenly, attributed to John Adams or Benjamin Franklin. According to Paine an incredible one hundred and twenty thousand copies of his work were sold.² *The Common Sense* significantly contributed to the spread of Republican ideas and encouraged American colonists to break away from the parent Britain. Paine pointed to the tyrannical system of hereditary monarchy and its utter meaninglessness. He

¹ P. S. FONER (Ed.), *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, New York 1945, p. 9, <https://zelalemkibret.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/the-complete-works-of-thomas-paine.pdf>, [2014–04–07].

² S. LEE (Ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography (DNB)*, Vol. 43, New York 1895, p. 69, <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati43stepuoft>, [2014–04–07].

returned to this topic constantly even during his stay in France. The arguments against the hereditary crown appeared also in one of his most famous works, *the Rights of Man*.

Thomas Paine left United States and went to Paris in the spring of 1787. At that time, on May 25th, the Assembly of Notables was dissolved and a tense political atmosphere was buzzing.³ Paine originally arrived in France because of his draft plan for the construction of an iron bridge to be built over the river Schuylkill near Philadelphia. His aim was to gain the support of the French Academy of Sciences and he also planned a trip to London where he hoped to defend his project before the Royal Academy. In Paris Paine met with the American ambassador Thomas Jefferson and also with his friend from the time of the American War of Independence, the Marquis de Lafayette. Both friends brought him into a higher circle of society where Paine met with the Secretary of the Controller General of Finances, André Morellet. Thanks to Morellet, Paine achieved approval for his project of the iron bridge from the French Academy.⁴ Paine wrote that Morellet was a wise and warm-hearted man and after personal conversations he found that Morellet had “*completely identical views regarding the insanity of war*”.⁵ Further, both Morellet and Paine expressed an interest in creating better relations between France and Britain. These views were for the idealistic and pacifist Paine extremely sympathetic.⁶ Paine firmly believed that all military conflicts were the result of a monarchical establishment and were conducted because of the vanity of Monarchs. According to Paine, the only way to stop the bloody conflict and eternal enmity between the states was to establish a Republican form of government.⁷

³ S. BLAKEMORE, *Crisis in Representation: Thomas Paine, Mary Wollstonecraft, Helen Maria Williams, and the Rewriting of the French Revolution*, London 1997, p. 26.

⁴ Ibidem, pp. 26–27.

⁵ T. PAINE, *Práva človeka: odpoveď na útok pána Burka proti Francúzskej revolúcii*, Bratislava 1959, p. 8.

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ T. C. WALKER, *The Forgotten Prophter: Tom Paine's Cosmopolitanism and International Relations*, in: *International Studies Quarterly*, No. 44, 2000, pp. 51–72.

Paine travelled to London twice, in the winter of 1787, and then in the summer of 1788. His programme was not only the defence of his bridge project, but he also became an unofficial ambassador of Jefferson who authorized him to obtain some information from British politicians. Paine had to inform Jefferson about the atmosphere of the British political scene which could be useful for American interests.⁸ In London Paine also met with his future rival in the field of political thinking, Edmund Burke⁹ and he became acquainted with Charles Fox a future sympathizer of revolutionary France.¹⁰ After the storming of the Bastille and the events that followed, Paine decided to stay in France for a long time. He immediately forfeited the joy of implementing possible political changes in France. Paine never perceived the events of the American Revolution as a local matter. Universal principles of the American Revolution were considered inherent in all “lovers of humanity”. *“What was only a theory in mechanics, the American Revolution showed in politics [...] Freedom has been hunted round the globe; reason was considered as rebellion; and the slavery of fear had made men afraid to think [...] Once the system of American government was revealed to the world [...] people began to think of a remedy.”*¹¹

Paine believed in cosmopolitanism and was driven by ideas of messianism which led to a universal revolution. Therefore Paine considered the American events as the beginning of a new democratic order. Even in 1795 in his work *Dissertations on First Principles of Government* he emphasized the role of the American Revolution as the very beginning of the new organization of society. Paine strongly noted that *“no improvement has been made in the principle, and scarcely any in the practice, till the American Revolution began. In all the countries of Europe (except in France) the same forms and systems that were erected in the remote ages of ignorance, still continue, and their antiquity is put in the place of principle”*.¹²

⁸ BLAKEMORE, p. 27.

⁹ DNB, p. 72.

¹⁰ *The Complete Writings*, p. 26.

¹¹ PAINE, p. 142.

¹² G. DAVIDSON (Ed.), *The Political Writings of Thomas Paine: Secretary to the Committee*

At the beginning, Paine kept written contact with Edmund Burke whose views on the French Revolution were sceptical.¹³ “*When Mr. Burke gave the English parliament his harsh speech against the French Revolution and the National Assembly, I had just arrived in Paris.*”¹⁴ A little later Paine decided to travel to London in order to draw up a defence of the French Revolution because he had learned about the forthcoming Burke’s pamphlet on this subject. The open counter-revolutionary appearances of Edmund Burke started a dispute which led to the edition of two significant and influential works, *the Rights of Man* and *Reflections on the Revolution in France*.¹⁵ *The Rights of Man* became popular immediately and within a few weeks fifty thousand copies were sold in Britain. Many readers were even hoping that a spark of the French Revolution would jump onto their island.¹⁶ *The New Annual Register* for the year 1791 couldn’t miss Paine’s work which was given considerable space in the section *Domestic Literature*. The magazine emphasized Paine’s personal participation in some Parisian events. After this Thomas Paine was asked for his expert advice in the creation of *the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*. They pointed to Paine’s friendly relationship with some major revolutionary leaders as varied as the Marquis de Lafayette. “*The next publication which we have to mention is ‘Rights of man; being an Answer to Mr. Burke’s Attack on the French Revolution’ [...] In the argumentative part, the author steps forward as a bold and intrepid defender of the principles which Mr. Burke endeavoured to consign to detestation and contempt; and delivers a number of just and important political truths, in a style and language which though not elegant or correct, are peculiarly forcible and interesting.*

of Foreign Affairs in the American Revolution: to which is prefixed a Brief Sketch of the Author’s Life, Dissertations on the First Principles of Government, Charlestown 1824, Vol. 2, p. 325, <https://archive.org/stream/politicalwriting02painrich#page/324/mode/2up>, [2014–04–07].

¹³ BLAKEMORE, p. 27.

¹⁴ PAINE, p. 7.

¹⁵ *Reflections on the Revolution in France* was published in the Czech language: E. BURKE, *Úvahy o revoluci ve Francii*, Brno 1997.

¹⁶ *The Complete Writings*, p. 28.

His defence of religion, liberty, and of the right which God and nature have given to every man [...] is original and incontrovertible."¹⁷ However, the magazine emphasized that readers could take some of Paine's ideas as dangerous novelties which may not, after interpretation, give a full guarantee of the inviolability of property rights. But Thomas Paine had never thought about the violation of the "sacred" right of personal property. However, Paine's thinking about social inequality could encourage the misinterpretation that the author sympathized with egalitarianism. Paine asked how it was possible that people who were called the coarse and ignorant rabble were so extremely numerous in all countries.¹⁸ He indignantly noted that the mass of people were oppressed, in order to shine even more intensive life of the aristocracy.¹⁹

After the release of the first part of *the Rights of Man*, Paine reaped tremendous success. In 1791 he left London and travelled to France. After arriving in Paris, Paine began to meet educated men involved in the revolutionary movement, such as the mathematician and philosopher Condorcet, the author of the famous pamphlet *What is the Third Estate?* Abbé Sieyès also Nicolas de Bonneville the founder of the *Cercle Social*.²⁰ In Paris, Paine wanted to continue with writing the second part of his work *the Rights of Man* but his literary intention was significantly interrupted by a ground-breaking event.²¹ In

¹⁷ G. G. J. – J. ROBINSON (Eds.), *The New Annual Register or General Repository of History, Politics and Literature for the Year 1791*, p. 258, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433082425061;view=1up;seq=7>, [2014-04-07].

¹⁸ PAINE, p. 35.

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ *The Cercle Social* also called in French *Les amis de la Vérité* was an intellectual movement during the French Revolution which included religious and democratic spiritualism of the revolutionary period. The founders were Claude Fauchet and Nicolas de Bonneville and this movement was formally established in February, 1790. The Members emphasized the universal role of the Cercle Social and the importance of spreading of Christian brotherly love. However, the Cercle Social was in fact opened to the intellectuals rather than the wide popular masses. When Abbé Fauchet was accused of alleged preaching of egalitarianism and so-called Agrarian Law the movement began to decline. After the uprising against the Girondists, who were actively involved in this movement, the Cercle Social was completely prohibited. The movement was restored after the 9th Thermidor but their former glory was not reached.

²¹ BLAKEMORE, p. 28.

the night of 20th to 21st June 1791 the French King tried to escape the country with his whole family. Their journey infamously ended in Varennes where the King was recognized and the Royal Family were escorted back to the capital. Silent and menacing acceptance from the crowd that lined the streets indicated the impending conflict between the supporters of the Constitutional Monarchy and the Republicans. The Constitutional Monarchists didn't want to give up the Constitution which was planned to enter into force on September 3rd, 1791. The Republicans, after the king's attempt to escape, explicitly refused to recognize his authority.

On July 1st 1791 the manifesto *La Proclamation Républicaine* appeared on the walls of Paris. The authors of this manifesto were Thomas Paine and Achille Duchâtelet and so they openly declared their Republicanism before there was a bloody event on the Champ de Mars on July 17th 1791. Then the citizens of Paris, under the direction of members of the Cordeliers club, signed a petition requesting a repeal of the King.²² According to Paine the King became not only politically redundant but also a burden to the nation. His presence was no longer needed. *"He has abdicated the throne in having fled from his post. Abdication and desertion are not characterized by the length of absence; but by the single act of flight [...] The nation can never give back its confidence to a man who, false to his trust, perjured to his oath, conspires a clandestine flight, obtains a fraudulent passport, conceals a King of France under the disguise of a valet, directs his course towards a frontier covered with traitors and deserters, and evidently meditates a return into our country, with a force capable of imposing his own despotic laws."*²³ Next, Paine raised the question of whether the escape of the King should be considered as an act of conspirators which affected the King, or should *"his flight be considered as his own act"*.²⁴ Was it a spontaneous decision of the King himself or was

²² M. D. CONWAY (Ed.), *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, New York 1894, Vol. 3, pp. 8–9, <https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/31271>, [2014–04–07].

²³ Ibidem.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 9.

he inspired by others to do it? It was not at all essential, emphasized Paine, whether he was a fool or a hypocrite, an idiot or a traitor. “*The King has proved himself equally unworthy of the important functions that had been delegated to him.*”²⁵ Paine thus responded to statements made by some Constitutional Monarchists that the King was in fact kidnapped. The King no longer held any authority, continued Paine, and “*we owe him no longer obedience. We see in him no more than an indifferent person; we can regard him only as Louis Capet*”.²⁶ However, on the issue of the personal safety of the King, Paine idealistically hoped that the French would not bow to such a condemnable matter as retribution because it would be humiliating for the French nation. General peacefulness is still undeniable proof and the nature of free people who respect each other.²⁷ As if Paine didn’t see previous events associated with constant pressure and violence. He remained in his idealistic naivety and peacefulness even during a court appearance with the King where he openly claimed to want to preserve the life of Louis XVI. Paine thus antagonized not only the deputies of the Mountain but also Jean-Paul Marat. By his manifesto, *La Proclamation républicaine*, Paine pointed out that he was indeed an inveterate enemy of Monarchism but his hostility was not directed against the person of Louis XVI.

During July 1791 a five-member Republican club was founded. Including Paine, the club members were Duchâtelet, Condorcet, Lathenas and Nicolas de Bonneville. They advanced so far as to print *the Republican* (Le Républicain) however, only one edition ever appeared.²⁸ *The Republican* was written, “*as to the word Monarchy, though the address and intrigue of Courts have rendered it familiar, it does not contain the less of reproach or of insult to a nation. The word, in its immediate or original sense, signifies the absolute power of a single individual, who may prove a fool, an hypocrite, or*

²⁵ Ibidem.

²⁶ Ibidem, pp. 8–9.

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 4.

a tyrant”²⁹ Paine constantly emphasized in his other works that in the system of hereditary Monarchy the King didn’t become a man who is blessed with a strong character and the ability to govern wisely. By mere coincidence it was the king’s role to choose the next monarch. The firstborn son may be a fool or a madman but according to the Law of the Receiving he would be the King. Paine condemned hereditary Monarchy “because the idea of hereditary legislators is as inconsistent as that of hereditary judges or hereditary juries; and as absurd as an hereditary mathematician, or an hereditary wise man; and as ridiculous as an hereditary poet-laureate”³⁰ In *the Rights of Man* Paine wrote that if one generation chose the government, the following generations could not be tied to that decision. An example of this was according to Paine, the Glorious Revolution 1688. “The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do, in the name of the people aforesaid” (meaning the people of England then living) “most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their heirs and posterities, for Ever.” He (Mr. Burke – J. B.) quotes a clause of another Act of Parliament made in the same reign, the terms of which he says, ‘bind us’ (meaning the people of their day), “our heirs and our posterity, to them, their heirs and posterity, to the end of time.”³¹ The National Constituent Assembly of France in 1789 copied the same mistake as did the English Parliament in 1688 because it incorporated into the Constitution the possibility for the creation of hereditary succession within a family, Kapet.³² Finally, Paine in *the Republican* wrote, “I hope that I have at present sufficiently proved to you that I am a good Republican; and I have such a confidence in the truth of the principles, that I doubt not they will soon be as universal in France as in America. The pride of human nature will assist their evidence, will contribute to their establishment, and men will be ashamed of Monarchy”³³

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 10.

³⁰ PAINE, p. 62.

³¹ Ibidem, pp. 14–15.

³² *Dissertations on the First Principles of Governement*, p. 333.

³³ *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, Vol. 3, p. 11.

After returning to London Paine finished writing the second part of *the Rights of Man*, which was issued on February 16th 1792 and his work had the same success as the first part. In the second part of *the Rights of Man*, however, Paine focused more on the interpretation of his ideas about the ideal principles of government and society. He dealt with the analysis of the root causes of social discontent and drew up a proposal for social rehabilitation. In this work evolved Paine's idea of a world revolution as the way to a new era of humanity. *"As revolutions have begun, it is natural to expect that other revolutions will follow. The amazing and still increasing expenses with which old governments are conducted, the numerous wars they engage in or provoke, the embarrassments they throw in the way of universal civilisation and commerce, and the oppression and usurpation acted at home, have wearied out the patience, and exhausted the property of the world. In such a situation, and with such examples already existing, revolutions are to be looked for. They are become subjects of universal conversation, and may be considered as the Order of the day."*³⁴ Paine was a typical enlightener who believed in constant progress. He also believed that his homeland would be the scene of another in a series of many revolutions. British society however began to turn away from the French Revolution. In France the Legislative Assembly meanwhile proceeded with a euphoric campaign requesting the entry of France into a war with European tyrants and the main advocates were the Girondists. The rhetoric of Brissot, Vergniaud and Guadet was full of idealistic notions of the sacred duty of the French nation to spread the ideas of their revolution into other countries and to open the way for a new dawn of society where the thrones of despots would crumble under the pressure of the new ideas. The idea of a simple "liberation" war was about as wrong as French troops being welcomed with open arms beyond their borders.³⁵ However, it is important to emphasize that Thomas Paine despite his pacifism endorsed and supported the initiative of the Girondists in their war campaign. According to Paine, it was

³⁴ PAINE, p. 144.

³⁵ S. SCHAMA, *Občané, kronika Francouzské revoluce*, Praha 2004, pp. 602–619.

not in fact a classic offensive war but rather the march of a free French Army which had to suppress despotism and to establish a new democratic order.

Paine's concept of transformation principles of government and society appeared not only in *the Rights of Man*, but also in his other works. To better understand the personality of Thomas Paine it is important to present his ideas in more detail. He was an intellectual who advocated the ideas of Cosmopolitanism. In the preface to the French edition of the first part of *the Rights of Man*, which appeared in May 1791, Paine turned to the French and encouraged them in the belief that their Revolution was and would be welcome by the people of all countries, it just needed a little spark. He wrote that the case of the French Revolution did not concern only Europe but the whole world. Paine returned again to the example of Britain and remained in the naive notion that with the exception of the British government the vast majority of British people inclined towards the ideas of the French Revolution. "*The government of England is no friend to the Revolution of France [...] The English nation, on the contrary, is very favourably disposed towards the French Revolution, and to the progress of liberty in the whole world [...] The French should know that most English newspapers are directly in the pay of government, or, if indirectly connected with it, always under its orders; and that those papers constantly distort and attack the Revolution in France in order to deceive the nation. But, as it is impossible long to prevent the prevalence of truth, the daily falsehoods of those papers no longer have the desired effect.*"³⁶

Thomas Paine was not only a theoretician of a world revolution. On a proposal of the deputy La Révellière-Lépeaux the National Convention approved on November 19th 1792 a controversial decree proclaiming that the French nation would be willing to help all other nations if they wished to get rid of their oppressive burden and sow the seeds of freedom.³⁷ Paine after this

³⁶ M. D. CONWAY (Ed.), *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, New York 1894, Vol. 2, pp. 213–214, <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/paine-the-writings-of-thomas-paine-vol-ii-1779-1792>, [2014–04–07].

³⁷ D. TINKOVÁ, *Revoluční Francie 1787–1799*, Praha 2008, p. 105.

decree immediately contacted the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pierre Lebrun, and presented him with a revolutionary plan for a possible new revolution in Britain. According to this new decree, the French Republic could help the Irish revolutionaries in their struggle for freedom. Cautious Lebrun, however, decided to find out through Eleazer Oswald, who had secretly travelled to London, whether English people inclined to a potential revolution. Oswald was an Irish American and a good friend of Paine. By November 1792 activities began in Paris in an infamous British club in which Paine was a member. The British club worked in conjunction with the French government and was known for its espionage activities. This club was “*making grandiose plans for a world revolution that would overturn all oppressive governments*”.³⁸ Paine’s task was to write a Universal Republican Constitution.³⁹

Hereditary monarchy was for Paine an incomprehensible system where “*Kings succeed each other, not as rationals, but as animals. It signifies not what their mental or moral characters are. Can we then be surprised at the abject state of the human mind in monarchical countries, when the government itself is formed on such an abject levelling system?*”⁴⁰ For the author the monarchical system was in general an ongoing war. “*There can be no such thing as a nation flourishing alone in Commerce [...] When, therefore, Governments are at war, the attack is made upon the common stock of Commerce, and the consequence is the same as if each had attacked his own.*”⁴¹ Paine wrote in the preface to the French edition of *the Rights of Man*, that monarchical governments had a constant need to “create” new enemies. The English government presented, according to Paine, a “curious phenomenon”. The government saw that the French and English people got rid of prejudices and false notions that previously opposed each other “*and which have cost them so much money, that government seems to be placarding*

³⁸ BLAKEMORE, p. 31.

³⁹ Ibidem.

⁴⁰ PAINE, p. 157.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 200.

its need of a foe; for unless it finds one somewhere, no pretext exists for the enormous revenue and taxation now deemed necessary".⁴² Paine never had an idealistic vision of mankind having a kind nature. However, according to Paine, Monarchism defended human education and suppressed the good features in people. Only a democratic system could cultivate human beings. These ideas were reflections of the French Enlightenment philosophy which proclaimed that only the new legislature and thus the social system may provide moral behavior. Jean-Jacques Rousseau considered that an essential part of education was faith in God and fear of his punishment. Human beings, according to philosophers, are not essentially evil. However, as people formed social institutions, they developed vices. These evil social institutions paved the way for corruption and egoism.⁴³ Therefore, these institutions must be changed. Paine emphasized that the revolutions which took place before the American and French revolutions were nothing because they were not political revolutions and they limited themselves only to changes of ministers and appropriate measures.⁴⁴ According to Paine, humanity would grow on the basis of mutual and open discussions. Peace should ensure international policy giving preference to open talks before military conflicts. Then peace will naturally follow in the interest of an enlightened society and a monarchical system will be prohibited. Paine was convinced it would not be possible for a Republic and a Monarchy to operate next to each other. According to Paine both systems would bring their different principles into conflict. Therefore, he hoped for a world revolution and the creation of Republics which would mutually live peacefully together under a common free international trade. This form of contact should also develop an interest in mutual acquaintances between nations. This way would secure a pacifist system in a new democratic world.⁴⁵

⁴² *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, Vol. 2, pp. 213–214.

⁴³ J. L. T. TALMON, *O původu totalitní demokracie: Politická teorie za Francouzské revoluce a po ní*, Praha 1998, pp. 34–41.

⁴⁴ PAINE, p. 144.

⁴⁵ WALKER, pp. 56–57.

Paine also became a member of the movement, *the Cercle Social*. This movement could be seen as something between a revolutionary political club and an academy. The aim was to combine the ideals of a revolution with the Christian tradition.⁴⁶ One of the founders, Nicolas de Bonneville, presented *the Cercle Social* as an intellectual vanguard which prepared Europe for a series of apocalyptic revolutions.⁴⁷ Based on these ideas, in October 1790 *The Society of the Friends of Truth* or the *World Confederation of Friends of Truth* (Confédération Universelle des Amis de la Vérité) was founded. From this Federation flowed the ideas of a brotherhood based on the principles of freedom, equality and unity. Although the first meetings were public it was from the beginning a movement of intellectuals connected via correspondence with other revolutionary clubs in Utrecht, Geneva, Philadelphia and London.⁴⁸ Bonneville created this movement as a purely intellectual society which should, according to his own words, help to regenerate the world by initiating an ideological revolution against despotism.⁴⁹ *The Cercle Social* was also in close contact with the Girondists. The movement had a strong religious character. However, *the Cercle Social* did not enforce ecclesiastical interests but through the interpretation of the *Social Contract* by its member Claude Fauchet, he reported this movement to be “the preaching of a gospel of universal love and brotherhood which the revolution awakened to a new life”.⁵⁰ According to the ideas of Rousseau the *Cercle Social* was directed by this interpretation to the religious and political unity of the state. The philosophy of the Enlightenment saw the ideal of society in general unity and according to this philosophy “the citizen is nothing and nothing is achieved without other citizens and the source of life of the whole society is identical or superior to the source of life of individuals [...] Individualism would have to retreat from collectivism

⁴⁶ H. MAIER, *Revoluce a cirkev*, Brno 1999, p. 67.

⁴⁷ BLAKEMORE, p. 30.

⁴⁸ R. B. ROSE, *Socialism and the French Revolution: The Cercle Social and the Enragés*, in: *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Manchester 1985, pp. 139–165.

⁴⁹ BLAKEMORE, p. 30.

⁵⁰ MAIER, p. 69.

and egoism would have to retreat from morality".⁵¹ Robespierre's ideas based the ideas of Rousseau. A religious sense of awe and a patriotic obedience should not collide. On the contrary, religion and patriotism should blend with each other and the new Republican religion would create a perfect unity with political objectives. This meant that there would be no distinction between priest and judge. Religious and patriotic ceremonies would be the same and to serve the country would be the same as to serve God.⁵² This attempt at unity was expressed by Robespierre at a festival of the Supreme Being. Paine identified himself with many ideas of the internationalism of *the Cercle Social* but on the questions of faith and religion refused any ceremonies and celebrations. Paine's thoughts were certainly noble but his ideas about political reality, in this case concerning Britain, could not be merged with his grandiose plan. It seemed that Paine was indeed blinded by his ideas and therefore couldn't immediately recognize a real political situation. However, he was not utopian but as an enlightener he believed in a continual progress and so hoped that the French Revolution was not in any way the last. On the contrary, Paine expected within a short time a flare of new revolutions.

On September 25th 1792, in an *Address to the People of France*, Paine congratulated the National Convention "on the abolition of Royalty". At the same time he was asked to become a member of a committee which was to draw up a new Republican Constitution. Paine worked with such personalities as Brissot, Condorcet, Pétion, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Danton, Barère and Sieyès. The draft of this Constitution however was never adopted. After the insurrection against the Girondists, the Jacobins began work on their own Republican Constitution.⁵³ After the execution of King Louis XVI which took place on January 21st 1793, events took a new direction. The French Republic on February 1st 1793 declared war⁵⁴ on Britain and on the United Netherlands.

⁵¹ TALMON, p. 52.

⁵² Ibidem, p. 36.

⁵³ *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, p. 34.

⁵⁴ The Legislative Assembly declared war on France on 20th April 1792, not as The Holy Roman Emperor but as the King of Bohemia and Hungary, hoping that they would not have

Spain responded to the execution of the French King by denouncing the French ambassador in Madrid and thus the National Convention on March 7th declared war on another European state. Into the growing conflict were involved the Italian sovereigns of Tuscany, Naples and Venice and finally most of the local rulers of the Holy Roman Empire. In the winter of 1792, when France still had not stood against this first coalition, the Republican armies had recorded achievements. General Dumouriez had defeated the Austrian army on November 6th 1792 in the battle of Jemappes and after this success the victorious General could set foot on the territory of the Austrian Netherlands. Consequently, there had been the annexation of Savoy, the Rhineland and Niza.⁵⁵ By the beginning of 1793 came the first failures of the French army against foreigners as well as domestic enemies. In March an uprising broke out in the Vendée and in the same month, i.e. March 18th 1793, General Dumouriez was defeated in the battle of Neerwinden by the Austrian Army. The French Republic by this battle lost the recently conquered Austrian Netherlands. This defeat but mostly the escape of General Dumouriez to the enemy where he wanted to mobilize the army against “the Jacobin Paris” had a very negative impact on domestic policy and the fate of the Girondists. In fact the General had been in close contact with some of the deputies of the Girondin faction. After his escape on April 6th 1793 the first *Committee of Public Safety* (Comité de salut public) was created.⁵⁶

In the National Convention a majority of deputies, so-called *the Plain* (la Plaine or le Marais), started moving onto the side of the Montagnards⁵⁷ because of their distrust of the undecided policy of the Girondists which was steadily growing. The political crisis was accompanied by an economic crisis because the country again appeared to have enormous supply problems. The

to enter a war with the whole Empire.

⁵⁵ TINKOVÁ, p. 105.

⁵⁶ BLAKEMORE, p. 32.

⁵⁷ The Montagnards (les Montagnards) were the most radical revolutionaries in the French National Convention and resolute opponents of the Girondists. They sat on the highest benches in the Assembly.

assignats growing inflation and the policy of the Girondists, who promoted free trade against any form of planned economy, led to the fact that the Jacobins in Paris were successful in their agitation against their political opponents. The Girondists were the group of deputies who were also commonly known as *Brissotiens* according to their considerable representative Jacques Pierre Brissot. They were not in fact a coherent and uniform “party” but rather a loose group of deputies associated with mutual friendship but not always with the same political views. They did not have meetings in the Jacobin club but political plans were discussed especially in the salon of Madame Roland,⁵⁸ wife of the Minister of the Interior, Jean-Marie Roland. “*I prepared lunch twice per week. Once it was for colleagues of my husband and for several deputies. The second time it was for different people and also for some deputies [...] I prepared fifteen sets of cutlery for the usual number of guests who were rarely eighteen and twenty only once [...] After lunch we talked for some time in my salon and then everyone returned to their work [...] Such were my lunches which public speakers presented at the tribune of the Jacobin club as festive banquets [...] It was an alleged court, a centre of conspiracy of which I was alleged to be Queen...*”⁵⁹ The Girondists were accused by the Jacobins of conspiring and secretive negotiations just because of this form of private political meetings. Political tension in the National Convention continually grew and the Montagnards, who had a strong background just in Paris because many of their members were elected for the capital, attacked the unsuccessful policy of the Girondists. The Montagnards, due to a more successful propaganda, gradually gained support among the popular societies in Paris. The Jacobins decided, very tactically, to take part in a program of the so-called Enragés who were a dispersed group of street agitators. The Enragés demanded strict control of the distribution of grain, the introduction

⁵⁸ It is worth mentioning characteristics of Thomas Paine, who was the frequent guest of Madame Roland. She said about Thomas Paine, that he was more fit to scatter the kindling sparks than to lay the foundation, or “*better at lighting the way for revolution than drafting a constitution [...] or the day-to-day work of a legislator*”.

⁵⁹ M. ROLANDOVÁ, *Paměti I, II.*, Praha 1909, pp. 123–124.

of maximum prices concerning basic food, progressive taxation for the rich people and severe penalties for “the speculators” who stored food and grain in order to raise the prices of these products. Against this radical programme, in firm opposition stood the Girondists who advocated free trade and accused Paris of centralization and ignoring election results in other departments. Open attack on the capital city led by deputy Isnard at the National Convention destroyed the last remnants of popularity of the Girondists. The Jacobins presented them as “pests” and enemies of the people who refused at a critical time any radical revolutionary measures.⁶⁰

Thomas Paine was known to be a friend of many Girondists and also often acted politically with them because he agreed with their political programme. Sampson Perry who in 1796 published a *History of the French Revolution* left an interesting account of his visit to Paine in January 1793: “*I breakfasted with Paine about this time at the Philadelphia Hotel [...] and added that he (Paine – J. B.) was going to dine with Pétion, the mayor, and that he knew I should be welcome and be entertained. We went to the mayoralty in a hackney coach, and were seated at a table about which were placed the following persons: Pétion, the mayor of Paris, with his female relation who did the honour of the table; Dumouriez, the commander-in-chief of the French forces, and one of his aides-de-camp; Santerre, the commandant of the armed force of Paris, and an aide-de-camp; Condorcet; Brissot; Guadet; Gensonné; Danton; Kersaint; Clavière; Vergniaud; and Syèyes; which, with three other persons, whose names I do not now recollect, and including Paine and myself, made in all nineteen.*”⁶¹

When the Montagnards proposed in the National Convention to establish a Revolutionary tribunal the Girondists stood firmly opposed to this radical proposal. When this proposal was finally enforced some Girondist deputies decided to send before the newly established Revolutionary tribunal Jean-Paul Marat. The Girondists accused him of fanaticism, of attempting to enforce dictatorship and open attacks against the members of the Convention by

⁶⁰ SCHAMA, pp. 735–737.

⁶¹ *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, Vol. 3, pp. 3–8.

calling the street in his newspaper *L'Ami du Peuple* to violence and murders. *"In conjunction with Brissot, Paine tried to discredit Marat by suggesting that his Republican beliefs were suspect."*⁶² Paine even presented himself as the alleged victim of Marat's plan to assassinate him. Finally, for Paine it was an awkward affair because Marat was acquitted on April 24th 1793 by the Tribunal and was seen by the mob as the winner.⁶³

Thomas Paine began to be pessimistic about the French Revolution. A letter written on April 20th 1793 to Thomas Jefferson illustrated Paine's fear and disappointment. *"We are now in an extraordinary crisis [...] Dumouriez, partly from having no fixed principles of his own, and partly from the continual persecution of the Jacobins, who act without either prudence or morality, has gone off to the Enemy, and taken a considerable part of the Army with him. The expedition to Holland has totally failed, and all Brabant is again in the hands of the Austrians [...] Dumouriez threatened to be in Paris in three weeks. It is now three weeks ago; he is still on the frontier near to Mons with the Enemy, who do not make any progress. Dumouriez has proposed to re-establish the former Constitution (the Constitution of 1791 – J. B.) in which plan the Austrians act with him."*⁶⁴ Paine confessed, in this letter, to the fear that the General could actually invade France and with the help of the Austrian troops restore the Monarchy. Thomas Paine also hinted that his faith in the successful spread of revolutionary ideas began to decline. *"Had this revolution been conducted consistently with its principles, there was once a good prospect of extending liberty through the greatest part of Europe; but I now relinquish that hope."*⁶⁵ If the enemies invaded France but were defeated Paine would still hope for a recovery plan for his world revolution. However, as he pointed out it was all just about fortune and he feared that if the wheel of fortune turned he could not bear the failure. *"As the prospect of*

⁶² BLAKEMORE, p. 32.

⁶³ Ibidem.

⁶⁴ *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, Vol. 3, p. 71–73.

⁶⁵ Ibidem.

a general freedom is now much shortened, I begin to contemplate returning home."⁶⁶ Paine wanted to wait for the declaration of the Constitution⁶⁷ he helped to create and which was predominantly the work of the Girondists. The Montagnards distanced themselves from this project. The "Girondin Constitution" in fact was never ratified because the Jacobins planned to draw up their own draft of the Constitution.

On October 20th 1793 Thomas Jefferson received another letter from Paine which was written after the uprising against the Girondists. *"There is now no prospect that France can carry revolutions into Europe on the one hand, or that the combined powers can conquer France on the other hand. It is a sort of defensive War on both sides. This being the case, how is the War to close?"*⁶⁸ Paine thus gave up all hopes for the spread of revolutionary ideas and began to prefer the view that it would be better to end the war because without an ideological content it all ceased to make sense. He claimed that Great Britain and United Netherlands were certainly tired of war because their commerce and manufacturing suffered exceedingly. According to Paine it was for them completely useless and without purpose to wage war. He realized however that no belligerent would ask for peace negotiations at the first stage. Paine therefore turned to Jefferson who was at that time the Secretary of State: *"I cannot help repeating my wish that Congress would send Commissioners, and I wish also that yourself would venture once more across the ocean, as one of them."*⁶⁹ Paine wished the United States to become facilitator of the European peace and according to him, in the current situation, it was the only way of how to bring peace.

It is very interesting to watch the opinion which Paine advocated during the trial of the former French King Louis XVI. So I think it is necessary to present this issue in more detail.

⁶⁶ Ibidem.

⁶⁷ Ibidem.

⁶⁸ Ibidem, pp. 72–73.

⁶⁹ Ibidem.

The London newspaper, *The Times*, issued on September 12th 1792 reported on the state of the Royal Family imprisoned in a temple by a gentleman who escaped from Paris. The servant of this gentleman originally served in the ranks of the French National Guard. As a guardsman he had on several occasions to guard the royal prisoners. The guardsman gave this gentleman valuable details of the privacy of the imprisoned Royal Family. “*The King and Queen are never permitted either night or day to speak together, but in the presence of one of the Municipal Officers, who when they walk, goes between them; when they eat, he sits between them; and at night they sleep in different rooms. In each of these are always four guards, who to avoid being seduced, are changed every half hour. As the new guard has orders to see themselves that the King and Queen are in their beds, on entering their rooms, they always ask Monsieur Louis, Madame Antoinette, êtes vous dans votre lit? They ask this question until the King and Queen answer, —Yes [...] The National Guards smoke their pipes, and eat and drink in their prisoner’s apartments, as if no one was there; and their conversation is particularly ordered to be directed to the arrest; — the death of the King’s friends; — the reports of the defeat of the Austrians; — insurrections; — desertions in their armies, and other such false rumours, in order to augment the miserable situation of the royal family.*”⁷⁰ Such a picture of the treatment of the former French King and his family was presented to British society. In the winter of 1792 Thomas Paine could only dream about plans for a world revolution. On January 11th 1793, Paine together with his colleague Robert Merry, proposed that the British Club send an address the National Convention requesting “a war to liberate the British people”. The proposal was voted down by one vote.⁷¹

One of the crucial turning points in the French Revolution was a process with the former French King Louis XVI which took place at the National

⁷⁰ *London Times*, Monday, Sept. 12, 1792, <http://oldsite.english.ucsb.edu/faculty/ayliu/research/around-1800/FR/times-9-12-1792>, [2014–04–07].

⁷¹ BLAKEMORE, p. 31.

Convention and which ultimately led to the former French King being condemned to death. The trial of Louis Kapet, as the former Monarch was commonly called according to his ancestors, lasted from 10th to 26th December 1792. Before the process started however the National Convention had a long debate about whether Louis XVI should be brought before a civil court because according to the Constitution he had secured immunity.⁷² Another question was who should be his judge. It was in connection with this matter, when for the first time on November 13th 1792 Louis Antoine Saint-Just, Robespierre's future faithful collaborator and member of the Committee of Public Safety, drew attention to himself.⁷³ Saint-Just came up with a radical and simple solution: *"I say that the King should be judged as an enemy and that even more than judge him, we must fight him [...] The social contract is between citizens, not between citizens and government. A contract is useless against those who are not bound by it. Consequently, Louis, who was a part to it, cannot be judged by Civil Law [...] These reasons lead you all not to judge Lewis as a citizen, but as a rebel [...] By what right does he demand to be judged by Civil Law, which is our obligation toward him, when it is clear that he himself betrayed the only obligation that he had undertaken towards us, that of our protection?"*⁷⁴ Furthermore, Saint-Just went on in his interpretation of the argument to say why Louis should not be brought to a civil court but rather should be considered as a traitor and a tyrant. Louis, according to Saint-Just, could not be identified as a citizen because he fought against human rights and the civil society. *"It is impossible to reign in innocence [...] All Kings are rebels and usurpers [...] Louis is a foreigner among us [...] It is therefore you who must decide if Lewis is the enemy of*

⁷² *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860 Convention nationale*, series 1, Vol. 53 (du 27 octobre au 30 novembre 1792), p. 78, [http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k49568z.r=Archives+parlementaires+de+1787+%C3%A0+1860+Convention+nationale++tome+53.lan-gEN, \[2014-04-07\]. \[2014-04-07\].](http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k49568z.r=Archives+parlementaires+de+1787+%C3%A0+1860+Convention+nationale++tome+53.lan-gEN, [2014-04-07]. [2014-04-07].)

⁷³ Ibidem, pp. 390–392.

⁷⁴ Ibidem.

the French people, if he is an alien.”⁷⁵ He finally said coldly, either the King should die, or should govern.⁷⁶

On the question of whether to lead with a King as a normal process Thomas Paine drew up for the Convention his own report.⁷⁷ According to Paine all the evidence pointed to the fact that Louis XVI was an ally of the “crowned brigands of Europe”, as Paine liked to call European Monarchs, who prepared a conspiracy against not only French freedom but also against the whole of Europe. *“We have seen the unhappy soldiers of Austria, of Prussia, and the other powers which declared themselves our enemies, torn from their fire-sides, and drawn to butchery like wretched animals, to sustain, at the cost of their blood, the common cause of these crowned brigands.”*⁷⁸ The European Monarchs loaded their inhabitants with new taxes and cast them into bloodshed. One group of these “cowards” used weapons openly, the second group used conspiracy, secretly supported without military intervention. Paine thought that Britain did not enter the war only because they feared revolution in their own country. He stated that the European despots were in fear of the ideas of the French Revolution and so prepared a plot to consolidate their own position and kept their people oppressed. Paine was therefore convinced that Louis XVI was not only involved in conspiracies against his own country but also against the whole of Europe. France had to reveal this great conspiracy against freedom to the world. Therefore, Paine agreed with the process and presented arguments he considered crucial for the trial of Louis XVI. If the National Convention decided on a moderate punishment and showed compassion, it would not be because of the “inviolability” of the Sovereign but an example of national magnanimity.⁷⁹ Paine based his arguments on

⁷⁵ Ibidem.

⁷⁶ Ibidem.

⁷⁷ However, because of his weak skills of French language, he couldn't personally read his report before the Members of the National Convention. Therefore Paine asked on November 21st, one of his colleagues about the translation as well as the recitation of his report in French.

⁷⁸ *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, Vol. 3, pp. 63–65.

⁷⁹ Ibidem.

a European wide conspiracy of the Monarchs and the traditional approach to the monarchical system which was based on constant wars and taxes loaded onto the inhabitants. He was convinced that the revolution refused only the governments but not nations. Louis XIV had to be judged. The young French Republic had to show its strength and determination and also to reveal the extent of the conspiracy and absurdity of the monarchy to the world. As it later turned out Paine very vigorously refused the death penalty. His aim was only to discredit the monarchy as such. In fact Paine did not want a severe punishment for Louis XVI, whom he considered a weakling. Louis was not for him a prototype of the typical “tyrant”.

Thomas Paine radically opposed the death penalty⁸⁰ for the former King of France. On January 15th 1793, Paine again spoke in the National Convention. *“My hatred and abhorrence of monarchy are sufficiently known [...] but my compassion for the unfortunate, whether friend or enemy, is equally lively and sincere [...] I voted that Lewis should be tried, because it was necessary to afford proofs to the world of the perfidy, corruption, and abomination of the monarchical system.”*⁸¹ Paine continued as an advocate of Louis XVI. *“Nevertheless, I am inclined to believe that if Louis Kapet had not been born in obscure conditions, had he lived within the circle of an amiable and respectable neighbourhood and at liberty to practice the duties of domestic life, had he been thus situated, I cannot believe that he would have shown himself destitute of social virtues.”*⁸² According to Paine, Louis was basically a good man but he was destined to be a King and it ruined him. Furthermore, Paine strongly reminded the National Convention that since the King attempted to escape he had acted radically against his reinstatement to power and had demanded the establishment of a Republican system of government. Because of this fatal error Louis stood before the court and Paine demanded that the punishment for the former King be exile, not death.

⁸⁰ *Archives parlementaires*, p. 344

⁸¹ *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, vol. 3, pp. 65–68.

⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 65.

The accusation, according to Paine, should be directed rather against the National Constituent Assembly because during the crisis in the summer of 1791, this Assembly reinstated Louis on the throne. *“I am far more ready to condemn the Constituent Assembly than the unfortunate prisoner Louis Capet [...] and this very circumstance affords to the French nation a blessed occasion of extricating itself from the yoke of kings, without defiling itself in the impurities of their blood.”*⁸³ Thomas Paine also reminded the National Convention that it was the French monarchy which helped the American colonies to gain their freedom and independence from the British tyranny. No matter how bad was the monarchism, this action must be counted as a good thing for freedom. *“Let then those United States be the safeguard and asylum of Louis Capet. There, hereafter, far removed from the miseries and crimes of royalty, he may learn, from the constant aspect of public prosperity that the true system of government consists not in kings, but in fair, equal, and honourable representation.”*⁸⁴ Paine also deliberately mentioned the proposal of Robespierre which was held at the beginning of the revolution. Robespierre at that time opposed the death penalty. Paine stressed that this idea should be inherent in any enlightened politician and advocate of humanity. Paine therefore proposed: The National Convention should send Louis Kapet and his family into exile in the United States as ordinary citizens but only after the end of the military conflict.⁸⁵

During the negotiations of January 19th despite the fierce resistance of Marat was enforced the fourth question concerning the possibility to have a respite of the death penalty because of the potential international political impact. Deputies had to vote by a simple “yes” or “no”, to the question whether the execution of the sentence should be in respite to a later date. On the same day Paine expressed his opinion on this issue. This speech was read by his colleague, at that time the Secretary of the

⁸³ Ibidem, p. 66.

⁸⁴ Ibidem.

⁸⁵ Ibidem, pp. 67–68.

National Convention, Bancal. Paine in the introduction expressed deep regret that the Convention voted for the death penalty for Louis. “*My language has always been that of liberty and humanity, and I know that nothing so exalts a nation as the union of these two principles, under all circumstances [...] what today seems an act of justice may then appear an act of vengeance.*”⁸⁶ In the National Convention the restless turmoil could be heard. However, the loudest dissatisfaction came from Marat when he cried: “*I submit that Thomas Paine is incompetent to vote on this question; being a Quaker his religious principles are opposed to capital punishment.*”⁸⁷ Some deputies cried “freedom of speech” and demanded to take action against such interruptions in the negotiation.⁸⁸ Bancal could proceed afterwards with Paine’s speech. By these views Thomas Paine antagonized not only the Montagnards but also Marat.⁸⁹ Thomas Paine then in his speech expressed concern about the honour of the French Republic. It would be better to make a thousand errors in one act of mercy than to approve a severe punishment. Paine admitted: “*I voted against an appeal to the people [...] but I so voted in the hope that this Assembly would pronounce against death.*”⁹⁰ Certainly here a role of fear played heavily. If the question of the penalty for the King from the National Convention reached the people in the country it could break out into riots and even civil war. There was also a general distrust within the education of the lower class and maybe even a hidden fear of rural areas such as in the west of France where the peasants maintained loyalty to the Church and to the King. Paine again returned to the possibility of exile for the Royal Family and stressed that the United States was the only real ally of the

⁸⁶ Ibidem, pp. 68–69.

⁸⁷ *Archives parlementaires*, series 1, Vol. 57, (du 12 janvier 1793 au 28 janvier 1793), p. 454, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k49585j.r=Archives+parlementaires+de+1787+%C3%A0+1860+-Convention+nationale++tome+57.langEN>, [2014–04–07].

⁸⁸ Ibidem.

⁸⁹ BLAKEMORE, p. 32.

⁹⁰ *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, Vol. 3, pp. 68–69.

French Republic. In America Louis was still considered the friend of their revolution. *"His execution will be an affliction to them, and it is in your power not to wound the feelings of your ally. Could I speak the French language I would descend to your bar, and in their name become your petitioner to respite the execution of the sentence on Louis."*⁹¹ Paine's speech caused vigorous reactions from some deputies. The Montagnard Thuriot responded incredulously: *"This is a mockery! This is not the language of Thomas Paine!"*⁹² Another Montagnard Basire and others of his colleagues of the Montagne cried: *"Paine doesn't know French! It can not be his opinion!"*⁹³ Marat ran at the tribune next to Paine to completely interrupt his speech. Then he descended into the midst of the hall of the Convention where he cried indignantly and blamed the interpreter Bancal. According to Marat it wasn't Thomas Paine's opinion. It was an untrue translation. Finally this turmoil was ended by deputy Garran who said that he could confirm the authenticity of the correct translation of Paine's speech because he read the original.⁹⁴ Bancal could again proceed with Paine's speech. *"Ah, citizens, give not the tyrant of England the triumph of seeing the man perish on the scaffold who had aided my much-loved America to break his chains!"*⁹⁵ It was the last possible argument with which Paine tried to convince the deputies not to send Louis to death or at least to have a respite of capital punishment. Louis XVI was guillotined on January 21st 1793. Paine never again mentioned Louis' trial or death.⁹⁶

Despite the fact that Thomas Paine was imprisoned during the revolutionary terror and according to his words narrowly escaped the guillotine he remained faithful to the original revolutionary ideals and

⁹¹ Ibidem.

⁹² *Archives parlementaires*, series 1, Vol. 57, (du 12 janvier 1793 au 28 janvier 1793), p. 454.

⁹³ Ibidem.

⁹⁴ Ibidem.

⁹⁵ *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, Vol. 3, pp. 68–69.

⁹⁶ BLAKEMORE, p. 32.

advocated a period for a “Girondin Republic”. Paine conceived himself as the father of both revolutions and thereby the creator of a new political world. According to his words, both revolutions were closely linked. Revolutionary events in France had its origins in the American Revolution where Americans fought alongside French. On the other hand, he also felt personally betrayed by men of both revolutions. On the side of the American Revolution there were the Federalists, on the side of the French Revolution there were the Jacobins.⁹⁷ Paine explained terror as the personal betrayal of himself and betrayal of the principles of the Enlightenment on which were built both revolutions. In his vision, Paine joined Robespierre’s terrorist regime with Washington’s federalist faction and believed that both these political orientations not only caused his imprisonment but also betrayed both revolutions which he created ideologically.⁹⁸

In his work *Dissertations on the First Principles of Government* of 1795 Paine wrote, that “*all the disorders that have arisen in France during the progress of the Revolution have had their origin, not in the principle of equal rights, but in the violation of that principle [...] Had a Constitution been established two years ago (as ought to have been done), the violences that have since desolated France and injured the character of the Revolution, would, in my opinion, have been prevented*”.⁹⁹ The Nation would be united and every individual would know his place in society. Instead of this, a revolutionary government usurped power without any enlightened principles and the authority replaced the Constitution. “*Virtue and crime depended upon accident; and that which was patriotism one day became treason the next.*” Paine clearly advocated the opinion and policy of the Girondists who promoted the legal way and the constitutional state. Really pure patriots were his Girondin colleagues who finished under the guillotine due to the terrorist policy of the Jacobins. The Constitution was

⁹⁷ Ibidem, pp. 35–37.

⁹⁸ Ibidem, p. 19.

⁹⁹ *The Political Writings of Thomas Paine*, Vol. 2, pp. 341, 343.

replaced by the Committee of Public Safety. The members of the committee and particularly the triumvirate ideologues of Robespierre, Saint-Just and Couthon represented in their vision the role of Rousseau's "Legislature". According to Rousseau at the moment when the people, or rather their leaders, would bring the revolution to a victorious end the government would take over the so-called Legislature. Rousseau's Legislator would see the situation from a perspective without being blinded by partial interests and passions and who would form the young nation by laws that would be the work of his "great wisdom". He would prepare the nation for the adoption of *the general will* (*volonté générale*).¹⁰⁰ The appointed members of the committee were convinced that they were able to replace the Constitution and any opposition to their conduct was considered treason and counterrevolution. Paine explained that all terror was based on the absence of a Constitution, the existence of which should prevent one-party rule. *"All these things have followed from the want of a constitution; for it is the nature and intention of a constitution to prevent governing by party, by establishing a common principle that shall limit and control the power and impulse of party, and that says to all parties, thus far shalt thou go and no further. But in the absence of a constitution, men look entirely to party; and instead of principle governing party, party governs principle."*¹⁰¹ Paine compared Robespierre and his appetite for power to hereditary monarchy.¹⁰² Thomas Paine felt the need to explain the failure of the French Revolution because he also felt personal disappointment. For Paine the ideal of the French Republic was with the Girondin Convention but all his revolutionary ideals vanished after the insurrection of 31st May – 2nd June 1793.

Thomas Paine died on his farm in 1809 within only a small circle of close friends. He was buried in a quiet ceremony on the soil of his farm in New Rochelle, New York. Revolutionist Paine had no peace even after the death.

¹⁰⁰ TALMON, p. 57.

¹⁰¹ *The Political Writings of Thomas Paine*, Vol. 2, p. 344.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*.

His admirer William Cobbett secretly transferred his dead body to England where he planned to erect a monument to his idol. However, the monument was never built and the dead body of Paine thus irrevocably disappeared.¹⁰³ Paradoxically his most significant political opponent regarding *the Rights of Man*, Edmund Burke, was buried in an unknown place. The reason, however, was neither the transfer of his mortal remains, nor a plan to build a monument. Burke at the time of his death in 1797 feared that if the French invaded Britain, Jacobins could desecrate his mortal remains.¹⁰⁴ Both men thus posthumously joined the fates of the anonymity of their graves.

Abstract

Thomas Paine was a typical professional revolutionist. He actively participated in both the American and the French Revolutions and his contributions were mainly in literary activities. By his most important works, *the Common Sense* and *the Rights of Man*, Paine significantly influenced public opinion on both continents. In both works he defended the Republican Establishment and denounced the Hereditary Monarchy. He believed, like many of his contemporaries, that neither the American Revolution nor the French Revolution were the last. Paine hoped for a series of revolutions that would destroy the European Monarchies in favour of establishing a Republican System across the whole of Europe. According to Paine only a Republican form of government could ensure a universal peace and understanding between the nations. An ideal constitutional Republican System represented for Paine just a period of so-called Girondin Convention. On the contrary, the Jacobin terror destroyed all Paine's ideals and any hope of a universal revolution. Despite the fact that Thomas Paine was imprisoned during the revolutionary terror he remained a loyal Republican and these views he advocated until his death.

¹⁰³ WALKER, pp. 51–52.

¹⁰⁴ BURKE, p. 13.

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Thomas Paine or the Defender of the World Revolution

Keywords

Thomas Paine; French Revolution; Rights of Man; Hereditary Monarchy;
Trial of the King; World revolution

Alfred Russel Wallace, William Rathbone Greg and the Origin of Social Darwinism¹

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The main purpose of the study is to critically discuss and evaluate a role of the eminent British scientist Alfred Russel Wallace² and social thinker William Rathbone Greg in the origin and rise of social Darwinism³ in the second half of the nineteenth century. Social Darwinism emerged after 1859 as a specific intellectual response of the educated classes in the Western world to the theory of natural selection proposed by Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace with important social and political consequences. Woodruff D. Smith alleged that before 1880s Darwinism had been identified with political radicalism, but in the last decade of the twentieth century the conservative forces appropriated some crucial arguments and concept of Darwinism.⁴ Daniel Gasman

¹ The article constitutes a part of solution of the project SGS 2014-006 of the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts of the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen.

² R. A. SLOTTEN, *The Heretic in Darwin's Court. The Life of Alfred Russel Wallace*, New York 2004; M. FICHMAN, *An Elusive Victorian: the Evolution of Alfred Russel Wallace*, Chicago 2004; T. SEVERIN, *The Spice Islands Voyage: The Quest for Alfred Wallace, the Man Who Shared Darwin's Discovery of Evolution*, New York 1997; A. BERRY, *Infinite Tropics: An Alfred Russel Wallace Anthology*, London 2003; J. MARCHANT, *Alfred Russel Wallace: Letters and Reminiscences*, New York 1916; M. SHERMER, *In Darwin's Shadow: The Life and Science of Alfred Russel Wallace*, Oxford 2002; H. CLEMENTS, *Alfred Russel Wallace: Biologist and Social Reformer*, London 1983; A. R. WALLACE, *My Life: A Record of Events and Opinions*, I, London 1905.

³ M. HAWKINS, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought 1860–1945. Nature as Model and Nature as Threat*, Cambridge 1997.

⁴ W. D. SMITH, *The Ideological Origins of Nazi Imperialism*, New York 1986, pp. 145–146.

emphasized the contribution of social Darwinism to the radicalization of the political culture in Germany before the First World War.⁵

Charles Darwin himself indicated in *The Descent of Man* a possibility of application of the law of natural selection to human society. He argued that “at the present day civilized nations are everywhere supplanting barbarous nations, excepting where the climate opposes a deadly barrier”⁶ and that “at some future period, not very distant as measured by centuries, the civilized races of man will almost certainly exterminate and replace throughout the world the savage races. At the same time the anthropomorphous apes, as Professor Schaaffhausen has remarked, will no doubt be exterminated. The break will then be rendered wider, for it will intervene between man in a more civilized state, as we may hope, than the Caucasian, and some ape as low as a baboon, instead of as at present between the negro or Australian and the gorilla”.⁷

In his famous remark Charles Darwin argued, that “with savages, the weak in body or mind are soon eliminated; and those that survive commonly exhibit a vigorous state of health. We civilized men, on the other hand, do our utmost to check the process of elimination; we build asylums for the imbecile, the maimed, and the sick; we institute poor-laws; and our medical men exert their utmost skill to save the life of every one to the last moment. There is reason to believe that vaccination has preserved thousands, who from a weak constitution would formerly have succumbed to small-pox. Thus the weak members of civilized societies propagate their kind. No one who has attended to the breeding of domestic animals will doubt that this must be highly injurious to the race of man. It is surprising how soon a want of care, or care wrongly directed, leads to the degeneration of a domestic race; but excepting in the case of man himself, hardly any one is so ignorant as to allow his worst animals to breed”.⁸ He emphasized that “the wonderful progress of the United States,

⁵ D. GASMAN, *The Scientific Origins of National Socialism*, London 2004.

⁶ C. DARWIN, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, I, London 1871, p. 160; G. HIMMELFARB, *Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution*, New York 1962.

⁷ DARWIN, I, p. 201.

⁸ Ibidem, p. 168.

as well as the character of the people, are the results of natural selection; the more energetic, restless, and courageous men from all parts of Europe having emigrated during the last ten or twelve generations to that great country, and having there succeeded best”.⁹ However despite all these Darwin’s explicit statements, for instance Jacques Novicow, one of the most vocal opponents of social Darwinism at the beginning of the twentieth century, was not convinced that Charles Darwin had been personally responsible for the emergence of social Darwinism and its impacts on Western intellectual life and political culture.¹⁰

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Alfred Russel Wallace, an eminent British naturalist, explorer, social activist and publicist, was born in 1823 in the Welsh village of Llanbadoc, near Usk (his family claimed a connection to Scottish rebel William Wallace).¹¹ When he was twenty years old he started to work as a railway civil engineer. Wallace was largely self-taught. He was deeply influenced by radical political ideas of Robert Owen¹² and Thomas Paine. Early in 1848, Alfred Russel Wallace who wanted to imitate great scientific travels conducted by Alexander von Humboldt or Charles Darwin¹³ left accompanied by his friend the entomologist Henry Walter Bates England for Brazil to collect insects and other specimens and to do research on the origin of species.¹⁴ His decision was directly inspired by the book *A Voyage Up the River Amazon, with a residency at Pará* (1847) written by an American entomologist William Henry Edwards whom Wallace and Bates met in London.¹⁵

⁹ Ibidem, p. 179.

¹⁰ “Sans doute, Charles Darwin n’est nullement responsable des conséquences tirées de théorie qu’il avait nettement confinées dans le domaine biologique.” J. NOVICOW, *La Critique du Darwinisme Social*, Paris 1910, p. 8.

¹¹ WALLACE, p. 3.

¹² Ibidem, pp. 88–105.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 256.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 257.

¹⁵ Ibidem, pp. 264–265.

Alfred Russel Wallace was personally introduced to Charles Darwin at the beginning of 1854 after his return from the Amazon Basin when he was preparing his next expedition to the Malay Archipelago by a study of the insects and birds. The both men met in the Insect-room of the British Museum and exchanged a few minutes' conversation only. Several months later, when Wallace (who was influenced by his reading of the *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*¹⁶ and *An Essay on the Principle Population* by Thomas Robert Malthus) was staying in Borneo, he prepared a paper entitled *On the law which has regulated the Introduction of New Species*,¹⁷ in which he indicated the existence of a simple universal law regulating diversity and distribution of species.¹⁸ Alfred Russel Wallace appeared to be

¹⁶ *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* which were published anonymously by Robert Chambers in 1844 had a significant impact on the educated classes especially on the British Isles and in the United States of America. This highly popular book on natural history summarized contemporary knowledge of astronomy, geology, chemistry, physics, phrenology, political economy and anthropology. Queen Victoria, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Abraham Lincoln, William Ewart Gladstone, Arthur Schopenhauer, Francis Newman, John Stuart Mill, William Stanley Jevons, Florence Nightingale, Alfred Tennyson, Ralph Waldo Emerson and George Eliot belonged among the readers of the *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*. R. CHAMBERS, *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation and Other Evolutionary Writings*, Chicago 1994, orig. publish. 1844, pp. ix–x). As real author was unknown for several decades until 1884 (CHAMBERS, p. xviii), the authorship was attributed for instance to geologist Charles Lyell, naturalist Charles Darwin, phrenologist George Combe (in the catalog of the British Museum was featured as a writer until 1877), the Scottish moral philosopher Alexander Bain, writer William Thackeray, physician William Carpenter, mathematician Charles Babbage, anatomist Richard Owen, naturalist Edward Forbes, astronomer John Pringle Nichol, Whig politician Henry Brough, naturalist Richard Vyvyan, Harriet Martineau, an author of several treatises on political economy, Edinburgh writer Catherine Crowe, daughter of Lord Byron Countess Ada Lovelace, Anna Chambers, or even Prince Albert, husband of Queen Victoria, who had scientific interests. CHAMBERS, pp. xl–xli.

¹⁷ A. R. WALLACE, *On the law which has regulated the Introduction of New Species*, in: *Annals and Magazine of Natural History, including Zoology, Botany, and Geology*, Vol. 16 (September 1855), pp. 184–196; WALLACE, *My Life*, I, p. 355.

¹⁸ Already in December 28, 1847, Alfred Russel Wallace wrote down an interesting remark in his letter to Henry Walter Bates: “*I have rather a more favourable opinion of the Vestiges than you appear to have. I do not consider it a hasty generalization, but rather as an ingenious hypothesis strongly supported by some striking facts and analogies, but which remains to be proved by more facts and the additional light which more research may throw upon the problem [...] Many eminent writers support the theory of the progressive development of animals and plants. There is a very philosophical work bearing directly on the question –*

aware that Charles Darwin had been himself preparing a study on evolution of species and sent him a letter with a special reference of his article published in *Annals and Magazine of Natural History, including Zoology, Botany, and Geology*.¹⁹ Wallace believed until the end of his life that Charles Darwin had already written a sketch of his own theory of natural selection in 1842. Two years later Darwin's 230 folio pages, which were gradually enlarged into the *Origin of Species*, would have been read by Joseph Hooker and discussed with Charles Lyell for many years.²⁰ The idea of survival of the fittest and struggle for existence occurred to Wallace in February 1858, when he was living at Ternate, one of the Moluccas Islands.²¹ Alfred Russel Wallace posted his remarks to Charles Darwin and asked him to show them eventually (if he thought it sufficiently important) to Charles Lyell as well. Charles Darwin immediately after having received Wallace's letter wrote to Charles Lyell as follows: "*Your words have come true with a vengeance – that I should be forestalled [...] I never saw a more striking coincidence; if Wallace had my MSS. sketch written out in 1842, he could not have made a better short abstract! Even his terms now stand as heads of chapters [...] So all my originality, whatever it may amount to, will be smashed, though my book, if it will ever have any value, will not be deteriorated; as all the labour consists in*

Lawrence's Lectures on Man – delivered before the Royal College of Surgeons, now published in a cheap form. The great object of these Lectures is to illustrate the different races of mankind, and the manner in which they probably originated, and he arrives at the conclusion (as also does Pritchard in his work on the Physical History of Man) that the varieties of the human race have not been produced by any external causes, but are due to the development of certain distinctive peculiarities in some individuals which have thereafter become propagated through an entire race. Now, I should say that a permanent peculiarity not produced by external causes is a characteristic of species and not of mere variety, and thus, if the theory of the Vestiges is accepted, the Negro, the Red Indian, and the European are distinct species of the genus Homo." WALLACE, *My Life*, I, pp. 254–255.

¹⁹ However, in Wallace's own biography there is one interesting notice: "*I was, of course, very much surprised to find that the same idea had occurred to Darwin, and that he had already nearly completed a large work fully developing it.*" Ibidem, p. 363.

²⁰ A. R. WALLACE, *The Dawn of a Great Discovery: "My Relations with Darwin in Reference to the Theory of Natural Selection"*, in: Black and White, Vol. 27, 17 January 1903, p. 78.

²¹ WALLACE, *The Dawn*, p. 78; WALLACE, *My Life*, I, pp. 360–363.

the application of the theory."²² Subsequently, Wallace's study (reprinted in *Essays on Natural Selection*, 1870) and an extract from Darwin's MS. work of 1844 were presented jointly to the Linnean Society in London on 1 July 1858, and published under the title *On the Tendency of Species to form Varieties; and on the Perpetuation of Varieties and Species by Natural Means of Selection* in *Journal of the Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London* on 20 August 20 1858.²³ Darwin's *Origin of Species* appeared the following year and Alfred Russel Wallace read it with "highest interest" in village Bessir at Ternate in summer 1860.²⁴ He immediately remarked that "*Mr. Darwin has given the world a new science, and his name should, in my opinion, stand above that of every philosopher of ancient or modern times. The force of admiration can no further go!!!*"²⁵

During his stay on Java in 1861, Alfred Russel Wallace expressed his respect for the Dutch "*admirable system of supervision and government*": "*Nothing is worse and more absurd than the sneering prejudiced tone in which almost all English writers speak of the Dutch government in the East. It never has been worse than ours has been, and it is now very much better [...] I cannot help bearing witness to the excellence of their government of native races, gentle yet firm, respecting their manners, customs, and prejudices, yet introducing everywhere European law, order, and industry.*"²⁶ Thus, he preferred the Dutch monopolistic and paternalistic colonial despotism to the English free trade system.

²² Cit. WALLACE, *The Dawn*, p. 78.

²³ In his preface to *Essays on Natural Selection* (1870) Alfred Russel Wallace admitted: "*I have felt all my life, and I still feel, the most sincere satisfaction that Mr. Darwin had been at work long before me and that it was not left for me to attempt to write the Origin of Species [...] Far abler men than myself may confess that they have not that untiring patience in accumulating and that wonderful skill in using large masses of facts of the most varied kind, that wide and accurate physiological knowledge, that acuteness in devising and skill in carrying out experiments, and that admirable style of composition, at once clear, persuasive and judicial – qualities which in their harmonious combination mark out Mr. Darwin as the man best fitted for the great work has undertaken and accomplished.*" Ibidem.

²⁴ WALLACE, *My Life*, I, p. 372.

²⁵ Ibidem, pp. 372–373.

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 382.

In April 1862, Alfred Russel Wallace came back to the United Kingdom after eight years doing field research in the Malay Archipelago with a collection of 16,000 specimens of insects, birds, and shells.²⁷ His position in the British scientific community seemed to be secured. Charles Lyell became his close friend.²⁸ He made presentations before the audiences of Zoological Society and Linnean Society and prepared his comprehensive survey *The Malay Archipelago* (finally published in 1869), regarded as one of the best diaries of scientific field exploration published in the nineteenth century (exploited by Joseph Conrad in several of his exotic novels). In 1866, Wallace married the eldest daughter of William Mitten, then the greatest English authority on mosses and an enthusiastic botanist and gardener.²⁹ Despite the fact that the sale of his collection provided him with a sufficient income for a single man, Alfred Russel Wallace was compelled to search a permanent job outside academic milieu: “*The possibility of ever earning anything substantial either by lecturing or by writing never occurred to me.*”³⁰ The position of the assistant secretary of the Royal Geographical Society was vacant in 1864, but Wallace was convinced that his friend Bates was more qualified. He tried without success to become a director of the Bethnal Green Museum opened in 1872 or a superintendent for protection of Epping Forest acquired by the Corporation of London (in 1878).³¹ Finally, thanks to Darwin’s assistance he received a small government pension in 1881.

Because of Wallace’s radical social ideas, John Stuart Mill invited him to become member of *Land Tenure Reform Association*. Alfred Russel Wallace wrote many articles on the subject of landownerships and was convinced that land should be owned by state. He was elected the first president of the

²⁷ WALLACE, *My Life*, I, p. 373; J. VETTER, *The Unmaking of an anthropologist: Wallace returns from the field, 1862–70*, in: Notes & Records of the Royal Society, Vol. 64, 2010, pp. 25–42; J. CAMERINI, *Wallace in the field*, in: Osiris, Vol. 11, pp. 44–65.

²⁸ WALLACE, *My Life*, I, p. 417.

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 411.

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 415.

³¹ Ibidem, pp. 415–417.

Land Nationalization Society established in 1881 and published an influential book *Land Nationalization; Its Necessity and Its Aims* (London 1882). Later, Wallace considered himself to be a socialist. Contrary to some other Darwin's adherents, he opposed the eugenic movement. His other major scientific works included *The Geographic Distribution of Animals* (London 1880) and *Darwinism* (London 1889). In 1886 and 1887 Wallace spent ten months in the United States. In his book *Man's place in the universe* (London 1904) Wallace expressed his skepticism toward the possibility of life outside the Earth. On the other hand, Alfred Russel Wallace advocated phrenology, spiritualism³² and anti-vaccination campaign. He died on 7 November 1913, aged ninety years.

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It seems that Charles Darwin despite his interest in human evolution decided to exclude the issue from the *Origin of Species* because of its controversial nature. In his letter from May 1857 to Alfred Russel Wallace the discoverer of natural selection wrote: "*You ask whether I shall discuss man. I think I shall avoid the whole subject, as so surrounded with prejudices; though I fully admit it is the highest and most interesting problem for the naturalist.*"³³ Alfred Russel Wallace exploited the intellectual vacuum created by Darwin's precaution.

In 1863, about one year after Wallace's return to England, James Hunt, Richard Francis Burton and several other members left the Ethnological Society of London and established the rival Anthropological Society of London, which organized its first meeting on 6 January 1863. The rivalry between the both institutions presented a characteristic feature of the academic life in the Great Britain until the re-unification of both groups in the early 1870s. James Hunt and his followers, mostly with background in natural

³² A. R. WALLACE, *On Miracles and Modern Spiritualism; Three Essays*, London 1875.

³³ HAWKINS, p. 28.

sciences and comparative anatomy, advocated the definition of anthropology as “*the science of the whole nature of man*”.³⁴ The concept of race played an important role in the struggle. The Ethnological Society of London (led by John Lubbock) understood human race in the traditional linguistic and historical terms, whereas for the Anthropological Society of London race presented physical entity with the same ontological status as animal species.

Alfred Russel Wallace chose the scientific platform of the Anthropological Society of London to articulate his view on the importance of the new paradigm for our understanding of the origin and evolution of humankind in his lecture *The Origin of Human Races and the Antiquity of Man deduced from the theory of “Natural Selection”* on 1 March 1864.³⁵ In his presentation Alfred Russel Wallace formulated as the first the crucial questions anticipating the “big debate” of social Darwinism: “*Can this theory (of natural selection) be applied in any way to the question of the origin of the races of man? Or is there anything in human nature that takes him out of the category of those organic existences, over whose successive mutations it has had such powerful sway?*”³⁶ Alfred Russel Wallace advocated the great antiquity of human species which would have inhabited the surface of the earth for a period of a hundred thousand centuries (even in the Eocene or Miocene, ten millions of years ago), was contemporaneous with many extinct animals and survived dramatic alterations of the earth’s surface “*fifty or a hundred times greater than any that have occurred during the historical period*”.³⁷

Wallace believed in a primitive diversity of humankind and emphasized the historical permanence of existing racial types.³⁸ However, he admitted that

³⁴ VETTER, pp. 26–27.

³⁵ A. R. WALLACE, *The Origin of Human Races and the Antiquity of Man deduced from the theory of “Natural Selection”*, in: *Journal of the Anthropological Society*, Vol. II, No. V, 1864, pp. clviii–clxxxvii.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. clxi.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. clviii. Charles Lyell as a geologist objected to this dating. WALLACE, *My Life*, pp. 418–419.

³⁸ “*The Portuguese and Spaniards, settled for two or three centuries in South America, retain their chief physical, mental, and moral characteristics; the Dutch boers at the Cape, and*

a relative immobility for four or five thousand years does not preclude an advancement at an earlier epoch; simply later in the ancient history any further physical changes would have been checked.³⁹ The main obstacle why the law of natural selection could not have been applied to modern human is his social and sympathetic nature: “*The action of natural selection is therefore checked; the weaker, the dwarfish, those of less active limbs, or less piercing eyesight, do not suffer the extreme penalty which falls upon animals so defective.*”⁴⁰ Therefore, mental and moral qualities become more important on the expense of physical characteristics: “*Man [...] does not require longer nails or teeth, greater bodily strength or swiftness.*”⁴¹ Human by his capacity of clothing and making weapons and tools took himself away from the powerful natural forces which changes and shapes the external physical form and structure of any other animal. The interactions between human and nature have been taking place at the level of intellect only; an unchanged body could be still keep in harmony with the changing universe.⁴² As an animal human would remain almost stationary.⁴³ As an intellectual being he has been gradually elevated to the perfection incarnated by “*the wonderful intellect of the Germanic races*”.⁴⁴

On the other hand, Alfred Russel Wallace emphasized that “*in all ages, and in every quarter of the globe, the inhabitants of temperate have been superior to those of tropical countries. All the great invasions and*

the descendants of the early Dutch settlers in the Moluccas, have not lost the features or the colour of the Germanic races; the Jews, scattered over the world in the most diverse climates, retain the same characteristic lineaments everywhere; the Egyptian sculptures and paintings show us that, for at least 4000 or 5000 years, the strongly contrasted features of the Negro and Semitic races have remained altogether unchanged; while more recent discoveries prove that, in the case at least of the American aborigines, the mound-builders of the Mississippi valley, and the dwellers on Brazilian mountains, had still in the very infancy of the human race the same characteristic type of cranial formation that now distinguishes them.” WALLACE, *The Origin of Human Races*, p. clix.

³⁹ Ibidem, pp. clix–clx.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. clxii.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. clxiii.

⁴² Ibidem.

⁴³ Ibidem, pp. clxiii–clxiv.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. clxiv.

displacements of races have been from North to South".⁴⁵ He argued that the great law of "*the preservation of favored races in the struggle for life*" should lead to the "*inevitable extinction of all those low and mentally undeveloped populations with which Europeans come in contact. The red Indian in North America, and in Brazil; the Tasmanian, Australian and New Zealander in the southern hemisphere, die out, not from any one special cause, but from the inevitable effects of an unequal mental and physical struggle*".⁴⁶

Thus, Alfred Russel Wallace was convinced that the human races emerged (probably from a single homogeneous race without the faculty of speech and inhabiting a tropical region) through the action of "natural selection". However, the mental advancement weakened the impact of the natural forces on our physical constitution and made human races almost stationary.⁴⁷ Alfred Russel Wallace seemed to be very optimistic about the human potential. Humankind not only escaped the consequences of the "natural selection", but it could be able to take control over natural forces as well. Wallace anticipated the time when the earth would produce only cultivated plants and domestic animals and the general improvement of physical and moral conditions of human existence until the world would be again "*inhabited by a single homogenous race, no individual of which will be inferior to the noblest specimens of existing humanity*".⁴⁸ Therefore, Alfred Russel Wallace outlined before the members of the Anthropological Society of London the link between the concept of the racial history of humankind and a pseudo-political utopian expectation.

The reception of the Wallace lecture by the audience of the Anthropological Society of London was rather restrained, almost deprecatory. Luke Burke expressed his respect for Wallace's talents, but otherwise he declared Wallace's case to be "altogether hopeless" and refused the whole Darwin's theory of

⁴⁵ Ibidem.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, pp. clxiv–clxv.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. clxvi.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, pp. clxviii–clixx.

natural selection.⁴⁹ However, some other members of the society, George Witt, or Sidney Edward Bouverie Bouverie-Pusey, advocated Darwin. Thomas Bendyshe, an anthropologist and a translator of the work of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach into English, remarked that Charles Darwin (and Alfred Russel Wallace) applied the doctrine of Malthus with redoubled force to the animal kingdom.⁵⁰ James Reddie labeled Wallace's approach as "*extremely Utopian*" and "*totally inconsistent with all the facts of man's experience*".⁵¹ Carter Blake questioned the categories of inferior and superior races and declared that "*the whole theory of Mr. Darwin seems destined to pass through an age when it will be utterly misconceived and misrepresented by the general public*".⁵²

James Hunt, who presided over meeting and was a polygenist, expressed "*a feeling of disappointment*". It appeared to him that Wallace's paper dealt "*very largely with assumptions*": "*Mr. Wallace's theory appears to me not to be warranted by our present knowledge, and we cannot, I think, accept it*".⁵³ The debate subsequently partly resulted into the short polemics between polygenists and monogenists. James Hunt emphasized, that if human could take away the power of natural selection, "*what a powerless thing natural selection must be*". In this sentence, James Hunt – obviously unconsciously – anticipated the strong arguments of social Darwinists in the next decades of the nineteenth and twentieth century. However, for James Hunt, the Darwinian hypothesis presented "*a purely philosophic speculation*" and "*no part of inductive science*": "*As students of science we must object to this sort of dreaming, because it cannot be based on evidence. Some members of this society are accused of bringing forward speculations; but none of them have yet brought forward anything a thousandth part as speculative as this.*"⁵⁴ In next years, Alfred Russel Wallace was pulling away from the Anthropological

⁴⁹ Ibidem, pp. clxx–clxxii.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. clxxiii.

⁵¹ Ibidem, p. clxxiv.

⁵² Ibidem, pp. clxxv–clxxvii.

⁵³ Ibidem, p. clxxviii.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, pp. clxxx–clxxxi.

Society of London. In 1866, he joined the Ethnological Society of London, which became under the leadership of John Lubbock an important platform for Darwinian movement.⁵⁵

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The English social and political philosopher William Rathbone Greg was born in Manchester in 1809 as the youngest son of a banker and merchant. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh where – as a student of William Hamilton – he paid attention to some problems of phrenology and animal magnetism. Later, he divided his time between the business activities and metaphysical, theological and social writings and speculations. In 1830, two years after leaving the university he travelled through France and Switzerland to Italy and Sicily. After his stay in Florence and Rome (he admired especially Machiavelli) he embarked at Naples for Greece. Then he followed through Asia Minor to Constantinople and northwards through Hungary to Vienna. On his return to England he published anonymously *Sketches in Greece and Turkey, with the Present and Future Prospects of the Turkish Empire* (London 1833). Greg spent nine following years in Manchester responsible for the management of the mill at Bury and doing business on his own account. In 1833, he married the daughter of a physician and a chemist. He was involved into the agitation surrounding corn-law and became a regular contributor of the *Economist*, *Edinburgh Review*, and *Westminster*. Until 1850, because of the economic crises Greg almost exhausted all his capital and settled down in Wansfell, near Ambleside. William Rathbone Greg visited several times Alexis de Tocqueville in Normandy and Walter Bagehot belonged among his close friends. In his political views he gradually moved from moderate liberal into conservative camp. He expressed his unorthodox ideas on the contemporary religious life in England in *The Creed of Christendom; Its Foundations and Superstructure* (London 1851). In 1856, William Rathbone Greg accepted a

⁵⁵ VETTER, p. 31.

place on the Board of Customs. Eight years later, Lord Palmerston offered him the Controllershship of the Stationary Office where Greg remained till his retirement in 1877. He died in London on 15 November 1881.⁵⁶

Greg responded to Wallace study on the importance of the law of natural selection for the understanding of modern human society and history in his own article published in *Fraser's Magazine* in September 1868.⁵⁷ Greg argued at the beginning of his article, that “*everyone now is familiar with the Darwinian theory of the origin of species, at least in its main principles and outlines: and nearly all men qualified to form an opinion are convinced of its substantial truth*”.⁵⁸ Alfred Russel Wallace showed in his “*admirable paper*” how the principle of natural selection has been modified, veiled and disguised, though by no means neutralized or suspended in the human, because our species adapts itself to the altered conditions of external nature by mental not by physical modifications.⁵⁹ However, William Rathbone Greg warned that our modern civilization could have been retarded and even endangered by the tendency to neutralize the law of natural selection, because “*the great wise, righteous, and beneficent principle which in all other animals, and in man himself, up to a certain stage of his progress, tends to the improvement and perfection of the race, would appear to be forcibly interfered with and nearly set aside*”.⁶⁰

Greg was convinced that the principle of natural selection positively favoring the ablest, the strongest and the most advanced does not appear to fail in the case of races of men and nations: “*Everywhere the savage tribes of mankind die out at the contact of the civilized ones.*”⁶¹ Romans conquered and triumphed over Greeks and other nations because of their

⁵⁶ W. R. GREG, *Enigmas of Life*, London 1891, pp. vii–xli.

⁵⁷ W. R. GREG, *On the failure of “natural selection” in the case of man*, in: *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. LXXVIII, No. CCCCLXV, 1868, pp. 353–362.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 353.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 354.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 356.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*.

racial superiority: “*The same may be said of those rude Northern warriors who at a later period flowed over and mastered the degenerate Roman world.*”⁶² The natural selection applied to intellect, art, commerce and to science enabled the Italians to become the most prominent people in Europe. It gave to the Spaniards the right to rule, to discover and to conquer. In history, the physical energy and the strong will are more needed than the advancement of humanity. Therefore, “*civilization, with its social, moral, and material complications,*” caused not that intellectual has been substituted for physical superiority (as Alfred Russel Wallace argued), but that artificial and conventional marginalized natural superiority as the “*ruling and deciding force*”.⁶³ Fortune would prevail over nature; those social groups, emasculated by luxury, would triumph over the strongest, the healthiest and the most perfectly organized populations; élite of the race would be ruin by élite of wealth and property: “*In a wild state, by the law of natural selection, only, or chiefly, the sounder and stronger specimens were allowed to continue their species; with us, thousands with tainted constitutions, with frames weakened by malady or waste, with brains bearing subtle and hereditary mischief in their recesses, are suffered to transmit their terrible inheritance of evil to other generations, and to spread it through a whole community.*”⁶⁴ The inferior and less favored race would prevail by virtue not of its stronger vitality but of its weaker reticence and its faults.

William Rathbone Greg called for new legislations and constitutions based on paternal despotism to enable that “*the beneficent tendencies of nature*” would continue to operate without social restrictions. Under the new republic, paupers should be forbidden to propagate; all candidates for a “*solemn privilege of continuing an untainted and perfecting race*” should pass a competitive examination. “*Every damaged or inferior temperament might be eliminated, and every special and superior one be selected and*

⁶² Ibidem, p. 357.

⁶³ Ibidem, p. 358.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 359.

enthroned, – till the human race, both in its manhood and its womanhood, became one glorious congregation of saints, sages, and athletes: – till we were all Blondins, all Shakespeares, Pericles', Socrates', Columbuses and Fénelons. But no nation – in modern times at least – has ever yet approached this ideal; no such wisdom or virtue has ever been found except in isolated individual instances; no government and no statesman has ever yet dared thus to supplement the inadequacy of personal patriotism by laws so sapiently despotic. The face of the leading peoples of the existing world is not even set in this direction – but rather the reverse."⁶⁵

William Rathbone Greg criticized the modern tendencies including the emphasis on the freedom of the individual will, resentment to control and punishment of natural propensity, encouragement of propagation of incapacity, poverty, and constitutional disorders of the poor, and the advancement of democracy meaning the management and control of social arrangements by the least educated classes.⁶⁶ William Rathbone Greg declared the issue of race being closely linked to the destiny of humanity. The solution of the challenge is complicated by the modern dilemma between moral and mental enlightenment and the deterioration of the physical constitution of the nations through the negligence of the law of natural selection.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Ibidem, pp. 361–362.

⁶⁶ Ibidem, p. 362.

⁶⁷ The Greg's essay published in *Fraser's Magazine* was criticized by an author of the article *Natural and supernatural selection* (*Spectator*, 3 October 1868, pp. 10–11). Greg was ironically reproached for not proposing the "remedy" by "abolishing hospitals and putting to death feeble children in their infancy, or, on the other hand, by proclaiming a confiscation and universal scramble for property every fifty years or so" (p. 10). The author postulated the moral "law of supernatural selection" demanding the sacrifice of the strong for the weak (p. 11). This is what distinguishes us from the natural selection of races in the lower animal world: "If we are to complain that the Darwinian theorem does not apply to man, we are complaining that we are in the truest sense men at all" (p. 11). The debate continued in *Spectator*, 17 October 1868 (pp. 11–12), in an article under the title *The Darwinian Jeremiad*: "If there were no 'failure' in the operation of the Darwinian principle selection, there would be a failure in human nature" (p. 11). In *The Quarterly Journal of Science* (Vol. VI, 1869, pp. 152–153), there appeared a short summary of the debate under the title *The alleged Failure of Natural Selection in the case of Man*. The statement from *Spectator* was criticized for "the mysterious term 'supernatural selection'" and a "neglect of the fact that civilized man is a

William Rathbone Greg developed his arguments from the *Fraser's Magazine* in his books including *Political Problems for our Age and Country* (1870), *The Enigmas of Life* (1872) and *Rocks Ahead, or the Warnings of Cassandra* (1874). He complained that “statesmanship is at a low ebb in England.”⁶⁸ Elsewhere, the situation is far from better: “There were giants in those days; there are none now. Not only can we find no Pericles in this age; not only do we see no one like Ximenes or Alberoni, who governed Spain so long, or like Richelieu or Sully who ruled France for half a life time, and through her ruled Europe.”⁶⁹ The reason for this ominous state is the political system of democracy (embodied in the Reform Act) consisting in an ascendancy and a preponderance of lower classes, uneducated, unsophisticated and mediocre men: “Everything in a parliamentary nation must be – compromise; and compromise is not a soil in which the higher qualities of statesmanship can take root, or flourish.”⁷⁰ Especially Greg’s book *The Enigmas of Life* (1872) could be interpreted not as a foundation of social Darwinism, but as a strong advocacy and an attempt to rehabilitate Malthus heritage exploiting some Darwinian and natural selection idioms.

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German anthropologist Friedrich Rolle stressed the role of natural selection in the European racial history in his book *Der Mensch, Seine Abstammung und Gesittung im Lichte der Darwinischen Lehre* (Frankfurt am Main 1866). American author Charles Loring Brace, who was influenced by his reading of Charles Darwin, published *The Races of the Old World* in 1863 advocating the inferiority of black race and slavery in the South.⁷¹ Finally, in 1869, Francis

social animal, in a truly zoological sense” (p. 152).

⁶⁸ W. R. GREG, *Political Problems for our Age and Country*, London 1870, p. 1.

⁶⁹ Ibidem, p. 5.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, p. 10.

⁷¹ HAWKINS, pp. 62–65.

Ivo Budil

Alfred Russel Wallace, William Rathbone Greg and the Origin of Social Darwinism

Galton issued *Hereditary Genius*.⁷² These men and Herbert Spencer, Walter Bagehot, Ernst Haeckel, or Georges Vacher de Lapouge have been considered as the founders of social Darwinism. The short debate between Alfred Russel Wallace and William Rathbone Greg on the applicability of the concept of natural selection for the understanding of human society and history has been completely overshadowed by these personalities despite the fact that both scholars were highly interested in the political dimension of the Darwinian worldview.

Abstract

The contribution of Alfred Russel Wallace and William Rathbone Greg to the debate on the possibility of application of the law of natural selection to human society and the subsequent emergence of social Darwinism with dramatic consequences in the political life of the West has been largely neglected by historians of science despite the interest of both scholars in the practical political utility of the theory of Charles Darwin.

Keywords

Charles Darwin; Alfred Russel Wallace; William Rathbone Greg; Social Darwinism; Natural Selection; Human Races

⁷² In his other scientific works including for instance *English Men of Science: Their Nature and Nurture* (1874), *The History of Twins, as a Criterion of the Relative Powers of Nature and Nurture* (1875), *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Development* (1883) Francis Galton coined the term *eugenics*. In 1907, Francis Galton established *Eugenics Education Society* in London.

Die Stellung des Hafens Triest und die Bedeutung des Österreichischen Lloyd für den Transport aus der Habsburgermonarchie nach Übersee¹

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Die Position Triests

Eine der grundlegenden Voraussetzungen für die Entwicklung der Handelskontakte war die Sicherung des Schiffverkehrs nach Übersee, u. a. auch nach den Fernen Osten. In dieser Hinsicht spielte die Schlüsselrolle

¹ Dieser Beitrag ist ein der Ergebnisse der Forschungsbeihilfe, die für den Projekt „Die wirtschaftlichen und politischen Interessen Österreich-Ungarns im Fernen Osten (China, Japan) in den Jahren 1900–1914 die Subventionsagentur der Tschechischen Republik (P 410/11/1634) erteilt hatte.

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Triest, praktisch der einzige Hafen der Habsburgermonarchie, der die Schlüsselbedeutung für den internationalen Handel hatte.

Der österreichische Ökonom Max Smolensky konstatierte: „*Die Hauptbedeutung von Triest liegt heute in seiner Stellung als Haupthafen der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie, über den 93 % unseres Ein- und Ausfuhrhandels zur See ihren Weg nehmen.*“² Eine so hohe prozentuelle Angabe rief zwar begründete Zweifel hervor, es ist aber unbestreitbar, dass über Triest vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg die Mehrheit des Handels der Donaumonarchie mit der Übersee realisiert worden war. (Tabelle Nr. 1).

Triest und Fiume (Rjeka) wurden als „Freihäfen“ durch den kaiserlichen Patent vom 18. März 1719 deklariert worden.³ Die Bedeutung Triests wuchs nach den Kriegen mit Napoleon, während zweier Dekaden (1820–1840) stieg die Anzahl der Bewohner des Hafens zweimal.⁴ Damals entstanden hier große Versicherungsanstalten, die auch bei der Geburt des Österreichischen Lloyd, der die größte Dampfschiffahrtsgesellschaft der Monarchie war, standen.

Obwohl die Bedeutung Triests nach dem Verlust der italienischen Provinzen infolge den Kriegen in den Jahren 1859 bzw. 1866 noch wuchs, kann man seine Rolle nicht überschätzen. Die Position Triests wurde durch die Wirkung erheblicher Faktoren beeinflusst.

Seit der Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, besonders nach der Beendigung des Baus der Südbahn und Verbindung Triests mit dem Inland im Jahre 1857, stärkte der Hafen seine Position bis die 80er Jahre, dann ist zu einer Abschwächung gekommen. Diese wurde erst im Jahre 1904 angehalten. Die letzten Vorkriegsjahre brachten den wirtschaftlichen Aufstieg.

Der einzige bedeutende Konkurrent Triests war der Hafen Fiume (Rjeka). Fiume gehörte im 18. Jahrhundert zu Kroatien (1776–1779), dann hatte es den Status „corpus separatum“ der Habsburgermonarchie. Nach der

² M. SMOLENSKY, *Die Stellung und Bedeutung des Österreichischen Lloyd, der Austro-Americana und der Freien Schifffahrt mit Aussenhandel Österreichs*, Zürich 1916, S. 8.

³ Beide blieben die Freihäfen bis 1891.

⁴ Die Anzahl der Einwohner des Hafens stieg in diesen Jahren von 40 000 auf 80 000 Personen. Bis den Ersten Weltkrieg stieg auf 160 000.

Niederlage der Revolution 1848/1849 wurde es wieder ein Teil Kroatiens, bis es endlich aufgrund des Kaiserlichen Diploms vom 1868 an die ungarische Krone angeschlossen wurde.

Im Jahre 1889 beherrschte die Budapester Regierung die Eisenbahnverbindung Budapest-Fiume. Nach Fiume wurde ein Teil des Transports aus dem ungarischen Binnenland umgeleitet. Es wurde versucht, Fiume zu Lasten Triests durchzusetzen. Dieser Schritt brachte zwar deutliche Ergebnisse, aber der Primat Triests blieb erhalten.⁵

Triest hatte einen entscheidenden Anteil nur am Handel mit Italien und mit dem Osmanischen Reich, über diesen Hafen wurde ein bedeutender Teil des Handels mit den Vereinigten Staaten realisiert, im Falle anderer wichtigen Partner handelte es sich um relativ sehr geringfügige Anteile. (Tabellen Nr. 2 a 3).

Ein großes Problem stellte die Tatsache dar, dass die Hauptindustriegebiete der Monarchie im Norden lagen, also von Triest sehr weit entfernt (Tabelle Nr. 4). Diese Gebiete nutzten zur Verwirklichung des Außenhandels viel mehr die Häfen im Norden Europas aus, vor allem Hamburg, weiter Bremen, Rotterdam und Antwerpen.

Was den Warenexport aus Österreich-Ungarn über die Häfen Nordeuropas betrifft, ist es praktisch unmöglich seinen Umfang wirklich festzustellen, weil es sehr oft geschah, dass die aus der Habsburgermonarchie über Hamburg exportierte Ware in China und Japan als deutsche Ware deklariert wurde und als solche konnte in den Statistiken nicht gefunden werden.

Die einseitige Abhängigkeit Triests an der privaten Südbahn⁶ und seiner „grausam hohen“⁷ Transporttarife führten zur Tatsache, dass der viel billigere

⁵ U. HAUSBRANDT, *Welthafen Triest – Anspruch und Wirklichkeit. Die Entwicklung des Seehandelsplatzes im außenwirtschaftlichen System der Habsburger Monarchie 1814–1914*, Diss., Wien 1991, S. 201.

⁶ Im Jahre 1858, nur ein Jahr nach der Fertigstellung der Verbindung nach Triest, wurde die Eisenbahn privatisiert. Seit 1. Januar 1859 betrieb sie K. K. priv. Südliche Staatslombardisch-venetianische und central-italienische Eisenbahngesellschaft.

⁷ P. PANTZER, *Japan und Österreich-Ungarn. Die diplomatischen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Beziehungen von ihrer Aufnahme bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*. Beiträge zur

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Transport den Fluss Elbe hinab nach Hamburg mehr ausgenutzt wurde. In den 60er Jahren existierte eine gewisse Zeit eine vollkommen absurde Situation. Die Kosten des Warentransports aus Prag über Hamburg nach Hongkong waren niedriger als die Kosten des Eisenbahntransports aus Prag nach Triest.⁸

Die Eröffnung des Suezkanals im Jahre 1869 öffnete neue Möglichkeiten für Triest. Die Zeit, die notwendig für die Schifffahrt in die Häfen in Asien war, wurde bedeutend verkürzt. Die Strecke nach Bombay war um 7400 Kilometer kürzer, die Schifffahrt dauerte um 38 Tage weniger, d. h. um 61 % bisheriger Länge.⁹ Schon in dieser Zeit wurden die Vorteile der neuen Situation unterstrichen und erschienen Herausforderungen zum Eintritt auf die Märkte des Fernen Ostens. „*Warum Österreich, begünstigt durch die Nähe des Suezkanals, nicht als Konkurrent am Chinesischen Markte auftreten und mit der Zeit Transportvermittler des eigenen und des Bedarfs von Deutschland und Mitteleuropa werden sollte,*“¹⁰ solche Frage stellte schon im Jahre 1872 österreichischer Minister-Resident in Peking von Schäffer. Die ähnliche Ansicht sprach auch der berühmte Geograph, Reisende und Diplomat Karl von Scherzer aus, der in den Jahren 1875–1878 in London als österreichisch-ungarischer Generalkonsul diente: „*Was speziell Oesterreich-Ungarn betrifft, so können Triest und Fiume für den Süden Deutschlands und die Schweiz die nämliche kommerzielle Wichtigkeit erlangen, welche Liverpool für England, Hamburg und Bremen für den Norden Deutschlands besitzen. Ja, sie können zwei Entrepots für alle die magnifachen indischen und asiatischen Erzeugnisse werden, welche bisher zum grössten Teile und auf bedeutenden Umwegen über London und Amsterdam nach den Märkten des südlichen und südwestlichen Europa gelangen.*“¹¹

Japanologie, Bd. 11, Wien 1973, S. 104.

⁸ Ebenda, S. 105.

⁹ SMOLENSKY, S. 5.

¹⁰ Ebenda.

¹¹ *Fünfundsiebzig Jahre Österreichischer Lloyd, 1836–1911.* Hg. von Publizistischen Bureau des Österreichischen Lloyd. Triest 1911, S. 60.

Obwohl der österreichische Ingenieur Alois Negrelli von Moldelbe den Suezkanal projektierte und der Triester Bankier und Unternehmer Pasquale Revoltella die Verwirklichung des Projekts teilweise finanzierte, scheint es, dass die kompetenten Stellen in Österreich-Ungarn nicht schnell genug begriffen, was für Möglichkeiten sich mit Hinsicht auf die Stellung im Welthandel für Triest öffnen. Der Hafen war nicht auf die Ausnützung dieser Möglichkeiten vorbereitet und „*die Ausgestaltung des Triester Hafens befand sich damals noch in den Kinderschuhen*“.¹² Die österreichischen und ungarischen Reedereien gehörten übrigens niemals zu den führenden Benutzern des Kanals, wie die britischen und später deutschen Verfrachter. Noch in den Jahren der Prosperität des Seetransports vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg führen aus der Gesamttonnage der Schiffe, die im Jahre 1910 den Suezkanal benutzten, 62 % der Schiffe unter der britischen, 16 % unter der deutschen, 5 % unter der französischen und der niederländischen und nur 4 % unter der österreichisch-ungarischen Flagge.¹³

Die Folgen der verlorenen Kriege der Jahre 1859 und 1866 wirkten ungünstig auf die Entwicklung des Triester Handels, ähnliche Folgen hatte die Wirtschaftskrise, die im Jahre 1873 ausbrach. Der Anteil Triests auf dem Außenhandel der Monarchie sank immer, sowie der Anteil hiesiger Reeder auf dem Warentransport. Im Jahre 1878 wurden mehr als 50 % des Werts der nach Triest importierten Ware auf den fremden Schiffen transportiert. Andererseits gewann Triest schon zu Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts eine außergewöhnliche Stellung im Import einiger Handelsartikel nach Europa, eine sehr wichtige Position hatte vor allem im Kaffeeimport.

Erst im Jahre 1867 nahmen die Behörden in Triest die Arbeiten auf der Erweiterung der Hafeneinrichtungen auf, diese wurden erst im Jahre 1883 beendet. In den Jahren 1887 bzw. 1893 wurden 4. und 5. Molo erbaut. Im

¹² SMOLENSKY, S. 6.

¹³ Ch. LEE, *Austrian Maritime Development in East Asia: 1869–1914*, in: *Zgodovinski časopis (Historical Review)*, Vol. 61, Nr. 3–4 (136), 2007, S. 467–489; S. 483. Die Autorin übernahm die Angaben aus Worms & Coy's Suez Canal Weekly Shipping List. London 1911.

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Jahre 1898 begann der Aufbau des modernen Franz-Joseph-Hafens und im Jahre 1909 wurde er zu Ende geführt. Die Gesamtkosten des Baus des Franz-Josephs-Hafens und der Trauernbahn, deren Bau in demselben Jahr vollendet wurde, erreichten damals astronomische Summe von 500 Millionen Kronen.¹⁴ Nur für Vorstellung über die Höhe dieser Summe – sie war fast gleich dem Budget der Streitkräfte der Monarchie im Jahre 1910 und betrug 17,2 % der Gesamtausgaben des Staates in demselben Jahre.¹⁵

Mehr als drei Jahrzehnte verlief die Diskussion über die Notwendigkeit des Baus der zweiten Eisenbahnlinie, die Triest mit dem Binnenland verbinden sollte. Die Entscheidung fiel im Jahre 1901.¹⁶ Jedoch die Beendigung der Trauernbahn im Jahre 1909 änderte im Grunde nichts auf der Tatsache, dass noch im Jahre 1913 55 % des Transportumfangs nach Triest aus dem unmittelbaren Hinterland des Hafens kam. Es ist überraschend, wie klein sogar geringfügig der Anteil war, den einige Kronländer auf dem Eisenbahntransport nach und aus Triest hatten (Tabelle Nr. 5). Außerdem sank der Anteil Triests auf dem Umfang der aus Europa transportierten Ware. Falls wir den Transport in Triest, Venedig, Fiume, Genua, Marseille, Bremen und Hamburg als 100 % nehmen, dann beteiligte sich Triest auf diesem Umfang in den Jahren 1860–1869 mit 11,5 %, in der nächsten Dekade mit 9,4 % und in den Jahren 1890–1899 nur mit 6,06 %. In derselben Zeit wuchs der Anteil Hamburgs von 20 auf 34 %.¹⁷ Die Haupttrivalen Triests im Mittelmeer blieben Genua und Marseille. Was die Gesamttonnage der Schiffe, die in diesen Häfen angelaufen sind, und den Umfang der transportierten Ware anbelangt, verminderte sich Vorsprung von Triest sogar in den Jahren des wirtschaftlichen Anstiegs vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg nicht grundsätzlich (Tabellen Nr. 6 a 7).

¹⁴ H. F. MAYER – D. WINKLER, *In allen Häfen war Österreich. Die österreichisch-ungarische Handelsmarine*, Wien 1987, S. 31.

¹⁵ J. WYSOCKI, *Die österreichische Finanzpolitik*, in: A. BRUSATTI (Hrsg.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918. Bd. I. Die Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung*, Wien 1973, S. 68–104; S. 91 bzw. 93.

¹⁶ Durch den Gesetz vom 6. Juni 1901 wurde der Bau sog. Trauernbahn, Karawankenbahn a Wocheinerbahn gebilligt. Erst im Jahre 1909 erwarb Triest zweite Eisenbahnverbindung mit dem Inland der Monarchie. HAUSBRANDT, S. 203–204.

¹⁷ Ebenda, S. 207.

Österreichischer Lloyd

Der Transport nach Übersee sicherte vor allem der Österreichische Lloyd. Vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg handelte es sich um die größte Dampfschiffahrtsgesellschaft im Mittelmeerraum.

Der Anfang bedeutete die Aktion von sieben Triester Versicherungsgesellschaften,¹⁸ Banken und privaten Aktionären. Die Teilnehmer gründeten im April 1833 eine Organisation, die den Reedern und Kapitänen die Nachrichten über den Handel und die Schifffahrt leisten sollten. Auf solche Weise entstand die erste Sektion des Lloyds für die Handels- und Seeberichte. Bei dieser Gründung spielte eine sehr wichtige Rolle Triester Kaufmann Karl Ludwig von Bruck.¹⁹ Im Jahre 1836 genehmigte der Kaiser die Gründung einer zweiten, Dampfschiffsektion, die mit dem Grundkapital von 1 Million Gulden disponierte. Die finanziellen Garantien leistete das Bankhaus Rothschild. An der Sitzung der Generalversammlung zweiter Sektion am 3. August 1836 wurde über den Bau von sechs neuen Dampfschiffen entschieden.²⁰ Am 12. April 1837 lief nach Triest die Dampfschiff *Arciduca Lodovico*, die in Großbritannien erbaut wurde, ein. Am 26. Juni 1837 kaufte Lloyd vom Briten William Morgan die Linie Triest-Venedig.

Während der ersten Dekaden seiner Existenz orientierte sich Lloyd auf die Verbreitung der Verbindungen und den Transport im Mittelmeer.

¹⁸ Es handelte sich um die Gesellschaften Banco Adriatico di Assicurazioni, Azienda Assicuratrice, Banco Ilirico d' Assicurazioni, Assicurazioni Generali Austro-Italiane, Banco di Maritime Assicurazioni, Compagnie degli Amici Assicuratori und Società Orientale d'Assicurazioni. H. G. WURMBÖCK, *Die Entwicklung der österreichischen Schifffahrt und die Geschichte des Österreichischen Lloyd*, Diplomarbeit, Wien 1974, S. 29.

¹⁹ Karl Ludwig von Bruck (1798–1860), Triester Kaufmann, nobilitiert 1844. In den Jahren 1848–1851 war er Handelsminister im Kabinett des Fürsten Felix zu Schwarzenberg. Kurze Zeit wirkte er als Botschafter im Osmanischen Reich, im Jahre 1855 wurde er Finanzminister. Er hatte große Verdienste um die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung, besonders um den Eisenbahnbau und die Organisation in der Sphäre der Finanzen. Wegen dem Verdacht, dass er sich bei der Amtsausübung persönlich bereicherte, wurde er entlassen und kurz danach, am 23. April 1860 einen Selbstmord beging. Später zeigte sich angeführter Verdacht als ganz unwahr und unhaltbar.

²⁰ D. WINKLER – G. PAWLIK, *Der Österreichische Lloyd 1836 bis heute*, Graz 1989, S. 10.

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Was die mehr entfernten Destinationen anbetraf, entwarf Pasquale Revoltella schon im Jahre 1864, d. h. noch vor der Eröffnung des Suezkanals, einen Plan der Verbindungen nach Asien.²¹ Seine Vorstellung setzte die Errichtung einer Hauptlinie von Triest nach Shanghai voraus. Auf dieser Trasse sollten die Schiffe einmal monatlich fahren. Weitere Linien sollten entsprechend seiner Vorstellung Triest mit Bombay und Kalkutta verbinden (zweimal monatlich), die Nebenlinien sollten Kalkutta mit Gale auf Ceylon und Singapur mit Java verbinden. Es ist überraschend, dass Lloyd bei der späteren Linienerrichtung nach Asien diesen Plan hielt.

Die Inbetriebsetzung des Suezkanals war für den Lloyd den Antrieb für die Realisation des erwähnten Plans. *Kluto*, *Vulkan* und *Amerika* waren die ersten Schiffe des Lloyds, die am 17. November 1896 durch Suez durchfuhren. Die Linie nach Indien wurde im Jahre 1870 eröffnet. Die ersten Schifffahrten wurden ohne staatliche Unterstützung unternommen und brachten wirtschaftliche Verluste. Am Anfang der 70er Jahre hatte Lloyd verhältnismäßig erfolgreiche Periode, aber erst die Unterstützung des Staates ermöglichte die Entwicklung der regelmäßigen Verbindung nach Asien.

Nach der Billigung der Novelle des Kontrakts mit Lloyd durch den Reichsrat im Jahre 1870 erhielt die Dampfschiffahrtsgesellschaft jährliche Subvention in der Höhe von 190 000 Gulden und verpflichtete sich eine Fahrt nach Bombay monatlich zu realisieren.²² Entsprechend der Ansichten einiger Experte ist Lloyd durch die Errichtung regelmäßigen Line nach Indien „in die Reihe der Weltdampfschiffahrtsgesellschaften eingetreten“,²³ seine Expansion auf den Trassen in die entfernte Übersee sehr verlief aber vorsichtig und langsam.

Nach der Probeschiffahrt im Jahre 1878 wurde die Linie aus Bombay nach Colombo und im Jahre 1880 nach Singapur und Hongkong verlängert.

²¹ LEE, S. 472. Die Autorin zitiert den Beitrag *Zur Ausdehnung der Lloydfahrten nach dem Osten Asiens*, in: Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient, Nr. 2, 1872, S. 1–27.

²² Vgl. SMOLENSKY, S. 24; WURMBÖCK, S. 42.

²³ SMOLENSKY, S. 24.

Es ist nicht sehr überraschend, dass zu dem Zielhafen für die Schiffe des Lloyds nicht Shanghai, sondern infolge seiner strategischen Position britischer Hongkong wurde.

Im Jahre 1886 erhöhte sich die Anzahl der Schifffahrten auf der Trasse Triest-Hongkong von 12 auf 24, auf der Trasse Triest-Kalkutta von 6 auf 12 jährlich. In den Jahren 1884–1887 unternahmen Lloyd's Schiffe fünf Fahrten nach Shanghai, aber der regelmäßige Transport nach diese chinesische Metropole begann erst um fünf Jahre später. Andererseits musste Lloyd die Linien nach Brasilien und Argentinien auflösen, weil er auf sie nicht die staatlichen Subventionen erhielt. Diese Verbindungen wurden erst zu Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts erneuert.

Mit Hinsicht auf die allgemeine Konjunktur der Seeschifffahrt ist es möglich die Jahre 1878–1884 als eine finanziell erfolgreichste Periode in der Geschichte Lloyds zu bezeichnen. Damals funktionierte die Gesellschaft ohne Defizit und zahlte verhältnismäßig hohe Dividenden aus.²⁴

Die Krise am Ende der 80er Jahre wurde durch einen neuen Vertrag vom Jahre 1891 beendet. Dieser Vertrag bedeutete eine Erhöhung der staatlichen Subvention, was die häufigere Verbindung nach Bombay und die Errichtung der Nebenlinie vom Singapur nach Surabaya auf Java ermöglichte. Im Jahre 1892 verlängerte Lloyd die Linie Triest-Hongkong nach Shanghai, und im folgenden Jahre in die japanischen Häfen Kōbe und Yokohama. Im Februar 1893 kam die Dampfschiff *Gisela* nach Kōbe, am 30. August dieses Jahres kam *Melpomene* nach Yokohama.

Im Jahre 1904 traf die Schifffahrt eine weitere Krise. Der Österreichische Lloyd wurde sehr schwer betroffen, seine Situation war wieder schwierig und unstabil. Die Gesellschaft wurde wegen dem veralteten Schiffspark, der schlechten Organisation, der großen Zeitverlusten und anderen Mängeln kritisiert. Lloyd begann sich um einen neuen Kontrakt über die finanzielle Unterstützung mit der Regierung zu bemühen. Er wurde von den Kritikern sehr heftig angegriffen. Sie erklärten, dass sich die Gesellschaft

²⁴ WURMBÖCK, S. 45–46; MAYER – WINKLER, S. 60.

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zwar um eine neue Subvention bemüht, ist aber unfähig, die Bedingungen des vorigen Kontrakts zu erfüllen.

Die Rettung brachte erst der neue Vertrag über die staatliche Subventionierung vom 12. Mai 1907, die Unterstützung für Lloyd wurde auf 7,23 Mio. Kronen jährlich erhöht wurde. Die Gesellschaft verpflichtete sich die existierende Verbindung nach Levante, Indien, China und Japan zu erhalten, die Qualität des Transports zu erhöhen und den Schiffspark grundsätzlich zu erneuern.²⁵

Die letzten Jahre vor dem Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges brachten die deutliche Verbesserung der Situation, es handelte sich um die besten Jahre in der ganzen Existenz des Österreichischen Lloyd. Dazu trug sowohl die Reorganisation, als auch die finanzielle Unterstützung des Staates bei. Im Jahre 1908 erreichte der Bruttogewinn der Gesellschaft 7,5 Mio. Kronen und im Jahre 1912 wuchs auf 12,2 Mio. Kronen. Die Gesamttonnage der Schiffen Lloyd's wuchs bedeutend und erreichte im Jahre 1913 240 000 BRT. Die großen Erfolge brachte der Gesellschaft die Errichtung sog. Eillinien, auf welchen die modernsten und schnellsten Schiffe eingesetzt wurden. Die ersten vier „Eilschiffen“ wurden im Jahre 1894 auf die Linie nach Alexandria eingesetzt, im Jahre 1894 wurde später sehr profitable Eillinie nach Bombay errichtet, seit 1912 begann Lloyd die Eillinie für den Personentransport nach Shanghai und für den Warentransport nach Kōbe betreiben.

Obwohl Österreich-Ungarn die Konzession in nordchinesischen Tianjin erwarb, war die Anforderung die Eillinie in diesen Hafen zu errichten, erfolglos.²⁶ Die Frage der ständigen Vertretung Lloyd's durch die

²⁵ Österreichischer Lloyd verband sich in den nächsten 12 Jahren die neuen Schiffe der Gesamttonnage 120 000 BRT in Betrieb setzen. Es ist notwendig hinzufügen, dass er damals mit der Flotte der Gesamttonnage 194 000 BRT disponierte. In diesem Zusammenhang erhielt Lloyd die außerordentliche Regierungssubvention in der Höhe 6 Mio. Kronen.

²⁶ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Abteilung Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (weiter HHStA), Administrative Registratur (weiter Adm. Reg.), Fach 67, Seeschifffahrt, Kt. 34, Varia ab 1909, Verkehrslinien 1903–1908; Bericht des Vice-Konsuls Ernst Ludwig an das Ministerium des kaiserlichen und königlichen Hauses und des Aeusseren, Tientsin 12. 5. 1905; Fach 68, Kt.

österreichische Gesellschaft Ed. Kanitz & Co. stieß auf das Problem, dass das Interesse der österreichischen Firmen am Handel mit Nordchina minimal war.²⁷

Im letzten Friedensjahr liefen die Lloyd Dampfer nach Japan einmal monatlich und die Gesellschaft hat auf diese Trasse elf Schiffe eingesetzt. Es scheint, dass die österreichischen Reeder genug Bestellungen hatten. Der Wert der auf seinen Schiffen transportierten Ware mit Japan stieg in den Jahren 1902–1912 um 105–231 %, (Tabelle Nr. 8), d. h., dass sie die Fracht der Kunden aus anderen Staaten transportieren sollten.

Doch nicht einmal Verbesserung der Leistungen Lloyds entsprach den an den Transport in den Fernen Osten gestellten Erwartungen. Bis zum Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges gelang es dem Österreichischen Lloyd nicht den Rückstand hinter den führenden Reedereien der Welt aufzuholen. Trotzdem hielt er die außerordentliche Position in der Monarchie aufrecht. Die letzten Friedensjahre brachten unzweifelhaft die Hoffnung auf die günstigere Entwicklung in der Zukunft, was aber durch den Ausbruch des Weltkrieges verhindert wurde.

8, Verkehrslinien ab 1909. Konsul K. Bernauer (K. u. K. Generalkonsulat Shanghai), Shanghai 25. 5. 1911.

²⁷ HHStA, Adm. Reg., Fach 68, Kt. 8, Verkehrslinien ab 1909. Vicekonsul Dr. Stumvoll and das Ministerium des kaiserlichen und königlichen Hauses und des Aeusseren, Tientsin 22. 5. 1911; Firma Ed. Kanitz & Co. and das österr.-ungar. Konsulat in Tientsin. Tientsin 15. 2. 1912.

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Tabellen

Tabelle Nr. 1

Die Stellung Triests im internationalen Vergleich (1905, 1909)

	Die Gesamttonnage der in den Hafen eingelaufenen Schiffe (BRT)		Anwuchs 1905–1909	%
	1905	1909		
Hamburg	10 380 775	12 184 268	1 803 493	17,3
Antwerpen	9 900 305	11 940 332	2 040 027	20,6
Rotterdam	8 339 313	9 973 799	1 163 486	19,6
Marseille	7 824 854	9 143 711	1 318 857	16,9
Genua	6 445 153	7 731 492	1 285 339	19,9
Le Havre	3 833 938	4 636 451	752 413	19,4
Triest	3 002 026	4 008 010	1 005 984	33,5
Bremen	3 350 198	3 958 005	607 807	17,8
Bordeaux	1 999 183	2 651 151	651 968	24,5
Amsterdam	2 066 435	2 486 363	415 928	20,0
Fiume	2 107 076	2 325 807	218 731	10,4
Dunkerque	2 071 275	2 191 703	163 165	7,7
Venedig	1 721 530	2 191 703	470 173	27,3

WURMBÖCK, S. 57. Die Tabelle wurde aufgrund der Angaben der Jahresberichte der Triester Handelskammer zusammengestellt.

Tabelle Nr. 2

Der Anteil Triests auf der Einfuhr nach Österreich-Ungarn

(in % des Gesamtwerts)

aus	1895	1900	1905
Großbritannien	4,17	4,93	6,06
USA	15,24	24,73	25,84
Russland	3,30	2,18	1,44
Rumänien	1,22	3,47	3,17
Türkei	67,76	72,49	63,96

Italien	35,71	34,83	34,30
Frankreich	8,54	5,44	4,60

Statistik des auswärtigen Handels, 1895. Bd. 1, S. 58 und 418; 1900, Bd. 1, Abt. 1, S. 58 und 476; 1905, Bd. 1, Abt. 1, S. 58 und 496; HAUSBRANDT, S. 181.

Tabelle Nr. 3

Der Anteil Triests auf der Ausfuhr nach Österreich-Ungarn
(in % des Gesamtwerts)

nach	1895	1900	1905
Großbritannien	1,85	3,24	2,48
USA	12,90	16,11	28,00
Rußland	1,93	2,26	2,36
Rumänien	0,36	0,28	0,99
Türkei	86,02	78,28	75,19
Italien	17,46	15,45	15,28
Frankreich	3,94	7,09	1,92

Statistik des auswärtigen Handels, 1895, Bd. 1, Wien 1896, S. 58 und 418; 1900, Bd. 1, Abt. 1, Wien 1901, S. 72ff. und 476; 1905, Bd. 1, Abt. 1, Wien 1906, S. 72ff. und 496; HAUSBRANDT, S. 182.

Tabelle Nr. 4

Kilometerabstand aus Venedig bzw. Triest in das Innenland

nach	aus Venedig	aus Triest
Linz	718	683
Salzburg	593	670
München	570	823
Würzburg	846	1099
Pilsen	832	914
Eger	853	1020
Prag	942	947

HAUSBRANDT, S. 197.

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Tabelle Nr. 5

Der Anteil einzelner Kronländer auf dem Eisenbahntransport aus und nach Triest im Jahre (in v %)

L a n d	nach Triest	aus Triest
Krain	15,82	15,17
Steiermark	15,43	8,71
Küstenland	13,75	17,94
Kärnten	10,90	3,90
Mähren	15,11	4,56
Böhmen	14,87	13,88
Niederösterreich	7,62	23,00
Oberösterreich	0,85	2,26
Galizien	2,88	3,03
Schlesien	1,35	3,37
Salzburg	0,80	0,96
Tirol und Vorarlberg	0,60	2,99
Bukowine	0,02	0,23
Zusammen	100,00	100,00

Triester Handelskammer, Bericht 1913, S. 179; HAUSBRANDT, S. 206.

Tabelle Nr. 6

Die Gesamttonnage der eingelaufenen Schiffe (in BRT)

nach	1905	1912	1913
Triest	3 002 026	4 572 588	5 480 074
Marseille	7 441 088	9 682 321	10 509 084
Genua	6 445 153	7 104 304	7 089 859

SMOLENSKY, S. 2.

Tabelle Nr. 7

Der Umfang des Überseehandels

(in Mio. der Tonnen)

	1905	1912	1913
Triest	2,3	3,0	3,4
Marseille	6,2	8,3	9,8
Genua	5,6	7,3	7,4

SMOLENSKY, S. 2.

Tabelle Nr. 8

Der Wert der zwischen Japan und Österreich-Ungarn verfrachteten Ware im Vergleich mit dem Gesamtwert des gemeinsamen Handels

(in Mio. Jen; 1 Jen = ca 2,5 Krone)

Jahr	Transport aus Japan	Transport nach Japan	insgesamt	Wert des gemeinsamen Handels
1902	3,33	3,89	7,22	3,51
1907	1,18	7,54	8,72	3,69
1911	2,54	10,74	13,28	3,96
1912	2,61	12,52	15,13	4,56

W. NEUGEBAUER, *Japan im Handelsverkehr mit Deutschland und Österreich-Ungarn*, Leipzig 1914, S. 6, 7, 12, 13.

Abstract

This study deals with the question of the importance of the port Triest for the foreign trade and overseas transport of Habsburg monarchy. It is further analyzed the development and the role of the greatest Austrian steam navigation company, the Austrian Lloyd, and his position among the most important shipping companies before the World War I.

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Die Stellung des Hafens Triest und die Bedeutung des Österreichischen Lloyd für den Transport aus der Habsburgermonarchie nach Übersee

Keywords

Triest; Foreign Trade of Austria-Hungary; Transportation to Overseas; Austrian Lloyd

La France et l'occupation anglaise d'Égypte, 1882–1888

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C'est en septembre 1882 que La Grande-Bretagne renonce à poursuivre un condominium politique franco-britannique en Égypte. Seul, Lord Lyons, un homme politique conservateur britannique, continue à soutenir cette entente, même après la bataille de Tall al-Kabir.¹ Par contre, les libéraux britanniques soutiennent tous l'idée d'une intervention britannique en Égypte sans participation de la France. Par exemple Henry George Elliot² affirme qu'il n'était pas possible d'éviter une confrontation entre la France et la Grande-Bretagne. Au cours de la crise égyptienne il a même déclaré qu'« *il préférerait voir les fez rouges des Turcs au pantalon rouge des Français*, » et c'est pourquoi il soutient l'idée de limiter l'influence française en Égypte.³ Le plus grand défenseur d'une intervention forte est Edward Malet qui a noté dans ses mémoires que la coopération franco-britannique en Égypte était « *une tragédie pleine de fautes* ».⁴

C'est pour cette raison que lord Granville, profitant de la présence du général Wolseley en Égypte et du soutien des diplomates britanniques, prend

¹ Richard Bickerton Pemell Lyons, le premier comte Lyons (1817–1887), homme politique anglais, du juillet 1867 ambassadeur de la Grande-Bretagne en France où il a été remplacé en novembre 1887 par le comte Lytton.

² Henry George Elliot Murray Kynynmound (1817–1907), un homme politique libéral anglais et un diplomate qui occupait la fonction d'ambassadeur à Constantinople où il a représenté la Grande-Bretagne ensemble avec Lord Salisbury lors de la conférence. Ensuite, il a été déplacé à Vienne où il travaillait en tant qu'ambassadeur de la Grande-Bretagne entre 1877 et 1884.

³ T. G. OTTE, *The Foreign Office Mind. The Making of British Foreign Policy, 1865–1914*, Cambridge 2012, pp. 139–142.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 140.

la décision de mettre fin au « *condominium* » en Égypte en octobre 1882. Il le fait sans proposer à Paris une quelconque compensation formelle.⁵ Le ministre britannique des Affaires étrangères mentionne dans sa lettre destinée à Gladstone le 2 octobre 1882 : « *Je suis d'accord avec vous qu'il faut éliminer le Contrôle conjoint. Je ne crois pas que les Français vont se battre pour le maintenir.* »⁶ Avant la bataille décisive de Tall al-Kabir, Edward Malet a autorisé Charif Pacha à constituer un gouvernement égyptien. Juste après, les Anglais prennent le contrôle des chemins de fer égyptiens et de la formation de nouvelles forces de l'ordre destinées à remplacer la vieille armée du khédivé dissolue par le décret khedival du 20 décembre 1882.⁷ En décembre 1882, Sir Evelyn Wood⁸ arrive en Égypte pour prendre la tête de l'armée en tant que *sirdar*,⁹ avec pour tâche de réorganiser l'armée égyptienne sous surveillance britannique. En janvier 1883, Valentine Baker¹⁰ est nommé commandant de la gendarmerie égyptienne.

Le Président du Conseil français, Charles Duclerc exprime son désaccord sur le non-renouvellement du contrôle conjoint. Il se réfère à l'affirmation selon laquelle « *les Anglais eux-mêmes avaient déclaré, au début de leur expédition, que leur intervention n'avait d'autre objet que de rétablir d'ordre dans les États du khédivé. Cela les oblige de [sic] rétablir toutes les institutions que la rébellion égyptienne visait à détruire et surtout les institutions possédant le*

⁵ Ibidem, p. 142.

⁶ Granville à Gladstone, Walmer Castle, Deal, le 2 octobre 1882. E. FITZMAURICE, *The Life of Lord Granville*, 1815–1891, Vol. 2, London 1905, pp. 305–306.

⁷ M. LANVER, *The British in Egypt 1822–1922*, London 2012, p. 10; A. COLVIN, *The Making of Modern Egypt*, London 1906, p. 38.

⁸ Henry Evelyn Wood (1838–1919), le feld-maréchal anglais qui servait en Inde au cours des Révoltes des Cipayes et qui a participé aussi à la campagne contre les mahdistes. En Égypte il aidait à étouffer la révolte d'Urabi Pacha et puis, en 1882–1885, il était au service du commandant en chef de l'armée égyptienne.

⁹ Sirdar, à l'origine du persan sardar, le nom pour le commandant en chef anglais de l'armée égyptienne. Le sirdar siégeait dans le grand bâtiment nommé Sirdarie en quartier de Zamalek où le service de renseignements anglais résidait aussi.

¹⁰ Valentine Baker (1827–1887) était un soldat anglais, connu aussi comme Baker Pacha. A partir de 1882 il était chef de la gendarmerie égyptienne.

caractère international ». ¹¹ Lord Granville répond que l'autorité du khédivé sortait renforcée juste grâce à l'intervention militaire refusée par Paris. Pour cette raison, il argumente donc que la France ne pouvait pas demander une remise de *statu quo ante*. ¹² Duclerc répond que « *le contrôle dual est justement une condition pour la prospérité de l'Égypte* ». ¹³

Au cours des trois derniers mois de 1882 s'engage une correspondance active entre Lord Granville et M. Duclerc. Une tentative française pour poursuivre les débats est coupée net au début de l'année 1883. Le 3 janvier 1883, Lord Granville adresse une circulaire aux puissances européennes sur la politique que souhaite suivre l'Angleterre en Égypte. Le ministre des Affaires étrangères anglais promet que la Grande-Bretagne « *quittera l'Égypte quand la situation dans le pays et l'organisation des pouvoirs pour renforcer l'autorité du Khédivé [sic] le permettront* ». ¹⁴ Le lendemain, Ch. Duclerc clôt ainsi les négociations : « *Le gouvernement de Sa Majesté britannique en juge autrement et nous met dans l'obligation de reprendre en Égypte notre liberté d'action. Quelque regret que nous en éprouvions nous acceptons la situation qui nous est faite [par le gouvernement britannique]*. » ¹⁵

Le consul français en Égypte, Gaston Raindre résume la situation le 8 janvier 1883 : « *J'observais avec un grand intérêt les nouvelles apportées en Égypte par les agences télégraphiques. Selon elles les négociations avec la Bretagne sont officiellement terminées...l'accord est impossible.* » ¹⁶ Le 11

¹¹ Duclerc à Tissot, Paris, le 13 décembre 1882. France, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Documents Diplomatiques, Affaires d'Égypte, 1882–1883 (dénommée ci-après DD, AE 1882–1883) Paris 1883, No. 117, p. 118.

¹² Granville à Lyons, FO, le 25 janvier 1883. C. 3447: Egypt: No. 20 (1882): Correspondence Respecting the Anglo-French Financial Control, London 1882, No. 65, p. 46.

¹³ Duclerc à Tissot, Paris, le 4 janvier 1883, DD, AE 1882–1883, No. 120, pp. 131–134.

¹⁴ Le circulaire de Lord Granville, FO, le 3 janvier 1883. C. 3447: Égypte: No. 20 (1882)... Appendice No. 2, p. 48.

¹⁵ S. SAUL, *La France et l'Égypte de 1882 à 1914. Intérêts Économiques et Implications Politiques. Histoire Économique et financière de la France*, Paris 1997, p. 557; Ch. FREYCINET, *La Question d'Égypte*, Paris 1905, p. 330.

¹⁶ Raindre à Duclerc, Caire, le 8 janvier 1883. France, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Documents Diplomatiques Français, 1871–1914 (dénommée ci-après DDF), Série I, Tome IV, Paris 1932, No. 596, p. 577.

janvier 1883, le contrôleur anglais Auckland Colvin a donné sa démission au khédive, ce qui met fin formellement au contrôle franco-britannique.¹⁷ Le système existant est remplacé selon le projet britannique par la mise en place d'un seul consultant financier nommé sur la recommandation du gouvernement de Londres. Sir Auckland Colvin est désigné comme consultant le 6 février 1883, nommé par le khédive.¹⁸

On peut donc affirmer que la politique de coopération franco-britannique en Égypte n'a plus existé à partir de la fin de l'année 1882. Ce fait a une grande importance du point de vue des relations internationales en Europe. Jusqu'à ce moment-là les deux puissances avaient des intérêts communs qui déterminaient leur politique contre la politique de l'Entente des Trois Empereurs. Cependant le bloc occidental des puissances s'est maintenant dissous et la politique de la coopération franco-britannique va être progressivement remplacée par une dure confrontation.¹⁹ Consciente au moment de cette rupture qu'il lui faut trouver un nouveau partenaire, Londres considère que l'Allemagne pourrait devenir un nouvel allié de la Grande-Bretagne. Selon William L. Langer, le chancelier Bismarck savait bien qu'un conflit éventuel entre Paris et Londres rendrait la Grande-Bretagne plus dépendante de la bonne volonté de l'Allemagne, ce qui isolerait la France.²⁰ Le 13 janvier 1883, le khédive donne son accord à la formation de la commission internationale. Sa tâche est d'abord de vérifier les droits des sinistrés à la suite des émeutes alexandrines. À partir du septembre 1882, les discussions se déroulent à la diligence du gouvernement britannique regardant les indemnités compensatrices et aussi les négociations sur la forme du décret khédivial qui a donné naissance à la commission.²¹ Elle est composée d'un

¹⁷ M. FAHMY, *La Question d'Égypte*, Genève 1917, p. 23.

¹⁸ Raindre à Armand Fallières, Caire, le 6 février 1883. DDF, Série I, Tome IV, No. 608, p. 587.

¹⁹ W. L. LANGER, *Alliances and Alignments, 1871–1890*, New York 1931, p. 282.

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 283.

²¹ Raindre à Duclerc, Caire, le 13 janvier 1883. France, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Documents Diplomatiques, Institution d'une Commission Mixte pour l'Examen des Réclamations Résultant des Derniers Événements d'Égypte, 1882–1883, Paris 1883, No. 51, p. 90.

président et d'un vice-président, nommés par le gouvernement égyptien. Il y a par ailleurs 8 représentants des gouvernements de l'Allemagne, de l'Autriche-Hongrie, de la France, de la Grande-Bretagne, de l'Italie, de la Russie, des États-Unis et de la Grèce. Le dernier membre de la commission est nommé sur la base d'une décision collective des gouvernements de la Belgique, du Danemark, de l'Espagne, des Pays-Bas, du Portugal, de la Suède et de la Norvège. En cas où le dernier membre n'est pas nommé à la date de la première session, le délégué spécial le remplacerait, choisi dans les rangs des États non-impliqués.²² La France délègue Alfred Kleczkowski en tant que son représentant ; il part pour Alexandrie le 25 janvier 1883.²³ Le chemin vers un consensus lors des négociations de la commission paraît long et compliqué.²⁴

Même si lord Lyons est le seul qui soutient encore l'idée d'une coopération franco-britannique, il est démontré que ses hypothèses concernant les effets d'une action britannique unilatérale en Égypte étaient bonnes. Les relations avec la Grande-Bretagne s'aggravent avec rapidité, Paris se sent encore plus humilié qu'après sa défaite à l'issue de la guerre franco-prussienne en 1870.²⁵ Dans un premier temps, la France déclare être satisfaite de la promesse de la Grande-Bretagne selon laquelle l'occupation de l'Égypte ne serait qu'une solution provisoire. Après l'annulation du contrôle conjoint franco-britannique en janvier, le gouvernement de Duclerc doit « avaler la pilule amère ».²⁶

En ce qui concerne la situation de politique intérieure en France à la fin de 1882, le chef incontesté des républicains, Léon Gambetta, disparaît brutalement à l'âge de 44 ans, suivi par le général Chanzy qui avait été ambassadeur en

²² Ibidem, Annexe II, pp. 91–93.

²³ Duclerc à Raindre, Paris, le 17 janvier 1883. Ibidem, No. 53, p. 94.

²⁴ J. L. RAGATZ, *The Question of Egypt in Anglo-French Relations, 1875–1904*, Edinburgh 1922, p. 120.

²⁵ OTTE, p. 143.

²⁶ P. J. V. ROLO, *Entente Cordiale. The Origins and Negotiations of the Anglo-French Agreements of 8 April 1904*, London 1969, p. 43.

Russie. Ainsi au cours d'une courte période, la troisième République français perd donc deux hommes habiles perçus comme des autorités indiscutables. Gambetta était la seule personnalité du groupe républicain qui soit populaire et capable d'entraîner la France derrière sa volonté politique. Le Général Chanzy était par contre perçu comme un homme de grande renommée militaire, doté d'une influence capable de tenir l'armée unifiée et prête à intervenir en cas de nécessité.²⁷ S'il est vrai que le président Jules Grévy restait à la tête de l'État jusqu'en 1887, son énergie et son influence allaient décroissant avec le temps. À cause des gouvernements instables, d'une Chambre des députés discréditée et de la mauvaise situation financière et commerciale, un mécontentement général prédominait parmi les citoyens français. La politique coloniale n'avait pas réussi à écarter la méfiance contre le gouvernement. Le sentiment de rancune augmentait parmi les citoyens contre la Grande-Bretagne, surtout par rapport à la question égyptienne. Tous les pas faits par le gouvernement et toutes les déclarations publiées contribuaient à faire monter la tension et à accroître l'irritation des citoyens français. Les hommes d'État français qui déclarent que la Grande-Bretagne, en supprimant le contrôle conjoint, a lésé les créanciers français et relégué le remboursement des dettes égyptiennes au second plan trouvent le soutien de l'opinion française.²⁸ Le 29 janvier 1883, Armand Fallières²⁹ devient chef du gouvernement par intérim, à la fois ministre de l'Intérieur et des Affaires étrangères. Le 17 février 1883, son gouvernement est remplacé par celui de Jules Ferry qui exerce le pouvoir jusqu'au 30 mars 1885.

L'occupation britannique provoque aussi une vague de critiques dans toute l'Europe. C'est pour cette raison que Gladstone s'efforce de calmer la situation et assure les grandes puissances que l'occupation ne sera qu'une

²⁷ L. NEWTON, *Lord Lyons. A Record of British Diplomacy*, Vol. 2, London 1913, pp. 305–306.

²⁸ Ibidem, pp. 306–307.

²⁹ Clément Armand Fallières (1841–1931), un homme d'État français qui occupait un post du premier ministre, du ministre des Affaires étrangères, du ministre de l'intérieur et du ministre de la marine dans le gouvernement par intérim depuis le 29 janvier jusqu'au 21 février 1883. Entre 1906 et 1913 il était président de la France.

mesure provisoire. Londres répète encore qu'elle se retirera d'Égypte après le rétablissement de l'ordre dans le pays et le renforcement du pouvoir du khédivé. Jusqu'à l'année 1922 les Anglais feront à peu près 66 déclarations similaires.³⁰ Cependant l'évacuation est conditionnée par la restauration de l'autorité de khédivé, la solvabilité financière égyptienne, la réorganisation de l'administration publique égyptienne, la modification de statut des résidents étrangers en Égypte, mais aussi par la possibilité de passer librement par le Canal de Suez.³¹ La réorganisation de l'administration publique égyptienne a été confiée à un diplomate libéral britannique, Lord Dufferin,³² qui part en Égypte en novembre 1882 afin d'élaborer son rapport au tournant des années 1882–1883.³³

Suite à son projet du 6 février 1883, l'arrangement politique égyptien est résolu, l'Égypte restant partie de l'Empire ottoman.³⁴ Le Sultan de Constantinople obtient un tribut annuel et le khédivé assume *de iure* le pouvoir exécutif. Néanmoins, le maître réel du pays demeure le consul général britannique, soumis directement au Foreign Office londonien.³⁵ Le nouvel arrangement ne trouble pas l'existence des Capitulations ou des

³⁰ LANGER, p. 281.

³¹ I. KARSH I. – E. KARSH, *Empires of the Sand. The Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East, 1789–1923*, Cambridge 1999, p. 66.

³² Frederick Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, le premier marquis Dufferin et Ava (1826–1902), un diplomate anglais avec des racines irlandaises, en 1872–1878 il travaillait en tant que gouverneur général du Canada, puis à partir de 1879 il était ambassadeur en Russie. Ensuite, en 1881, il a été déplacé à Constantinople où il était ambassadeur en 1881–1884. En 1884 il a remplacé Lord Rippon en fiction du vice-roi en Inde et y restait pour une période de 1884 à 1888. Puis il travaillait aussi en tant qu'ambassadeur anglais à Rome (1888–1892) et Paris (1892–1896).

³³ COLVIN, p. 26.

³⁴ La France a appris sur les résultats de rapport de Duferin à la fin du mois de mars par l'intermédiaire du message d'Ambassadeur français à Londres Charles Tissot qui a informé Paris de la publication de deux nouveaux livres Blue Books. Charles Tissot à Challeml-Lacoure, Londres, le 21 mars 1883. DDF, Série I, Tome V, Paris 1933, No. 14, pp. 12–13.

³⁵ P. MANSFIELD, *The British in Egypt*, London 1971, pp. 56–57; E. GOMBÁR, *Moderní dějiny islámských zemí*, Praha 1999, pp. 327–328; R. ROBINSON – J. GALLAGHER – A. DENNY, *Africa and the Victorians. The Climax of Imperialism in the Dark Continent*, New York 1961, p. 128.

Cours mixtes de justice.³⁶ Dans son rapport, lord Dufferin affirme que la réorganisation de l'Égypte devra être contrôlée par les agents coloniaux britanniques. Le premier pas à faire en Égypte serait d'étendre les institutions représentatives.³⁷

En Égypte, un groupe de pachas favorables à Londres devait peu à peu gagner des pouvoirs.³⁸ Dufferin écrit par rapport à cette situation : « *Le fait simple qu'on a donné à un pays les institutions représentatives est une preuve qu'on n'est pas intéressé.* »³⁹ Il mentionne en même temps que « *la vallée du Nil ne peut pas être gérée par Londres avec succès* ». ⁴⁰ Evelyn Baring se prononce dans le même sens. Selon lui le gouvernement britannique doit choisir entre deux versions de comportement en Égypte – une politique de réformes ou l'évacuation rapide.⁴¹

Lord Dufferin propose aussi d'établir des institutions gouvernementales qui ne doivent pas avoir de compétences trop étendues. C'est pourquoi deux organismes représentatifs, le Conseil législatif et l'Assemblée nationale, sont établis par la Loi Organique du 1^{er} janvier 1883. Aucune de ces institutions n'a pas l'initiative législative ; il ne leur est donc possible que d'évaluer les propositions du gouvernement.⁴² Lord Dufferin quitte Égypte au début de

³⁶ M. W. DALY, *The British Occupation, 1882–1922*, in: M. W. DALY (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt. Modern Egypt, from 1517 to the End of the Twentieth Century*, Vol. 2, Cambridge 1998, s. 240.

³⁷ J. VALKOUN, *The British Foreign Policy and Egypt in 1880s*, in: *Öt kontinens: Az Új- és Jelenkori Egyetemes Történeti Tanszék közleményei*, No. 1, 2011, Budapest 2012, p. 112. Ensuite comp. J. VALKOUN, *Britská zahraniční politika a Egypt v 80. letech 19. století*, in: *Acta Fakulty filozofické Západočeské Univerzity v Plzni*, No. 2, 2010, pp. 103–121; COLVIN, pp. 19–37; E. DICEY, *Story of the Khedivate*, London 1902, pp. 325–335; E. W. P. NEWMAN, *Great Britain in Egypt*, London 1928, p. 124, pp. 283–289.

³⁸ ROBINSON – GALLAGHER – DENNY, p. 128.

³⁹ SAUL, p. 561.

⁴⁰ ROBINSON – GALLAGHER – DENNY, p. 128.

⁴¹ E. BARING, *Modern Egypt*, Vol. 1, London 1908, p. 333; J. VALKOUN, *Egypt pod britským patronátem 1882–1889. Příspěvek k dějinám britského impéria v 19. století*, mémoire inédit, FF UK, Praha 2008, p. 38.

⁴² A. L. AL-SAYYID MARSOT, *A History of Egypt. From the Arab Conquest to the Present*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 88–89.

1883, mais juste avant son départ, va voir le consul français Raindre afin de le remercier pour son « *comportement sincère et loyal* ». Pendant sa visite le représentant britannique s'exprime avec tellement de compliments que son collègue français les considère comme ironiques.⁴³

En février 1883 à Paris, le gouvernement de Jules Ferry est au pouvoir et Challemel-Lacour est devenu ministre des Affaires étrangères. L'ambassadeur anglais à Paris, Lord Lyons informe Lord Granville dans une lettre du février 1883 sur la situation en France : « *Tout y va de mal en pis, après la mort de Gambetta il n'y apparaît aucune personne forte qui occuperait sa place. L'armée est mécontente et les médias français écrivent de nous [la Grande Bretagne] des articles haineux par rapport à notre activité en Égypte. Afin qu'on puisse empêcher la montée d'une haine ouverte, on devrait éviter tout changement en ce moment dans la Loi de Liquidation ou la question des dettes Daira et Domaines.* »⁴⁴ La politique étrangère française est influencée par Jules Ferry qui pense que l'expansion coloniale d'outre-mer mènera au rétablissement du prestige international de la France. Ferry croit qu'il réussira à gagner pour la France des avantages utiles qui pourraient être utilisés avec force lors de négociations avec la Grande-Bretagne.⁴⁵

Au printemps 1883 des émeutes éclatent à Paris au cours desquelles une anarchiste Louise Michel est arrêtée. Dans le contexte de ces événements, le ministre des Affaires étrangères Challemel-Lacour adopte une attitude radicale à l'égard de la Grande-Bretagne. Puis il s'est efforcé de détourner l'attention du problème égyptien par un engagement en Indochine qui n'est pas d'emblée une réussite. Par conséquent, en automne 1883, il est révoqué et remplacé par Ferry lui-même dans la fonction du ministre des Affaires étrangères. Dans l'intervalle l'Égypte a été frappée par une épidémie du choléra qui se propage

⁴³ Raindre à Challemel-Lacour, Caire, 1 mai 1883. DDF, Série I, Tome V, Paris 1933, No. 26, p. 26.

⁴⁴ Lyons à Granville, Paris, le 2 octobre 1883. NEWTON, pp. 309–310.

⁴⁵ ROLO, p. 45.

de Damiette en Basse-Égypte dans le pays entier en faisant 100 000 victimes.⁴⁶ Le groupe le plus touché sont les enfants de moins de 10 ans et les hommes de 30 à 40 ans, ce qui paralyse considérablement l'économie égyptienne.⁴⁷

Charif Pacha a déjà demandé en août 1883 au gouvernement britannique de réduire le nombre des soldats de l'armée d'occupation en Égypte à 2000 hommes. Quand Evelyn Baring arrive en Égypte le 11 septembre 1883 pour remplacer l'impopulaire Edward Malet⁴⁸ dans la fonction d'agent britannique et de consul général, une décision de diminuer l'armée d'occupation à 3000 hommes est prise. Ils sont transférés – pour les raisons stratégiques – du Caire en Alexandrie.⁴⁹ Auckland Colvin est remplacé dans sa fonction du conseiller financier par Edgar Vincent.⁵⁰ En automne 1883, l'ordre a été rétabli en Égypte et de nouvelles réformes ont été mises en œuvre qui doivent faire de l'Égypte un État moderne. Tout indique alors que l'idée d'un départ britannique de l'Égypte est réalisable.

En 1881 au Soudan, qui constitue « *une clé aux portes de l'Égypte* », se produit un soulèvement du mouvement religieux des partisans de Muhammad Ahmad ibn Abdallah.⁵¹ L'homme d'État égyptien Rijad Pacha se rend compte de l'importance du Soudan et a affirmé que « *Nil est la*

⁴⁶ COLVIN, p. 41.

⁴⁷ Palfrey Burrell à Lord Granville, Alexandrie, le 1 septembre 1883. C. 3788: Commercial No. 39 (1883), Further Correspondence Respecting the Cholera Epidemic in Egypt, London 1883, Inclosure 1 in No. 30, p. 57.

⁴⁸ Malet a été nommé Ambassadeur à Bruxelles et puis en 1884, après la mort d'Odo Russel, il a assumé la fonction d'Ambassadeur de la Grande-Bretagne à Berlin.

⁴⁹ MANSFIELD, p. 59; RAGATZ, p. 121.

⁵⁰ Edgar Vincent, le premier vicomte d'Abernon (1857–1941) était un homme politique anglais, diplomate et écrivain. En 1883–1889, il faisait fiction du conseiller britannique de finances en Égypte. Après le départ de son pays il faisait fiction de directeur général de la Banque impériale ottomane (1889–1897). Après la Première Guerre Mondiale il était ambassadeur en Allemagne (1920–1925) Comp. J. MARLOWE, *Anglo-Egyptian Relations 1800–1956*, Vol. 2, London 1965, p. 170; J. C. A. GAVILLOT, *L'Angleterre épuise l'Égypte. L'Angleterre ruine l'Égypte. Les Finances égyptiennes sous l'occupation anglaise*, Paris 1895, p. 36.

⁵¹ P. KŘIVSKÝ – A. SKŘIVAN, *Století odchází, světla a stíny „belle époque“*, Praha 2004, p. 226.

vie de l'Égypte et le Nil – c'est le Soudan ». ⁵² En janvier 1883, le colonel Hicks est nommé chef des forces armées au Soudan. En septembre de la même année, il part avec un groupe de 10 000 soldats (la plupart d'entre eux étaient des anciens de la bataille de Tall al-Kabir) à Kordofan, centre des insurgés, avec pour objectif de trouver et d'éliminer les forces des Mahdistes. Après l'arrivée des nouvelles au Caire le 22 novembre 1883 décrivant la défaite de l'armée égyptienne à Al-Obeid à Soudan, le nouveau consul général britannique Baring est obligé d'annuler ses projets de réduction du nombre des soldats de l'armée d'occupation ainsi que son transfert à Alexandrie. Evelyn Baring est inquiet de la possibilité selon laquelle la population agricole de Haute et Basse-Égypte pourrait se joindre aux émeutes du Soudan et aux révoltés du Mahdi. Il semble que la sécurité de l'Égypte est vraiment mise en danger. ⁵³

En ce qui concerne l'opinion en France sur les activités britanniques en Égypte à cette période, les Français croient que les Anglais s'intéressent plus à mettre en vigueur leurs propres réformes et la transformation de la province égyptienne en région sous la tutelle de la monarchie britannique plutôt qu'à rétablir l'autorité du khédivé. À partir du début de l'occupation en 1882, c'est le sentiment d'une attitude équivoque anglaise que la diplomatie française retient. Selon Saul, les archives françaises ne disposent pas de documents concernant cette époque ce qui témoigne de l'embarras du Quai d'Orsay et de la difficulté qu'il éprouve à définir la politique en Égypte. Pendant plusieurs années la France reste inactive sur le plan politique en Égypte. Déjà en décembre on apprend que « *Quant au contrôle, agent français de cette période en Égypte Léon Brédif ne quittait pas sa maison et ne rendait visite à personne Gabriel Charmes, journaliste français, a écrit de lui qu'il est „moralement et politiquement mort et n'existe pas en principe* ». ⁵⁴

⁵² G. N. SANDERSON, *England, Europe and Upper Nile 1882–1899. A Study in the Partition of Africa*, Edinburgh 1965, p. 18.

⁵³ VALKOUN, *Egypt pod britským*, p. 41.

⁵⁴ Gabriel Charmes à Joseph Reinach, Caire, le 8 décembre 1882. SAUL, p. 565.

Le 6 février 1883 la commission internationale⁵⁵ tient séance pour résoudre les indemnisations pour tous ceux touchés par les événements en rapport avec la révolte d'Urabi. Par rapport au fait qu'une partie du budget déterminée au fonctionnement administratif de l'état est en déficit et que la Loi de Liquidation ne permet pas d'utiliser les ressources de la deuxième partie du budget (qui même présentait un surplus modeste), il faut négocier un prêt. Il s'agissait pas du prêt soi même parce que dans ce cas le taux d'intérêt serait très élevé. On a publié donc les obligations d'État avec du paiement ajourné, les revenus ont pu être payés après le paiement des revenus des obligations qui servaient à payer la dette extérieure du pays.⁵⁶ Avant la modification de la Loi de Liquidation, le gouvernement égyptien profite de la possibilité d'emprunter jusqu'à 2 000 000 livres égyptiennes (51 840 000 francs). En mai 1883, il s'est assuré du prêt de 300 000 livres égyptiennes (7 776 000 francs) auprès de la Banque générale d'Égypte et du Crédit Lyonnais. Le taux d'intérêt est de 9 %. Un projet du consultant sir Edgar Vincent suit. Il propose de diminuer l'amortissement, le prêt de 8 500 000 livres sterlings (212 500 000 francs) et de faire baisser les indemnités pour les habitants d'Alexandrie de 20 %. Toute augmentation des dettes égyptiennes signifie une modification de la Loi de Liquidation et une réunion de la conférence internationale.⁵⁷

La question du Canal de Suez mène à un autre problème. Depuis le débarquement du général Wolseley, qui a utilisé le territoire en tant que plate-forme des autres activités militaires britanniques, l'attention des puissances se porte vers une neutralisation éventuelle du canal.⁵⁸ À la fin de 1882 et au cours de l'année 1883 la Grande-Bretagne s'efforce de gagner la majorité dans l'administration de la Société du canal de Suez et de demander aussi la baisse des frais, l'expansion du canal existant et la construction d'un nouveau

⁵⁵ International Commission for Compensation of the Sufferers.

⁵⁶ SAUL, p. 574.

⁵⁷ Ibidem.

⁵⁸ VALKOUN, *Egypt pod britským*, p. 52.

canal construit parallèlement à côté du canal existant.⁵⁹ D'avril jusqu'au juin 1883 les négociations entre le gouvernement britannique et Ferdinand et Charles-Aimé Lesseps ont lieu en présence du médiateur Charles Rivers Wilson.⁶⁰

Celui-ci a assuré Charles Tissot que les négociations seraient un succès parce que si les Lesseps refusaient les propositions du gouvernement britannique, « *Londres, sous tension de l'opinion publique, serait forcée de construire un nouveau canal qui connecterait la Méditerranée et la mer Rouge et ce canal serait une telle concurrence pour la Société du canal de Suez que les Lesseps regretteraient de ne pas accepter les conditions du gouvernement britannique en 1883* ». ⁶¹ Charles Tissot a constaté qu'on peut supposer selon les informations disponibles que le gouvernement de Sa Majesté fera tout pour trouver un chemin en Inde ce qui était en fait, selon la diplomatie française, le but principal du débarquement des forces militaires britanniques en Égypte.⁶² Il est vrai que la non-occupation de Suez rallongeait le voyage en Inde de plus de 3 semaines et mettait en même temps en danger les intérêts commerciaux britanniques, mais cela ne constituait pas pour autant une raison d'occuper le pays.⁶³

Même si le gouvernement français n'était pas directement engagé dans les négociations, les journaux à Paris écrivaient que la perte du Canal de Suez serait une humiliation politique pour la France.⁶⁴ Le 10 juillet 1883, un accord provisoire est signé selon lequel la Société du canal de Suez s'engage à créer un deuxième canal d'ici l'année 1888 et aussi de diminuer les frais d'utilisation du canal déjà existant. Les actionnaires britanniques devaient ainsi gagner plus d'influence dans la Société qu'ils avaient jusqu'alors. Le gouvernement

⁵⁹ Tissot à Challemlacoure, Londres, le 29 mai 1883. DDF, Série I, Tome V, No. 43, p. 50.

⁶⁰ Charles-Joseph Tissot (1828–1884), un diplomate français et archéologue qui a exploré l'Afrique du Nord, surtout la Tunisie. Il travaillait en tant qu'ambassadeur à Constantinople et à Londres.

⁶¹ Tissot à Challemlacour, Londres, le 29 mai 1883. DDF, Série I, Tome V, No. 43, p. 50.

⁶² Ibidem.

⁶³ J. S. GALBRAITH – A. L. AL-SAYYID MARSOT, *The British Occupation of Egypt, Another View*, in: International Journal of Middle-East Studies, Vol. 9, No. 4, 1978, p. 472.

⁶⁴ SAUL, p. 243.

britannique promet d'offrir à la Société un prêt de 8 000 000 livres sterlings (200 000 000 francs) avec un intérêt de 3,25 %, destiné à servir lors de la construction du nouveau canal.⁶⁵

Par rapport à cet accord provisoire la concession originale accordée à la Société du canal de Suez pour une période de 99 ans en 1869 a été changée. Ces 99 ans devraient maintenant être comptés jusqu'à la fin de la construction du deuxième canal et à partir de ce moment-là Société devrait payer au gouvernement égyptien 1 % du revenu total net. La chambre basse du parlement britannique refuse ce projet et les négociations recommencent donc. Le 30 novembre 1883, les deux parties trouvent un autre accord. La Société du canal de Suez devait soit construire un nouveau canal, soit élargir le canal existant. C'était la commission spéciale des experts qui devrait prendre la décision. Sept nouveaux membres britanniques du Conseil d'Administration ont été nommés et participent au Conseil pour la première fois le 2 septembre 1884 à Paris. Le nombre des employés britanniques a augmenté et les frais de douanes ont été diminués. En même temps, on a ouvert une nouvelle filiale de la Société du canal de Suez à Londres le 29 août 1884 pour faciliter le paiement des droits du péage aux commerçants britanniques. Au début de 1884, les Britanniques ont ainsi réussi à gagner plus d'influence dans la Société du canal de Suez et à s'assurer plus de contrôle. Cependant, la question de la neutralisation du canal reste toujours irrésolue.⁶⁶

Entre-temps, le gouvernement égyptien devait de nouveau prêter avec une forte attention à la révolte du Mahdi au Soudan où Slatin Pacha avait été défait par les mahdistes en capitulant à Darfour en décembre 1883, peu après la défaite du colonel Hicks. Le 28 avril 1884, tombait ensuite la province de Bahr al-Ghazal administrée par le représentant anglais Frank Lupton.⁶⁷ Le gouvernement anglais n'avait pas de position unie quant à la question des pas

⁶⁵ RAGATZ, p. 122; SAUL, p. 246.

⁶⁶ RAGATZ, p. 122; SAUL, p. 252.

⁶⁷ F. NICOLL, *The Mahdi of the Sudan and the Death of General Gordon*, London 2005, p. 204; VALKOUN, *Egypt pod britským*, p. 108.

suivants à faire au Soudan, tandis que le ministre de la Guerre lord Hartington soutenait l'idée d'un soutien de l'Égypte afin de pouvoir conserver Khartoum et la partie du Soudan située à l'Est du Nil Blanc. Hartington insistait sur le fait de conserver les ports de la mer Rouge qui rendraient possible la défense de la route vers l'Inde.⁶⁸ Le gouvernement britannique ne voulait pas se mêler de la situation et prônait un abandon du Soudan. Charif Pacha, le premier ministre égyptien, n'était pas d'accord et avait donné sa démission en protestant contre la décision. Il avait été remplacé par un Arménien Nubar Pacha.⁶⁹ En janvier 1884, le général Charles Gordon est alors envoyé dans le pays afin de surveiller, en tant que gouverneur général du Soudan, l'évacuation de Khartoum et la défense des frontières égyptiennes.⁷⁰

En janvier 1884, Lord Lyons a informé Granville que l'opinion publique en France est considérablement hostile à la Grande-Bretagne par rapport aux événements du Soudan. Il est très probable que – au cas où d'autres massacres d'Européens se produiraient dans la région – des émeutes antibritanniques auraient lieu à Paris, encore beaucoup plus fortes que la critique actuelle de Londres. Lyons avertit Granville de l'initiative de Camille Barrère, le consul général français en Égypte. Barrère avait pour mission de s'efforcer de former une alliance avec les Égyptiens au détriment de la Grande-Bretagne. Il répandait l'opinion que tous les problèmes de l'Égypte étaient causés par la Grande-Bretagne et il voulait persuader les Égyptiens d'adresser des demandes d'aide aux Français.⁷¹

En ce qui concerne la situation financière en Égypte, en automne 1883 le pays se trouvait presque au bord de la faillite.⁷² Au cours de ces 4 premières années, le consul général britannique était donc forcé de prêter attention à la situation financière du pays. La situation s'était aggravée encore plus surtout à cause des dépenses directes et indirectes liées à la rébellion d'Urabi qui

⁶⁸ ROLO, p. 46.

⁶⁹ COLVIN, p. 50.

⁷⁰ Ibidem.

⁷¹ Lyons à Granville, Paris, le 19 janvier 1884. NEWTON, p. 322.

⁷² Granville à Lyons, Foreign Office, le 19 janvier 1884. DD, AE 1884, Paris 1884, No. 1, p. 5.

avait touché sérieusement les caisses de l'État. C'était aussi l'augmentation de nombre des soldats de l'armée (Ahmad Urabi était encore ministre de la Guerre) qui demandait aussi beaucoup d'argent. La défaite de la rébellion était suivie par la reconstruction coûteuse d'Alexandrie et le paiement des indemnités dont le montant chiffré à 4 500 000 livres sterling.⁷³ Ces événements avaient vidé les caisses égyptiennes. L'épidémie du choléra en été 1883 qui avait suivi avait encore aggravé la situation. Beaucoup de ressources financières avaient en outre été dépensées aussi après le début de la rébellion du Mahdi.⁷⁴

Les frais de séjour des troupes d'occupation n'étaient pas non plus négligeables.⁷⁵ La récession industrielle tout ensemble avec les faits mentionnés compliquait pour l'Égypte la réalisation de ses obligations financières internationales, surtout celles déterminées par la Loi de Liquidation de l'année 1880.⁷⁶ Le montant des revenus d'État réservés aux dépenses administratives était arrivé jusqu'à 1 600 000 livres sterling en 1883. Par contre, le compte réservé au remboursement de la dette d'état présentait un excédent considérable. Celui-ci était employé à payer les revenus des obligations. Il n'y avait pas assez d'argent pour les dépenses administratives de l'État et il fallait donc les emprunter à des taux d'intérêt très élevés.⁷⁷ Le Ministre des Finances égyptien s'efforçait d'employer le surplus d'argent sur un compte pour payer les engagements sur un autre, mais tout changement dans la Loi de Liquidation devait être approuvé par les 6 puissances européennes qui avaient garanti cet arrangement financier.⁷⁸ Lord Granville se rendait compte du fait que le pays se dirigeait vers la faillite financière de nouveau et le 19 avril 1884 il proposa donc aux puissances d'organiser une conférence internationale afin de résoudre ce problème.⁷⁹

⁷³ MARLOWE, p. 160.

⁷⁴ MARLOWE, p. 135; DALY, p. 240; RAGATZ, p. 125.

⁷⁵ Granville à Lyons, Foreign Office, le 19 avril 1884. DD, AE 1884, No. 1, p. 5.

⁷⁶ VALKOUN, *Egypt pod britským patronátem 1882–1889*, p. 43.

⁷⁷ RAGATZ, p. 125.

⁷⁸ SAUL, p. 574.

⁷⁹ Granville à Lyons, FO, le 19 avril 1884. DD, AE 1884, No. 1, p. 5–6.

Avant la conférence, lord Granville initia avec le premier ministre français des négociations préliminaires. Granville proposa la neutralisation de l'Égypte et le retrait des troupes d'occupation militaires dans la perspective de 3 ans et demi. Jules Ferry, à charge de revanche, promet que la France n'occuperait pas l'Égypte après le départ de l'armée britannique.⁸⁰ Entre-temps, Jules Ferry avait envoyé une lettre privée destinée à l'ambassadeur français à Rome où il écrit que « *la politique étrangère de la France aurait été toujours la politique internationale en Égypte, car le plus grand danger pour le pays représente la possibilité de déclaration du protectorat britannique en Égypte. Le canal de Suez n'aurait pas à devenir un consortium franco-britannique de la même façon que la mer Rouge n'aurait pas à devenir un lac britannique. Nos intérêts en Indochine et à Madagascar ne sont pas compatibles avec les spéculations comme cela. La résistance contre les ambitions britanniques est donc la plus importante. C'est pourquoi on devrait chercher le soutien de l'Italie.* »⁸¹

La conférence eut lieu à Londres du 28 juin au 2 août 1884 en présence des ambassadeurs de France, d'Allemagne, d'Italie, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de Russie et de l'Empire ottoman. Lord Granville fut désigné son président. Parmi les participants, on doit mentionner encore le chancelier du trésor lord Childers, puis les membres de la Commission de la dette publique (Liron d'Airolles pour la France), le marquis Ernest Gabriel de Blignières et le consul général en Égypte Camille Barrère.⁸² La délégation d'Égypte était menée par le consul général britannique Evelyn Baring. Entre-temps à Paris, les créanciers manifestèrent contre les taux d'intérêt et contre les changements dans la Loi de Liquidation. Ils envoyèrent même un mémorandum au Quai d'Orsay où ils signalèrent le fait que l'Égypte disposait toujours des ressources financières suffisantes.⁸³

⁸⁰ ROLO, p. 47.

⁸¹ Jules Ferry à Albert Decrais, Paris, le 17 avril 1884. DDF, Série I, Tome V, No. 239, p. 256.

⁸² Billot à Waddington, Paris, le 22 juin 1884. Ibidem, No. 317, p. 333.

⁸³ SAUL, p. 582.

La France était persuadée que la situation financière d'Égypte était réellement moins grave que la Grande-Bretagne la décrivait. Waddington a même écrit à Ferry le 27 juillet 1884 que Camille Barrère,⁸⁴ le consul général français en Égypte, soutenait l'opinion qu'« *il est possible de rendre la situation en Égypte plus difficile pour les Anglais au point qu'ils seront forcés à l'évacuation* ».⁸⁵ Les représentants allemands soutenaient la France selon les instructions données par le chancelier Bismarck.⁸⁶ La conférence se termina sans succès, parce que Paris avait refusé tout changement qui modifierait la situation financière en Égypte.⁸⁷ La Grande-Bretagne refusa d'ajourner les négociations et de poursuivre la conférence même si tous les ambassadeurs le désiraient. Waddington évalua la situation par ces mots : « *Au cours de la dernière phase de la conférence lord Granville a perdu sa tranquillité et prudence. La conférence est terminée.* »⁸⁸

En ce qui concerne la question financière, Lord Northbrook proposa au gouvernement égyptien de transférer les ressources financières du compte de surplus au deuxième compte et de les utiliser pour couvrir toutes les dépenses administratives nécessaires du pays. Le gouvernement égyptien suivit son conseil le 18 septembre 1884, mais cependant sans succès. Les puissances européennes ne voulaient pas accepter que leur opinion ne soit pas suivie. La Commission de la dette publique égyptienne porta plainte contre le gouvernement égyptien le 20 octobre 1884 et le cas fut traité par les Cours de justice mixtes. La plainte ne fut pas suivie, le gouvernement égyptien, ou bien britannique, obligé de rendre le montant (250 000 livres égyptiennes – 6 480 000 francs) et de traiter l'affaire au niveau international.⁸⁹ Lord Northbrook recommanda dans son mémorandum l'arrêt des versements de

⁸⁴ Camille Barrère (1851–1940), diplomate français qui a vécu en Grande-Bretagne entre 1851–1870. Consul à Caire, 1883–1885, et ministre plénipotaire à Stockholm 1885–1888.

⁸⁵ SAUL, p. 584.

⁸⁶ Jules Ferry à Waddington, Paris, le 27 juillet 1884, DDF, Série I, Tome V, No. 345, p. 354.

⁸⁷ ROLO, p. 47; RAGATZ, p. 125.

⁸⁸ Waddington à Ferry, Londres, le 2 août 1884. DDF, Série I, Tome V, No. 350, p. 357.

⁸⁹ LANGER, *Alliances and Alignments*, p. 304.

la dette non-garantie, puis l'installation d'imposition des étrangers (qui avaient jusque-là beaucoup d'avantages par rapport aux contrats de capitulation), la baisse de l'impôt territorial et en même temps le règlement du prêt de 9 000 000 livres sterling, qui devait être garanti par le gouvernement britannique. La Grande-Bretagne se divisa en deux parties – l'une soutenait le contrôle britannique de l'Égypte, tandis que l'autre était strictement contre cette idée.⁹⁰ Mais le 16 novembre 1884 le cabinet de Gladstone refusa les propositions de Northbrook.⁹¹

Les journaux parisiens accueillirent l'échec de la conférence londonienne avec satisfaction, les créanciers français poussèrent un soupir de soulagement. Par contre, le 18 août 1884, les émeutes de 8000 personnes éclatèrent à Alexandrie parce qu'ils attendaient le paiement de leurs indemnités. Ce fait, ajouté aux menaces britanniques de faillite financière de l'Égypte persuadèrent les puissances européennes, en premier la France, de reculer et d'accepter le consensus.⁹² Le 8 janvier 1885 le gouvernement français publia un mémorandum décrivant la situation financière en Égypte comme la conséquence du rapport britannique de novembre 1884 dans lequel la Grande-Bretagne avait demandé de passer l'administration de Daira et Domains dans les mains du gouvernement égyptien.⁹³

Toute l'opération devait se dérouler sous le contrôle de Londres. Sous le règne d'Ismail, ses domaines privés avaient été utilisés en tant qu'engagements du prêt (Daira), tout comme d'autres propriétés et immeubles (Domains) employés en 1878 en tant qu'engagements du prêt auprès de la banque Rothschild. Les Britanniques proposèrent alors une baisse des taux d'intérêts pour ces deux catégories. Comme Waddington l'avait évalué, Londres proposait en fait dans son mémorandum de ne pas déterminer une date fixe du départ des troupes d'occupation de l'Égypte.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ ROBINSON – GALLAGHER – DENNY, p. 149.

⁹¹ SAUL, p. 586.

⁹² Ibidem, p. 585.

⁹³ SAUL, p. 590; NEWTON, p. 343.

⁹⁴ Annexe, Paris, 8 janvier 1884. DD, AE, Paris 1885, No. 1, Annexe 1, pp. 2–3.

Ensuite les Britanniques proposaient la diminution des intérêts pour les crédits consentis jusque-là et demandaient aussi qu'en cas d'insuffisance des ressources financières sur l'un des comptes il soit possible d'utiliser les ressources du deuxième compte. Mais cela pouvait léser les créanciers. C'est pourquoi Paris ne pouvait supposer que les finances égyptiennes soient en tellement mauvais état qu'il ne soit pas possible de couvrir l'administration courante du pays. Les revenus égyptiens devaient être de 9 570 750 livres égyptiennes, tandis que les dépenses ne devaient pas atteindre de que 9 425 126 livres égyptiennes. Cela signifiait que le budget serait excédentaire de 145 625 livres égyptiennes.

Le 18 mars 1885, la Convention de Londres fut signée. Elle réglait le statut financier international de l'Égypte pour une période future de 20 ans.⁹⁵ Par conséquent, l'imposition des étrangers fut instaurée et les intérêts des crédits existants diminués pour la période suivante de 2 ans.⁹⁶

L'Égypte obtint un prêt international de 9 000 000 livres sterling (225 000 000 francs) avec intérêt de 3,5 %. Sauf 105 000 000 francs destinés au paiement de l'indemnité, 60 000 000 francs étaient prévus pour le paiement de 7 crédits à court terme.⁹⁷ 1 000 000 livres égyptiennes étaient réservés pour le développement industriel du pays.⁹⁸ Grâce à la garantie du prêt international de la part des puissances, le gouvernement égyptien eût la possibilité de gagner de l'argent avec le taux d'intérêt baissé, avec lequel ils pouvaient prêter de l'argent juste dans un contexte économique stable. La Loi de Liquidation fut modifiée ; l'État obligé de gérer les budgets équilibrés. Le plafond pour les dépenses administratives de l'état augmenta jusqu'à 5 237 000 livres égyptiennes.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ MANSFIELD, p. 98.

⁹⁶ RAGATZ, p. 128.

⁹⁷ Ibidem; SAUL, pp. 586–587; Waddington à Ferry, Londres, le 25 novembre 1884. DDF, Série I, Tome V, No. 465, p. 487.

⁹⁸ Ibidem.

⁹⁹ Ibidem.

D'abord toutes les créances devaient être payées et le service de la dette remboursé. Tous les revenus adjoints à la Caisse, plus élevés que les frais de versements annuels des intérêts et l'amortissement devaient être proportionnellement répartis entre la Commission de la dette publique et le gouvernement égyptien dans un rapport de 50 à 50.¹⁰⁰ La Commission de la dette publique était conservée en tant qu'institution, mais elle fut élargie de deux membres, allemand et russe.¹⁰¹ Le contrôle financier de l'Égypte avait acquis de nouveau un caractère international de Convention de Londres.¹⁰²

Paris imposa la clause qu'au cas où Evelyn Baring n'arriverait pas à atteindre en Égypte un budget équilibré, il serait remplacé par la commission internationale qui assumerait alors une responsabilité sur l'administration financière du pays.¹⁰³ De nouveau, à la fin de 1887, il semblait que « *le scénario noir* » allait être inévitable et que le budget allait être déficitaire de nouveau. Mais Baring réussit à éviter le contrôle international sur les finances égyptiennes grâce à une astuce comptable en distribuant leurs salaires aux employés d'État dans l'année fiscale au lieu du 31 décembre.¹⁰⁴ On accomplit l'équilibre du budget en 1888 en augmentant les impôts et en pratiquant des coupes drastiques dans plusieurs champs d'action de l'appareil d'État, dans les chemins de fer, l'enseignement et la santé publique.¹⁰⁵

Entre-temps, les nouvelles de la chute de Khartoum et de la mort du général Charles Gordon sont arrivées à Londres. En conséquence, les opposants de Gladstone demandèrent le lancement de l'expédition de sauvetage de Garnet Wolseley conçue pour réduire en poussière les mahdistes et occuper de nouveau le Soudan. Le Premier ministre anglais approuva sous la contrainte

¹⁰⁰ OWEN, p. 220.

¹⁰¹ ROLO, p. 48.

¹⁰² LANGER, *Alliances and Alignments*, p. 306.

¹⁰³ MANSFIELD, p. 99; SANDERSON, *The Nile Basin and the Eastern Horn*, p. 620.

¹⁰⁴ MANSFIELD, p. 99; VALKOUN, *Egypt pod britským*, p. 46.

¹⁰⁵ GOMBÁR, p. 330.

la poursuite de l'expédition au Soudan, tout en insistant néanmoins sur le principe d'une évacuation après la débâcle des mahdistes.¹⁰⁶ En juin 1885, Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi mourut à Omdurman et fut remplacé par le calife Abdullah. Un mois plus tard Dongola avait été évacuée et les forces britanniques définitivement parties du pays.¹⁰⁷

En mars 1885, la situation politique de la France avait changé. La défaite française en Indochine avait accéléré la chute de Jules Ferry qui avait été remplacé par Freycinet le 1^{er} avril 1885. Celui-ci fit donc office de Ministre des Affaires étrangères pour la troisième fois dans sa carrière. Même si, après le départ de Ferry, l'antagonisme franco-britannique était un peu retombé, Londres et Paris devaient se disputer autour de l'affaire du journal *Le Bosphore Égyptien*.

Ce périodique dirigé depuis son début en 1883 par le propriétaire français Borelli était publié par une imprimerie française au Caire et faisait fonction de défense des intérêts français en Égypte. Ce journal était spécialisé dans les articles provocateurs, orientés contre les Britanniques et contre les représentants du gouvernement égyptien. Le 5 avril 1885, un article en arabe y fut publié avec le contenu d'une proclamation – apocryphe du Mahdi.¹⁰⁸

Le 8 avril 1885, l'imprimerie fut fermée et la publication de ce journal interdite. Les représentants du consulat français envoyés, le chancelier Taillet accompagné de 2 employés, furent expulsés par des forces de l'ordre égyptiennes. Le consul français, Saint-René Taillandier, formula une plainte chez Nubar Pacha.¹⁰⁹ L'éditeur Octave Borelli pouvait bénéficier des contrats de Capitulation existants qui lui assuraient, en tant que citoyen français, l'inviolabilité de sa propriété. Il déposa donc une plainte contre l'Égypte par

¹⁰⁶ ROLO, p. 49.

¹⁰⁷ VALKOUN, *Egypt pod britským*, p. 123.

¹⁰⁸ RAGATZ, p. 127; SAUL, p. 592.

¹⁰⁹ Saint-René Taillandier à Freycinet, Caire, le 8 avril 1885. France, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Documents Diplomatiques, Affaire du Journal *Le Bosphore Égyptien* (dénommée ci-après DD, AJBE), Paris 1885, No. 1, pp. 1–2.

l'intermédiaire des Cours de justice mixtes.¹¹⁰ Freycinet s'efforça de distinguer l'affaire du périodique lui-même et l'acte de fermeture de l'imprimerie, dont le propriétaire était citoyen français. Pour cette raison, selon Paris, il s'agissait d'un acte illégal.¹¹¹

Tandis que le Foreign Office soutenait le gouvernement égyptien, le ministre des Affaires étrangères français avait de la sympathie pour l'éditeur du Bosphore Égyptien. Le 9 avril 1885, Saint-René Taillandier envoya un télégramme à Freycinet selon lequel il était nécessaire d'obtenir satisfaction et réparation des insultes proférées contre les représentants du consulat français, le jour précédent.¹¹² Cet événement était donc devenu une question d'honneur. Quand l'affaire arriva devant la cour de justice, la France gagna et le journal obtint l'autorisation d'être publié de nouveau le 1^{er} décembre 1885.¹¹³ Le jeu était donc calmé pour Freycinet. L'homme politique français ne voulait plus entendre parler de « *la deuxième affaire du Bosphore* ». ¹¹⁴

Un autre point névralgique pour les puissances était la question de la neutralisation du Canal de Suez. Le gouvernement français visait à rouvrir les discussions sur les affaires politiques associées au passage libre par le Canal de Suez. Les négociations eurent lieu à Paris du 30 mars jusqu'au 13 juin 1885 dans le bâtiment du Ministère des Affaires étrangères en présence des représentants de la France, de l'Allemagne, de la Grande-Bretagne, de l'Autriche-Hongrie, de l'Italie, de la Russie, de l'Empire ottoman, de l'Espagne et des Pays-Bas.¹¹⁵

Les représentants de la France étaient le directeur de la section des affaires politiques Billot et le consul général français en Égypte Camille Barrère. Pour la Grande-Bretagne Julian Pauncefoot, le Sous-secrétaire d'État Permanent de

¹¹⁰ FITZMAURICE, p. 311.

¹¹¹ SAUL, p. 593.

¹¹² Saint-René Taillandier à Freycinet, Caire, le 9 avril 1885. DD, AJBE, No. 2, pp. 2–3.

¹¹³ RAGATZ, p. 127.

¹¹⁴ SAUL, p. 594.

¹¹⁵ Circulaire de Ferry, Paris, le 24 mars 1885. DDF, Série I, Tome V, No. 632–633, pp. 656–657.

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Foreign Office et sir Charles Rivers Wilson, le contrôleur général de la Caisse. Billot fut désigné Président de la commission. Les représentants britanniques avancèrent une proposition concernant la solution de l'affaire du canal de Suez dès la première session. Wilson et Pauncefote offraient de confier le contrôle sur le passage libre dans aux représentants égyptiens.¹¹⁶

Peu après les représentants français présentèrent leur projet ; ils demandaient l'installation de la commission internationale composée des représentants des puissances avec pour président un délégué de la Sublime Porte, le chargé du gouvernement égyptien n'ayant plus qu'une voix de consultation. La commission devait détenir un pouvoir identique à celui la Commission de navigation du Danube soumise à un contrôle collectif et obligatoire. Le projet français gagna le soutien de tous les participants de la conférence, à l'exception des représentants de la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Italie. La majorité des représentants s'intéressaient à l'internationalisation du canal de Suez, tandis que la Grande-Bretagne, soutenue partiellement par l'Italie, voulait imposer une politique de neutralisation. Même si le projet français gagnait plus de sympathie, il ne fut pas adopté. La conférence de Paris n'avait pas apporté de solution à l'affaire du Canal de Suez.¹¹⁷

À Londres, c'était le gouvernement conservateur qui était arrivé au pouvoir en Grande-Bretagne. En juin 1885, le premier ministre Gladstone fut remplacé par le marquis Salisbury qui assuma en même temps la fonction du chef du Foreign Office. Le marquis Salisbury craignait que l'influence de l'occupation britannique en Égypte ne pèse trop sur la « *balance of Powers* » dans la Méditerranée. Les unités militaires britanniques qui y restaient étaient facteur de troubles sérieux, comme l'antagonisme français ou la menace russe sur Constantinople. Salisbury voulait quitter l'Égypte le plus vite possible mais ne voulait pas prendre de risques et quitter Caire avant

¹¹⁶ Protocole 1, Paris, le 30 mars 1885. France, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Documents Diplomatiques, Commission International pour le libre usage du Canal de Suez, Avril-Novembre, Paris 1885, pp. 1–7.

¹¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 13; SAUL, p. 596.

d'être sûr que l'Empire ottoman soit capable de défendre les détroits du Bosphore, les Dardanelles et Constantinople contre l'Empire russe. À la fin de l'année 1884, le marquis avait même proclamé que « *la question de l'évacuation de l'armée britannique était une affaire d'honneur national* ». ¹¹⁸ Salisbury craignait qu'en cas du départ précoce de Caire, l'Empire ottoman instable succombe à la tension extérieure et le Canal de Suez ne tombe sous la griffe d'une autre puissance. ¹¹⁹

Salisbury annonça le 6 juillet 1885 qu'il allait envoyer auprès du Sultan un ambassadeur spécial britannique et le ministre Henry Drummond Wolff dont la tâche serait d'améliorer les relations et d'arriver à un accord concernant le départ des troupes militaires britanniques d'occupation d'Égypte. ¹²⁰ Le cabinet conservateur voulait maintenant seulement négocier avec Constantinople. La France faisait toujours le guet, « *prête à contredire tout effort sur le changement du statut juridique de l'Égypte* ». Freycinet affirma dans ce sens que « *la politesse et la cordialité ne manifestent pas que le gouvernement français ne s'intéresse plus à l'Égypte* ». ¹²¹

Le 24 octobre 1885 après leur arrivée à Constantinople, sir Henry Drummond-Wolff et le ministre des Affaires étrangères de l'Empire ottoman Gazi Muhtar Pasa signèrent une convention préliminaire qui portait sur l'arrivée de deux officiers de grande importance, tous deux approuvés par la Sublime Porte et Londres, qui négocieraient 6 points névralgiques ; parmi lesquels la réorganisation de l'armée égyptienne. La France croyait que « *la réorganisation de l'armée avec des bases fortes était une promesse de l'évacuation proche* ». ¹²²

Le 15 mars 1886, Waddington informa Freycinet que le Premier ministre britannique (à partir de février 1886 Gladstone de nouveau) avait affirmé lors d'une discussion avec l'ambassadeur de France qu'« *il regrettait toujours qu'un accord politique conclu entre Waddington et Grenville en*

¹¹⁸ GOMBÁR, p. 328.

¹¹⁹ ROBINSON – GALLAGHER – DENNY, p. 254.

¹²⁰ RAGATZ, p. 129.

¹²¹ SAUL, p. 598.

¹²² Ibidem.

*1884, contenant aussi un projet d'évacuation de l'Égypte prévu à la date du 1^{er} janvier 1888, n'ait jamais été accompli à cause des raisons financières, qui ont frappé les Britanniques en Égypte ».*¹²³

La mission de Drummond-Wolff dura trois mois. Le Quai d'Orsay prit la décision d'attendre qu'une date fixe du départ des troupes militaires de l'Égypte, soit déterminée par la Grande-Bretagne elle-même. La France était prête à faciliter ce départ plus tôt encore. En août 1886, le gouvernement conservateur gagna les élections en Grande-Bretagne avec le marquis Salisbury à sa tête.

Suite aux événements balkaniques (en octobre 1885 des insurrections avaient éclaté en Roumélie orientale), l'évacuation égyptienne fut considérée comme un moyen possible de calmer la France. La conception politique du marquis Salisbury fut mise en péril par un discours de Randolph Churchill, Chancelier de l'Échiquier, Secrétaire d'État pour l'Inde et membre puissant du gouvernement britannique, qui s'efforça de convaincre le Premier ministre de la nécessité du retour d'Urabi Pacha en Égypte.

Sir Randolph Churchill croyait que le plus efficace serait de suspendre le Khédive Tawfîq Pacha et d'y proclamer le protectorat britannique. Selon Rolo, Churchill préparait une véritable « *révolution diplomatique* », car il soutenait de l'alliance entre la Grande-Bretagne et la Russie dans le but de défendre la route des Indes et défendait donc dans ce but une politique d'occupation permanente de l'Égypte. La décision de Randolph Churchill de démissionner en 1886 présenta un grand soulagement pour Salisbury. En septembre et octobre 1886, le gouvernement italien proposa aux Britanniques leur soutien en Égypte. Lord Salisbury s'intéressait plus aux relations avec les Russes qu'avec les Français. En octobre 1886, lord Lyons reçut des instructions pour sonder Paris sur les conditions à travers lesquelles le gouvernement britannique pourrait retirer son armée d'Égypte.¹²⁴

¹²³ Waddington à Freycinet, Londres, le 15 mars 1886. DD, AE, 1884–1893, Paris 1893, No. 14, pp. 13–14.

¹²⁴ ROLO, p. 51.

La question de l'évacuation fut discutée au cours du novembre 1886 ; cette affaire devenant un grand sujet lors des débats entre l'ambassadeur français Waddington et les diplomates britanniques à Londres. Ceux-ci s'efforçant que les puissances européennes finissent par déterminer la période pendant laquelle la Grande-Bretagne aurait le droit de revenir en Égypte (avec des conditions convenues à l'avance) en cas de nouvelles émeutes ou d'autres dangers pour la sécurité du pays. Freycinet n'était pas contre cette proposition, mais à condition que la Grande-Bretagne détermine une date fixe pour le départ de ses troupes militaires de l'Égypte. Il affirma aussi que « *les réformes ne sont pas une condition de l'évacuation, mais par contre l'évacuation permet la réalisation des réformes* ». ¹²⁵ Pour cette raison il définit les objectifs de la politique française en 5 points, transmis par l'ambassadeur Waddington à Londres à Lord Iddesleigh. ¹²⁶

Il s'agissait de ces objectifs : 1) La Grande-Bretagne définit toute seule la date fixe de l'évacuation des troupes d'occupation du pays, 2) jusqu'au départ de l'armée celle-ci sera réorganisée, surtout grâce à l'aide des officiers de l'armée ottomane ; plusieurs conseillers étrangers peuvent être présents dans le pays, 3) au cours de cette période les réformes des autres parties de l'administration égyptiennes seraient préparées – les finances, les cours de justices, les Capitulations etc., mais on initierait ces réformes après le départ des troupes britanniques d'occupation, 4) après l'évacuation de l'Égypte la période temporaire sera déterminée au cours laquelle l'armée britannique pourra revenir dans le pays dans le but de rétablir l'ordre, 5) après cette période temporaire l'Égypte deviendra entièrement autonome et respectera le système des contrats internationaux et des firmans. ¹²⁷ La France comprit que les Anglais voulaient initier les réformes juste avant l'évacuation et s'efforceraient de démontrer ensuite que le pays n'était pas capable de devenir son propre maître. Baring

¹²⁵ SAUL, p. 599.

¹²⁶ NEWTON, p. 375.

¹²⁷ Freycinet à Lannes, Comte de Montebello, Paris, le 16 novembre 1886. DDF, Tome VI, Paris 1934, No. 367, p. 367.

argumenta que « *si les Britanniques sont partis de l'Égypte, on ne trouverait personne capable de continuer à œuvrer dans ce système de gouvernement compliqué et le pays tomberait dans le chaos* ». ¹²⁸

À la fin de l'année 1886, Drummond-Wolff, parti pour Londres, revint à Constantinople en janvier 1887 pour y initier de nouvelles négociations. Il s'efforça de trouver un accord avec la Sublime Porte sans faire participer Gazi Muhtar Pacha. Le 8 février Sir Henry présenta son mémorandum sur le droit de la Grande-Bretagne de réoccuper l'Égypte en cas de danger intérieur ou extérieur. En même temps, il contenait aussi la demande de laisser les officiers britanniques et les conseillers dans l'armée égyptienne. ¹²⁹ Le 28 février, la Porte répondit en demandant une date fixe du départ de l'armée d'occupation de la part de la Grande-Bretagne, puis réclama la nomination d'officiers ottomans aux fonctions responsables dans l'armée égyptienne. Enfin, la Porte demanda de quitter le droit de l'intervention réitérée en Égypte. ¹³⁰

Entre-temps, le 2 février 1887 l'ambassadeur français à Berlin Herbette avait informé le Président du Conseil Flourens de sa rencontre avec Edward Malet qui lui avait demandé « *si le temps de meilleures relations entre la France et la Grande-Bretagne est déjà arrivé ?* » Herbette répondit qu'il n'y avait qu'un seul obstacle entre les deux gouvernements – l'occupation de l'Égypte – qui pourrait être résolu très vite s'il y avait davantage d'efforts de la part de tous. En même temps, il avait indiqué à Molet que la France craignait que la Grande-Bretagne puisse prolonger l'occupation de l'Égypte et c'était la raison pour laquelle Paris demandait les garanties. ¹³¹ Malet termina la discussion par le fait que l'Empire ottoman voulait également négocier l'affaire égyptienne et que la Grande-Bretagne serait donc forcée de résoudre le problème en considération des demandes de la population ottomane. ¹³²

¹²⁸ VALKOUN, *Britská zahraniční politika*, p. 115.

¹²⁹ SAUL, p. 600.

¹³⁰ Imbert à Flourens, Péra, le 12 mars 1887. DD, AE, 1884–1893, No. 54, pp. 48–50.

¹³¹ Herbett à Flourens, Berlin, le 2 février 1887. DDF, Tome VI, No. 419, pp. 433–434.

¹³² Ibidem.

Le 22 mai 1887, la convention franco-britannique était enfin signée.¹³³ L'article 4 de la convention se référait à la situation problématique au Soudan et aux difficultés en Égypte et permettait donc à Londres d'exercer un contrôle sur l'administration militaire égyptienne. Pour cette raison la Grande-Bretagne pouvait tenir l'armée en Égypte avec le nombre qu'elle croyait nécessaire. L'article définit également que la Grande-Bretagne surveillerait la réforme de l'armée égyptienne.¹³⁴ L'article 5 définit que dans un délai de 3 ans l'armée d'occupation britannique pourrait quitter l'Égypte. Mais, l'article contenait aussi une formulation selon laquelle, si un danger apparaissait, la Grande-Bretagne aurait le droit d'ajourner l'évacuation et pourrait retirer ses unités militaires du pays après que la sécurité serait rétablie. Ensuite, l'article définissait aussi que tous les avantages mentionnés à l'article 4 ne seraient plus en vigueur 2 ans après le départ des troupes britanniques de l'Égypte.¹³⁵

La deuxième partie de l'article 5 éveilla le plus de controverses. Là il était défini le droit de l'Empire ottoman d'occuper Égypte militairement au cas où la province serait menacée par l'invasion, les troubles de l'ordre ou la sécurité intérieure. L'Empire ottoman pourrait intervenir également en cas de refus de faire honneur à ses obligations par le Khédive qui résultaient des contrats internationaux existants. La Grande-Bretagne était aussi autorisée à envoyer ses militaires en Égypte dans le cas des événements mentionnés ci-dessus. Les deux armées devaient agir en coopération et quitter le pays juste après la disparition du danger. Si le Sultan ne pouvait pas envoyer son armée d'intervention, il devrait envoyer au moins un commissaire ottoman qui rejoindrait provisoirement le commandant britannique.¹³⁶ L'article promettait à l'Égypte la sûreté territoriale et le Canal de Suez neutralisé.¹³⁷

¹³³ De Montebello à Flourens, Thérapia, le 22 juin 1887. DD, AE, 1884–1893, No. 72, pp. 62–66.

¹³⁴ J. C. HUREWITZ, *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics. A Documentary Record. European Expansion, 1535–1914*, Vol. 1, London 1975, pp. 452–454.

¹³⁵ Ibidem.

¹³⁶ Ibidem.

¹³⁷ De Montebello à Flourens, Thérapia, le 22 juin 1887. DD, AE, 1884–1893, No. 72, pp. 62–64.

Les puissances (France, Italie, Allemagne, Autriche-Hongrie et Russie) furent appelées à joindre leurs signatures au document. La convention devait entrer en vigueur si elle était ratifiée au plus tard un mois après la signature. La compétition franco-britannique en Égypte se déplaça donc à Constantinople. La France informa le Sultan avec le soutien de la Russie que le document n'était pas acceptable pour elle. La Russie dont l'intention était d'empêcher l'expansion britannique en Levant la soutenait. On ajouta aussi des menaces à la persuasion franco-russe.¹³⁸ L'ambassadeur russe à Constantinople Nelidov menaça d'occuper l'Arménie et de faire mouvement vers le Bosphore, tandis que son collègue français, le comte Montebello, menaça d'envahir la Syrie et Tripoli.¹³⁹

Le Sultan refusa de ratifier la convention, même si la reine Victoria l'avait déjà fait. La Sublime Porte proposa un nouveau projet dont une partie comportait un plan d'évacuation de l'Égypte dans un horizon de 3 ans et l'acceptation d'un droit exclusif d'intervention pour l'Empire ottoman, avec en plus une clause qui précisait que les dirigeants militaires britanniques pouvaient rester dans le pays encore 2 ans après l'évacuation de l'Égypte.¹⁴⁰ Le ministre des Affaires étrangères Flourens considérait cette proposition acceptable,¹⁴¹ cependant que le gouvernement britannique perdait patience et donna des instructions à Drummond-Wolff pour terminer les négociations et quitter Constantinople. Le cabinet français avait donc échoué à empêcher la Grande-Bretagne de gagner son droit à occuper de façon réitérée l'Égypte. La convention avait presque résolu la situation complexe des troupes britanniques en Égypte, ce qui représentait en fait son importance, même si elle n'était pas enfin ratifiée. Le gouvernement britannique n'avait plus à coopérer avec l'Empire ottoman dans cette affaire.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ SAUL, p. 601; FAHMY, p. 29.

¹³⁹ VALKOUN, *Egypt pod britským*, p. 51.

¹⁴⁰ De Montebello à Flourens, *Thérapie*, le 14 juillet 1887. DD, AE, 1884–1893, No. 73, pp. 66–68.

¹⁴¹ Flourens à de Montebello, Paris, le 15 juillet 1887. Ibidem, No. 74, p. 68.

¹⁴² RAGATZ, p. 130; SAUL, p. 601; MARLOWE, p. 163.

Les débats sur la convention avaient lieu à une époque où en Europe se déroulaient des négociations diplomatiques importantes qui formaient de futures alliances. Les événements en Bulgarie avaient rompu l'Entente des Trois Empereurs en 1887. Par conséquent, les relations entre la Triplice et la Grande-Bretagne s'étaient améliorées. Les relations entre l'Allemagne et la France restaient tendues, entre autres à cause de l'augmentation des crédits militaires destinés à l'armée française menée à partir de l'année 1886 par le général Boulanger, ministre de la Guerre. Le général Boulanger soutenait une guerre de revanche contre l'Allemagne, facteur de politique extérieure agressive. Au début du février 1887, la Chambre des Députés de France avait ainsi approuvé le montant de 86 000 000 francs pour les frais particuliers militaires. La France était passée par d'autres crise de politique intérieure. Face au « *boulangisme* », les relations s'étaient améliorées entre la Grande-Bretagne et l'Allemagne.¹⁴³

La crise s'approfondit encore plus à la suite de l'attitude du chancelier Bismarck qui considérait le programme militaire expansif de Boulanger comme un prétexte pour un nouveau conflit de guerre. En octobre 1887, une affaire de trafic de décorations d'État avait affaibli et rendu encore plus instable la politique intérieure française (le président Jules Grévy avait démissionné suite au scandale).¹⁴⁴ Paris était maintenant très sensible à tout changement dans les affaires égyptiennes. Au début du janvier 1887, des rumeurs concernant une menace de conflit proche entre la France et l'Allemagne se firent insistantes. Elles furent commenté par l'homme d'État Francis Villiers : « *de grandes préparations pour la guerre se déroulent partout en Europe, sauf en Grande-Bretagne.* »¹⁴⁵

Le dernier point de tension entre la France et la Grande-Bretagne était l'affaire du Canal de Suez. Au cours de l'octobre 1888, lord Salisbury visita la France et pendant son séjour, le 29 octobre 1888 à Constantinople, la

¹⁴³ SAUL, p. 601.

¹⁴⁴ OTTE, pp. 174–175.

¹⁴⁵ Ibidem.

convention sur le passage libre par le canal de Suez fut signée. Les signataires étaient la France, la Grande-Bretagne, l'Italie, l'Allemagne, l'Autriche-Hongrie, les Pays-Bas et l'Empire ottoman.¹⁴⁶

Le document était formé de 16 articles qui définissaient l'indépendance et l'ouverture du canal à l'époque de guerre et de paix pour tous les navires sous tous les drapeaux. Mais les actions de guerre sur le territoire du canal étaient interdites. En même temps, tous les zones du canal (avec le canal lui-même, le canal attendant d'eau douce, les ports de Port Said et de Suez, le lac de Timsa et le Grand et le Petit Lac Amer) ne pouvaient pas être bloqués.¹⁴⁷ C'était la clause restrictive qui était problématique, parce qu'elle n'était pas mentionnée dans la convention, mais juste dans une dépêche du marquis Salisbury destinée à Edwin Eggerton, le chargé d'affaires à Paris du 21 octobre 1887.¹⁴⁸

Déjà au cours des négociations de la conférence de Paris sur le libre passage par le canal de Suez en 1885 un représentant anglais et Julian Pauncefoot, le Sous-secrétaire permanent d'État de Foreign Office, avaient opposé que les restrictions militaires renfermées dans le projet de convention étaient en désaccord avec la présence militaire britannique dans le pays.¹⁴⁹ Les décisions comprises dans la convention n'avaient donc pu être accomplies avant la fin de l'occupation militaire britannique en Égypte. Les Anglais se réservaient le droit de ne pas exécuter la convention aussi longtemps que l'occupation de l'Égypte durait. Cette clause restrictive resta incluse dans le document jusqu'à 1904.¹⁵⁰

Par la signature de la convention sur le passage libre du Canal de Suez, la diplomatie française confirmait sa politique de conciliation menée depuis 1884.

¹⁴⁶ ROLO, p. 53; FREYCINET, p. 348.

¹⁴⁷ VALKOUN, *The British Foreign Policy and Egypt in the 1880s*, p. 125.

¹⁴⁸ Salisbury à Egerton, Foreign Office, le 21 octobre 1887. France, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Documents Diplomatiques, Négociations relatives au règlement international pour le libre usage du Canal de Suez, 1886–1887, Paris 1887, No. 50, pp. 93–96.

¹⁴⁹ ROLO, p. 53.

¹⁵⁰ GOMBÁR, p. 329.

Paris s'efforçait de créer les conditions qui faciliteraient le départ britannique de l'Égypte. Pour cette raison, lors des négociations avec les représentants britanniques, les délégués français n'évoquèrent qu'indirectement les affaires liées au statut politique de la province égyptienne et à son avenir.

La France s'efforça jusqu'à l'année 1887 de transformer le pouvoir britannique en Égypte en surveillance internationale du pays.¹⁵¹ Cette période se termina en 1888 quand les hommes politiques français se rendirent compte que toutes les espérances sur un départ anglais effectif de l'Égypte, opéré de façon amicale, étaient vaines. D'un autre côté, la Grande-Bretagne avait conscience du fait que le départ des unités militaires de l'Égypte ne résoudrait pas ses problèmes dans ses relations internationales. Londres craignait que ce départ consenti cause de nouveaux troubles sans améliorer ses relations avec Paris.¹⁵² Malgré les assurances données sur les relations d'amitié par Freycinet, le Foreign Office soutint l'opinion que la chance pour la France et la Grande-Bretagne d'être en bons termes était vraiment minimale. Lord Lyons quitta l'Ambassade de Paris en disant ces mots : « *L'Égypte est une blessure qui ne se guérira pas.* »¹⁵³

Abstract

When France rejected to join the Great Britain in military intervention in Egypt in 1882, the British decided to put down the policy of dual control in Egypt. This decision influenced the mutual relations of both countries for more than twenty years. The aim of this article was to analyse the attitude of France towards the British presence in Egypt. This article deals with development of the mutual British-French relations from 1882 to 1888 with regards to their interests in Egypt.

¹⁵¹ SAUL, p. 603.

¹⁵² OTTE, p. 159.

¹⁵³ Ibidem, p. 160.

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La France et l'occupation anglaise d'Égypte, 1882–1888

Keywords

Tall-al Kabir; British Occupation of Egypt; French Policy of Pinpricks; Great Britain; France; Anglo-French Relations 1882–1888

Russian Expansion, Self-reflection, and its Absence from Russian Policy – from Sarajevo to the Princes' Islands (1914–1919)

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From the middle of the 19th century onwards two fundamental, contrasting foreign policy doctrines developed in Russia; first Pan-Slavism promoting expansionism in Europe, then later Eurasian imperialism with a forceful Asian mission. The events of the 1880's changed European Russian foreign policy to concentrating on straits to the sea on the one hand and becoming friendly towards the Serbs on the other.¹ The defeat suffered at the hands of the Japanese in 1904–1905 lead to internal crisis and revolution in Russian, which Tsar Nicholas II and his circle attempted to handle with a degree of liberalization, a particular quasi parliament and the institution of the Duma. These policies reduced the brutal Russian governmental nationalist oppression introduced during the rule of Alexander III and gave the nationalities living within the territory of the empire and Russian society itself room to breathe.

The particularity of the state with Saint Petersburg at its center was that Russians were not in the majority.² Since the division of Poland in the

¹ After the Bulgarians, the Russians began to strongly support the Serbians as well. According to the older, orthodox based Russian expansionist concept both the Bulgarian and the Serbian nation counted equally as “brothers”. For more details on this process see: G. GECSE, *A külpolitika hatása az 1870-es, 1880-as évek orosz nagyhatalmi gondolkodására*, in: *Nemzetek és birodalmak. Diószegi István 80 éves*, Budapest 2010, pp. 177–191.

² Based on the 1897 census Russians comprised 44.2% of the Russian Empire although if taken together with the Ukrainians they could be considered a majority (62%). See M. HELLER –

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18th century there was constant friction with the largest Slavic nationality not sharing a religious denomination with the Russians: the Poles. In examining the chief element of the various Russian Pan-Slavic concepts resting primarily on an ethnocentric based foundation, it may be ascertained that following the dismantling of the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire the Russians did not wish to annex these territories to Russian directly but instead envisioned a federation of states over which Russia would have “only” supremacy.³ Following the 1905 Revolution from the outset of the institution of the Duma, Russians received greater representation in proportion to their percentage of the population. Consequently, from 1906 onwards, along with their greater representation in the Duma they also had greater influence there than the other nationalities.

For Saint Petersburg the greatest dilemma up until the outbreak of the First World War was caused by the Poles,⁴ who formed a separate fraction in the Russian Duma. Acknowledging the indefensibility of the old Pan-Slavic position with regard to the Poles, the Russian movement promulgating the union of all Slavs redefined itself as Neoslav. Three Neoslav congresses were held in total: in Prague in 1908, in Sofia in 1910 and in Belgrade in 1911.⁵ Whereas absent at the earlier 1867 Moscow Slavic Congress, Polish were now attendees to the 1908 Prague Congress. Their leader in the Duma, Roman Dmowski opposed German expansion and, similarly to the Czech

A. NYEKRICHS, *Orosz történelem 2. kötet. A Szovjetunió története*, Budapest 1996, p. 55; G. HOSKING, *Rossia i russkie*, Vol. 1, Moscow 2003, p. 423.

³ See for example the concepts outlined by Danilevsky, Fadeyev and Leontiev. G. GECSE, *Bizáncról Bizáncig. Az orosz birodalmi gondolat*, Budapest 2007, pp. 107, 115, 164.

⁴ The Polish-Russian congress taking place in Moscow in April of 1905 took the position of autonomy, but even more significant was the Pan-Russian zemstvo congress held in September, which took a similar position. According to the Tsar's May Decree the Polish language was introduced in primary schools in Polish territory and the establishment of Polish private middle schools was also permitted. K. RÁTZ, *A pánszlávizmus története*, Budapest 2000, reissue of the 1941 Volume, pp. 227–228.

⁵ Neoslavism is considered a Czech creation and is attributed to the Czech Karel Kramář was at that time orientating towards Russia rather than towards Austria. See A. Ya. AVREH, *Tsarism i tretyejjunszkaya sistema*, Moscow 1966, p. 91.

Karel Kramář active in the Parliament in Vienna, emphasized the necessity for Austria-Hungary and Russia to unite. This state of affairs was greatly exacerbated by the formal annexation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Monarchy.⁶

Shortly thereafter two wars were waged in the Balkan Peninsula. The first Russia considered to be a foreign policy success, as the Balkan block which was the foundation for outbreak of the war on October 13, 1912 had been formed with Russia's support.⁷ The division of the booty (mainly Macedonia), however, lead to a serious dispute between Serbia and Bulgaria, which in turn lead to the attack by Bulgaria on Serbia on June 27, 1913.

The Serbians, however, had by then entered an alliance against Bulgaria not only with the non-Slavic Romanians, but also with the "ancient enemy": the Turks.⁸ As a result of the Bucharest Peace Treaty of August 10, 1913 Serbia and Greece remained Entente orientated while Bulgaria did not. The relationship between the Russian leadership and the Czech parties on the other hand, further solidified in the wake of the wars in the Balkans.⁹

⁶ On September 16 of 1908 Russia gave its assent to the annexation provided that the Monarchy supported permitting the passage of the Russian military navy through the straights to the sea. Count Alexander Izvolsky was in Paris to negotiate the deal, however, when Vienna announced the annexation and thus the Russian Foreign Minister learned about the event from the newspapers. See I. MAJOROS – M. ORMOS, *Európa a nemzetközi küzdőtéren. Felemelkedés és hanyatlás 1814–1945*, Budapest 1998, p. 199. A peculiar contradiction at the time was that the Slavic representatives in the Parliament of the Habsburg Monarchy, the majority of whom sympathized with the Russians (such as the Czechs and the Southern Slavs), voted by a great majority for the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, while the Hungarians (and, of course for other reasons, the Serbs) were not at all enthusiastic about the action.

⁷ On March 13 of 1912 the Serbians and the Bulgarians entered into alliance, which was followed by an alliance between the Serbians and the Greeks to which Montenegro soon joined. In December of 1912 the war ending in Turkish defeat was ended with a peace concluded in May of 1913, which also established Albania's independence. E. PALOTÁS, *Kelet-Európa története a XX. század első felében*, Budapest 2003, p. 66.

⁸ The Bulgarians had succeeded in retaining only the Thracian seaside and the Struma River Valley amongst the territories gained in the previous war: essentially a tenth of Macedonia. The Turks regained Adrianople, while the Romanians Southern Dobrudja. See PALOTÁS, p. 68.

⁹ In 1913 Václav Klobuč, the head of the Czech National Socialist Party offered the Party's assistance to the Russian secret service. I. MAJOROS, *Vereségtől a győzelemig. Franciaország a nemzetközi kapcsolatok rendszerében (1871–1920)*, Budapest 2004, p. 218.

Sergei Sazonov, appointed Russia's minister of foreign affairs in 1910,¹⁰ attempted unsuccessfully to persuade the Balkan states and the Porte to enter an alliance against Austria-Hungary.¹¹ Following the assassination in Sarajevo in June 1914 the radicals of the Russian rightwing were not enthusiastic about a clash with the Germans, while (primarily) the liberals succeeded in persuading the greater part of Russian society, including Nicholas II himself, to support the war. It was the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy which, on July 28 of 1914, triggered the First World War by declaring war on Serbia. Nevertheless amongst the Great Powers only Russia, in an anti-German position represented by Sergei Sazonov,¹² made no secret of the fact that she aimed to destroy the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy,¹³ even though in Russia's peace treaty draft Sazonov outlined a trialist Habsburg Monarchy comprised of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.¹⁴ Russia, with her allies Great Britain and France, succeeded on the March of 1915 in officially having endorsed the so-called Constantinople Agreement, according to which, in the event of an Entente victory she would have gained Constantinople, the western coast of the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles and a strip of Southern Thracia.¹⁵

Paradoxically the Russians did not take substantive steps prior to the First World War in the interest of realizing their claims with regard to Constantinople, for they were waiting for a victorious end to the war to bear

¹⁰ Sergei Dmitriyevich Sazonov held this post until June 1916.

¹¹ Sazonov belonged to the pro-war faction within the Saint Petersburg government. See F. FEJTŐ, *Rekviem egy hajdanvolt birodalomért. Ausztria-Magyarország szétrombolása*, Budapest 1997, pp. 46–47.

¹² The most certain method of hitting Germany with a blow and preventing her ambitions to world power is to destroy the toppling building of the Habsburg Monarchy. Sz. D. SZAZÓNOV, *Végzetes évek*, n.d., p. 314.

¹³ The Russians in September and November of 1914 signaled to their French allies that they wish to procure a reinforced naval base on the Bosphorus and in Thracia, as well as to destroy Austria-Hungary. FEJTŐ, p. 49.

¹⁴ Nevertheless in talks with the French ambassador in Saint Petersburg several months later Sazonov again stressed that "Austria-Hungary must be dismembered." January 1, 1915. MAJOROS, p. 216.

¹⁵ H. KOHN, *Pan-Slavism. Its History and Ideology*, New York 1960, pp. 257–258. For more details on the Constantinople Agreement see: SZAZÓNOV, pp. 358–362.

fruit.¹⁶ The course of the war was taking however, did not look as their hopes would be realized. Between 1916 and 1917 it was not Russia, but instead the Central Powers which succeeding in bringing the intermediary European territories, the co-called *Zwischeneuropa*,¹⁷ under their control. As far as the parties in the Duma were concerned, in August 1915 the Kadets, along with the Octobrists, the Centrists and the moderate right wing formed the Progressive Block in opposition to the Tsar's policies, to which the Tsar responded by breaking up the session of the Duma.

Although the major offensive lead by General Brusilov in the summer of 1916 was successful, it came with massive losses.¹⁸ The crippling of Russia by the war strengthened the circle in the Tsar's court supporting the conclusion of a separate peace with Germany. This also explains the dismissal of the Entente friendly Sazonov in the summer, but the announcement by the Central Powers of the formation of an independent Poland in the November of 1916 exacerbated the Russian government's situation. When Nicholas II convened the Duma session for the first of November it turned out that the great majority of Russia's political players, in spite of the depletion of the country's human and

¹⁶ The Russians did not develop their Black Sea navy significantly in comparison to the navy in the Baltics. In addition they had planned to expend only a fraction of the amount designated for the development of the Black Sea navy in 1914 (25 million rubles from the total allotment of 112 million rubles for the period between 1914 and 1917). This was the subject of the February 21, 1914 special session. See Yu. B. LUNIEVA, *Bosphor i Dardanelli. Tayniye provokatsii nakanune Pervoj mirovoj vojni (1907–1914)*, Moscow 2010, pp. 203–210, 243.

¹⁷ It was primarily between the two World Wars that the territory between Russian and Germany was called *Zwischeneuropa*, a term first used by German scholars in 1916. Cited by I. ROMSICS, *Nemzet, nemzetiség, állam Kelet-Közép- és Délkelet-Európában a 19. és 20. Században*, Budapest 1998, p. 18.

¹⁸ The figures on the death toll in the intense three month battle are contradictory. According to British sources the German death toll reached 1 million whereas Austria-Hungarian and Russian sources put this number close to 350,000. http://www.historyofwar.org/articles/battles_kovel_stanislav.html. In an earlier work Nelipovich however, reports that the Russian losses were far greater at 1,650,000 See: <http://www.pereplet.ru/history/Author/Russ/N/Nelipov/Articles/brusil.html#n3>, as well as his newer book published in 2006 in which the number of Russian losses is stated to be 1,446,334. S. G. NELIPOVICH, *Brusilovskii proriv*, Moscow 2006, p. 45. In spite of their success the Russians were unable to complete their victory. See N. I. TSIMBAYEV, *Istoria Rossii XIX – nachala XX vv.*, Moscow 2004, pp. 397–399.

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physical resources, continue to support carrying on the war for an anticipated final victory. Prime Minister Stürmer was charged with being a German stooge, who thwarted the intention by the Tsar to conclude a separate peace. In December of 1916 the assassination of Rasputin, who had maintained great influence over Empress Alexandra, succeeding in convincing those who had been up to then in doubt that the state of the court was untenable.¹⁹ Following these events the outbreak of the 1917 February Revolution contributed to the fulfillment of destiny and the Tsar, with little opposition, relinquished power. The Liberals, the Octobrists and the Social Revolutionaries forming a government in Russia in March of 1917 ensured autonomy to the Poles,²⁰ and ratified the Finnish Constitution. According to the Lvov government's position, from the Russian standpoint after the overthrow of Tsarism and the victory of the revolution the war had lost its imperial character and had now become a revolutionary fight for national defense. The attempt, therefore, to mobilize the population in the interest of a victorious end to the war continued. During the course of the revolution, however, a number of soviets, i.e. councils, had been formed alongside of the Provisional Government across the country and in the capital city as well, resulting in the emergence of a dual authority over the country. In contrast to the government the soviets, were not pro-war. The Petersburg City Council, the Petrograd Soviet gave voice most fervently to the mood of the masses, which resulted in a number of disputes with the Provisional Government. The anti-war mood became so great that on April 26, 1917 Foreign Minister Pavel Milyukov, having supported the fight to a final victory, gave in to the pressure of the mass demonstrations and resigned from his post in early May 1917, along with Minister of War Alexander Guchkov. The one single person

¹⁹ The most vocal of these was the liberal Constitutional Democratic Party which demanded that Russia be capable of maintaining her international position as a strong nation. See HELLER – NYEKRICS, p. 12, as well as TSIMBAYEV, pp. 406–407.

²⁰ Whereas the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies recognized the right of the Poles to independence, the Provisional Government in its proclamation to the people of Poland on March the 16th, 1917 mentions only a "Polish state unified with Russian in a free military alliance", i.e. it offered less to the Poles than did the Central Powers. See I. DOLMÁNYOS, *A nagy forradalom krónikája*, Budapest 1967, pp. 102–103.

who had consistently proclaimed a program of an immediate peace was Vladimir Illich Lenin, who had returned to Petersburg from exile in April of 1917. His program which he had outlined in 1914 remained the same: the goal being “*to transform the imperialist war into civil war*”.²¹ Lenin formulated the “all power to the Soviets” motto as well, which suggested the non-violent overthrow of the Provisional Government.

Following the Petersburg demonstrations Georgy Lvov attempted to stabilize the Provisional Government by forming a socialist coalition with the cooperation of the Social Revolutionaries. When he felt that this succeeded, he wished to support his endeavors with a foreign policy success. In this he found a fitting partner in Minister of War and the Navy Alexander Kerensky who, in June of 1917, directed General Brusilov to mount a new offensive.²² This action, however, resulted in an ignominious defeat leading to the fall of the Lvov government and then to the formation of a single party government by the Social Revolutionaries,²³ the head of which was Alexander Kerensky, who retained his post as Minister of War.²⁴

After March of 1917 not one of the Russian civil coalition governments was willing to resign from representing “Russian national interests”. The ever growing military exhaustion played a decisive role in the Bolsheviks (who had consistently agitated against the war and had declared national interest to be a fabrication) seizing power in November of 1917. Following the proclamation of the peace treaty the Russian communists expressed their anti-imperial policy also in making public secret agreements of earlier Russian

²¹ The RSDWP proclamation published in Switzerland on the first of November in 1914 was entitled “The war and Social Democracy”. From the motto “to transform the imperialist war into civil war” came directly another motto: the defeat of one’s own governments in the imperialist war. See *A Kommunista Internacionálé*, Budapest 1971, pp. 26–27.

²² According to the old Russian calendar this was waged from June 18, 1917 to July 1, 1917. The Gregorian calendar notes the beginning of the offensive to be July 1.

²³ More than half of the 300,000 soldiers remained dead on the battlefield. The outcry in the capital was so great that the Government was forced to resign. LENGYEL, pp. 18–19. Other works on this topic state the death toll to be around 60,000 on the Russian side, but certain lists state this number to be 400,000. See <http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kerenszkij-offenzíva>.

²⁴ I. DOLMÁNYOS, *A Szovjetunió története II. (1917–1966)*, Budapest 1982, pp. 33–34, 42.

governments: thus the Anglo-Russian agreement concluded in the spring of 1915 on the distribution of the territory of the Ottoman Empire, according to which Russia would have received Constantinople and the straits to the sea.

In December of 1917 the Bolsheviks concluded an armistice with the Central Powers following which they initiated peace negotiations. On their part Leon Trotsky representing the position of “neither war, nor peace” ending up signing nothing.²⁵ A few weeks later, with less favorable conditions, the Bolsheviks concluded the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany on March the 3rd, 1918, according to which the Russians surrendered not only the Baltic region, but also vast Slavic territories, consequently major parts of Poland and Ukraine as well.²⁶

Following the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty the Entente treated Soviet-Russia as an enemy. This may be explained by the fact that Romania occupied Bessarabia with no opposition, likewise the British the Caucasian territories, and in December of 1918 France took over Odessa.²⁷ On September 20, 1918 the Ottoman Empire occupied Baku, to which the Soviet of People's Commissars reacted by declaring this act to be a breach by Istanbul of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, and therefore the treaty void. As soon as the German Empire as the defeated party put down its arms on November 11, 1918, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee repealed the Brest-Litovsk Treaty in one decree on November 13, 1918.²⁸

²⁵ The Bolsheviks received 24% of the vote in the elections which took place in December 1917, while the Social Revolutionaries received 40.4%. N. DAVIES, *Európa története*, Budapest 2002, p. 861; HELLER – NYEKRICHS, p. 32. Werth gives these percentages in real numbers. N. VERT, *Istoria sovietskogo gosudarstva 1900–1991*, Moscow 1994, p. 122.

²⁶ József Galántai summarizes the territorial losses of the Russian Empire under the terms of Brest-Litovsk as follows: with the recognition of the independence of the Polish, the Ukrainian, the Georgian and the Armenian territories in total 60 million people and 1.42 million square kilometers of land in addition to the loss of 75% of Russia's iron and steel industry. I. NÉMETH (Ed.), *XX. századi egyetemes történet, I.kötet*, Budapest 2006, p. 31.

²⁷ Only 3 military divisions were available (compared to the originally planned 12), and from these one was incapacitated as the soldiers had been hit with an epidemic. The first divisions of the French troops arrived on December 18, 1918 to Odessa and its environs. J. K. MUNHOLLAND, *The French Army and Intervention in Southern Russia 1918–1919*, in: *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, 1981, pp. 45–47.

²⁸ The course of the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations is detailed in Yu. Ya. TERESCHENKO, *Istoria Rossii XX-nachala XXI vv.*, Moscow 2004, pp. 60–61.

Preceding their withdrawal the Germans had transferred power of the occupied territories to the local national councils which had formed in the interim. The battles between the civil and the left wing forces thus began in these territories, and the left wing was universally supported by Moscow. Thus in November 1918 the Council of People's Commissars recognized the independence of the Soviet Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and consequently the year of 1919 in these republics was one full of battle between the supporters of civil independence and those of the Bolsheviks. Following the capitulation by the Germans, Poland under the leadership of Józef Piłsudski, however, became a major dilemma for Moscow as on November the 14th in 1918 Piłsudski and his supporters launched an attack on the Bolsheviks.

Russia and the Versailles Peace Conference

Between November of 1917 and the autumn of 1918 battles broke out between the Bolsheviks and their rivals in the central Russian territories. Kerensky was the last Russian head of government recognized by the Entente who, however, following a few clashes at the end of 1917 with a few formations loyal to him, could consider himself lucky to be able to escape the country with his skin intact. By 1918 two Russian anti-revolutionary centers of power with significant military force had formed in the territory of the Empire: one was from the Urals to the east where Alexander Kolchak had been first the minister of war for the Russian government which had been set up there before he took power at the end of the year; the other was the Volunteer Army active in the southern territories of the Russian Empire, first under the command of Kornilov, then by the autumn of 1918 under Anton Denikin. Both considered themselves to be heirs of Imperial Russia and attacked the Bolsheviks as Great Russian nationalists. The members of the Russian Constituent Assembly, who had become representatives of the legislative assembly on January of 1918 via the only legitimate elections held in Russia, met in Archangelsk in the eastern part of Russia, although they lacked any real military support.

Although by November 1918 the Entente had won the First World War essentially without Russia, it was undeniable that up until 1917 Russia had contributed significantly to victory on the Eastern Front. The Bolsheviks, proclaiming a position of peace without annexation and reparations as well as the sovereign rights of nations were closer to the position taken by the American President Wilson, while at the same time they were declaring an all-out war on the capitalist world order as well.²⁹

Incidentally at the end of 1919 the victorious allies were not convinced that Bolshevism would not spread further into Europe, even perhaps into their own countries. It was, therefore, a major achievement under these circumstances that the former Foreign Minister of the Russian Empire, Sergei Sazonov was able to obtain the backing of the Leader of the southern Russian white Volunteer Army, Anton Denikin and also that of Admiral Alexander Kolchak (who had proclaimed himself commander-in-chief) for him to represent “the interests of the true Russia” at the Versailles Peace Conference. Sazonov was aided in great measure by Karel Kramář, also in Paris (officially representing Czechoslovakia) and who viewed Russia to be of key significance both from the point of view of Czechoslovakia and of the world order as well and considered the Bolsheviks to be so pernicious that he would have been willing to send the Czech legions into battle against them.³⁰

In the fall of 1918 Sazonov formed the Russian Policy Advisory Council (RPS³¹) in Paris, whose tasks included outlining extensive preparatory documents for the peace process.³² The select cabinet of the RPS, the so-called

²⁹ Wilson did not encourage the Allied Powers to bring in nations into the negotiations who had made a separate peace with Germany, and the agents of which were attempting to topple their governments. H. KISSINGER, *Diplomácia*, Budapest 1996, p. 255.

³⁰ Kramář saw a quasi foreign policy guarantee to Czechoslovakia's existence in the Russians. Ye. P. SERAPIONOVA, *Karel Kramarzh i Rossiya*, Moscow 2006, p. 281, Masaryk and Benes did not support Kramář's idea to intervene in Russia's internal affairs as they thought that Bolshevism would sooner or later fall automatically. Ibidem, p. 283.

³¹ Rossiyskoe Politicheskoe Soveschanie.

³² Not only diplomats and politicians, but also generals who had been in command in World War I participated in the work which included drafting decisions related to border designations.

Russian Political Delegation (RPD³³) was soon set up, the task of which was to take part in the peace negotiations. The Council was composed of three members: in addition to Sazonov was Vasily Maklakov, the former ambassador to Paris of the Provisional Government and Nicolai Chaykovsky, the president of the Provisional Government set up in the eastern Russian territory. (Boris Savinkov was to join only later). Former Prime Minister and Interior Minister of the Provisional Government, Prince Georgy Lvov was chosen as the head of the Delegation. They formed their position on November 7, 1918, which deviated from the traditional Russian imperial concept on one point: they were willing to give up Poland, but they were unwilling to relinquish any other territories of the Russian state. Moreover, they counted on Galicia, Bukovina and Ruthenia³⁴ being annexed to Russia. Nor did the Russians wish to recognize the independence of the Baltic states and they wanted to ensure passage for Russia to the Black and Caspian seas.³⁵ The ambitions of the Russian anti-revolutionary forces waging war against the Bolsheviks were, therefore, (particularly considering their capabilities at that point) greatly exaggerated. Following a period of some thought on January 12, 1919 the Allied Powers, on the suggestion of French Foreign Minister Pichon ended up deciding not to provide a seat for Russia amongst the victorious powers at the Peace Conference³⁶. Nevertheless on January 16, 1919 at a meeting of the Council of Ten Lloyd George did raise the question as to what should be the relationship with Russia? He thought it mad to think that Bolshevism could be brought down with military force. The Versailles Peace Conference

³³ Rossiyskaya Politicheskaya Delegatsiya.

³⁴ Also known as Subcarpathia (Kárpátalja in Hungarian) and Sub Carpathian Rus. This territory, now better known as Ruthenia, been part of the Hungarian kingdom since its foundation in 1000 until 1919. For a detailed history on the area see works by Robert Paul Magocsi from the University of Toronto. See <http://dmorgan.web.wesleyan.edu/easteur/map1930.htm>.

³⁵ Serapionova confirms that the British were more supportive of the Baltic nations than of the Russians concerning the passages to the sea. See SERAPIONOVA, pp. 288–289.

³⁶ Although they did offer Russia the option to express her position in memoranda. Ibidem, pp. 286–287.

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was opened two days later on January 18, 1919.³⁷ The British Prime Minister thought it important to obtain information on the true balance of power and the situation with regard to the Russians. His only remark was that it was to be stipulated that Lithuania and Poland be evacuated. According to Lloyd George to harbor hopes in Denikin, Kolchak and in the Czechoslovak army was like “building a sandcastle”. The ensuing reaction was interesting and France, for instance, strongly objected to the proposal by the British Prime Minister. Therefore the debate was postponed until January 21, 1919 at which time the possibility of a more serious intervention was again brought up. This possibility had been rejected earlier by Lloyd George, nor was it supported by the American president. Lloyd George felt it worth organizing the defense of various independent nations, referring to Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and Finland. In the meantime the Bolsheviks had taken control not only of the capital of the country, but also of the central territories of Russia.³⁸

Finally Woodrow Wilson proposed a congress for all powers having formed within the territory of the Russian Empire. He suggested inviting them to the islands of *Thessaloniki* or *Limnos* and, moreover, to invite not only the Russian anti-revolutionary forces but also the Bolsheviks and the various independent national governments, a proposal which Clemenceau strongly opposed.³⁹ The next day, on January 22, 1919 the American president proposed Princes' Islands at Istanbul's entrance to the Sea of Marmara as the site of the congress, and the proposal was then sent to all the various organizations.⁴⁰

³⁷ In contrast to the Vienna Conference held one hundred years previously, here right from the outset the conquered powers were not allowed to participate: notes Henry Kissinger in his tome on the history of diplomacy. KISSINGER, p. 227.

³⁸ Luckily for the Bolsheviks, there were serious conflicts also amongst the various anti-revolutionary groups, which in turn reinforced Lenin. General Alekseyev wrote to his Russian representative to England in the summer of 1918 that he would rather cooperate with Lenin and Trotsky than with Savinkov and Kerensky. See HELLER – NYEKRICS, p. 67.

³⁹ Clemenceau stated his concern with regard to the spread of Bolshevism throughout Europe. Sonino Italian Foreign Minister would have sent only volunteers as interventionists to Russia. http://www.diphis.ru/princevi_ostrova-a496.html.

⁴⁰ On January 24 of 1919 a radio announcement was made to all organizations within the

Wilson's suggestion was to invite, based on his Fourteen Points, three representatives for preliminary consultation from all the organized groups from the territory of the Russian Empire with political or military power, other than Finland and Poland. Conflict amongst the groups was to be suspended for the duration of the meetings. The congress would have been convened in the interest of forming a common position. Princes' Islands were chosen as the site because the Allied Powers had entered the area following November 1918, and it was close to all Russian territories and therefore the delegates would have been able to access it relatively easily. The costs would have been covered by the Allied Powers and the planned date was set for February 15, 1919.

The offer to convene on Princes' Islands was extended to the representatives of the Baltic and the Caucasian states, in addition to the Bolsheviks and the whites.⁴¹

On February 2, 1919 Maklakov wired to Omsk that the recognition of Finland was a fait accompli. Regarding Bessarabia the Romanians are "*plotting*", he wrote, while the Poles are planning to form a federation with Lithuania and are making claims for a part of Belorussia, as well as for Eastern Galicia. On the same day Kolchak and his circle sent a cable via Foreign Minister Vologodsky that "the enemies of civilization (the Bolsheviks) are going to fight *"to the bitter end"*. *"On Princes' Islands they will be willing only to condemn Bolshevism and to enter into no other sort of negotiations."* Omsk sent a similar reply on February 5, 1919.

The French, counting on the success of their own expedition forces and on that of the whites, intimated to the Russians that they should reject the invitation. In spite of this Odessa sent a detailed list on February 3, 1919, in which they left out the local Bolsheviks. Maklakov sent a supplementary explanation on February 26, 1919 in which he called attention to the fact that the invitation was not to parties but to "*existing power structures*" having governmental and military power.

territory of the Russian Empire. MAJOROS, *Vereségtől a győzelemig*, p. 188.

⁴¹ Why did the West not begin to fight Russia? See <http://www.volk59.narod.ru/interpost.htm>.

From the Eastern Territory's Provisional Government in Archangelsk the message was that they: "*consider the armistice with the enemy to be detrimental, as the Bolsheviks respect neither international treaties nor international agreements.*"

On the tenth of February Maklakov sensed that Washington's position was becoming unfavorable towards the Russian White forces: "*who are unable to liquidate Bolshevism on their own, and the reason for their dependence on foreign powers is the lack of support by the people.*"⁴² Russian anti-revolutionary forces felt Wilson's proposal to be "*a stab in the back*" and to be "*another Brest*".

On the part of the Soviet of People's Commissars G.V. Chicherin, Commissar of Foreign Policy sent a wire on February 4, 1919 in which the Soviets declared they were ready to pay installments on the debts of Tsarist Russia and of the Provisional Government. The Russian Political Advisory Council in Paris reacted to the proposal on February 16, 1919, i.e. after the planned date of the congress. They stated that no sort of armistice was conceivable between the national forces and the Bolsheviks who "*are able to remain in power only by means of terror*" and rejected the proposal because the congress would have "*decidedly detrimental results*". So whereas the Bolsheviks reacted diplomatically,⁴³ the whites rejected the idea with outrage, and thus by March of 1919 the initiative, primarily due to the position of the latter, was defeated.⁴⁴ The Supreme Council at its session on March 25, 1919 was therefore forced to decide on whether or not to reinforce its Odessa base

⁴² The "reactionary character" of the Don and Siberia on liberal politicians such as Wilson made doubtful the support of such white forces who were thinking along the lines of forming an authoritarian system and who wished to reinstate a Russia with an expansionist foreign policy. See S. LISTKOV, *Russkoe politicheskoe soveshchanie i W. Wilson na Parizhskoi mirnoi konferentsii*, in: http://www.perspektivy.info/history/ruskoje_politicheskoe_sovesshhanije_i_v_vilson_na_parizhskoj_mirnoj_konferencii_2009-01-20.htm.

⁴³ There was no mention of an armistice in the Bolsheviks' reply. Furthermore, they stressed that nothing would be able to hold back the building of socialism in the Soviet Union. See http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Совещание_на_Принцевых_островах.

⁴⁴ From amongst the Baltic nations the Estonians and the Latvians were hoping for international recognition of their nations from this event, while the Georgians for example referred to the fact that Russia was the topic at hand, with which they have nothing to do and therefore they don't even wish to hear of the matter. N. A. NAROCHNITSKAYA, *Rossiya i russkie v mirovoi istorii*, Moscow 2004, p. 232.

or to shut it down. It decided on the latter option and with this the fate of the planned great intervention was sealed. It was not to happen.⁴⁵

The Soviet government recognized the sovereign rights of the nationalities. Theoretically this included the possibility of independence, i.e. the right to secede from the Soviet State. Joseph Stalin, who was later to become the People's Commissar for Nationalities Affairs, was the first to formulate this right, with the aid of Bukharin, in 1913 in his article entitled "Marxism and the National Question". The Soviet leadership proceeded in this spirit when on November 15, 1917 it proclaimed the right to collective sovereignty in its decree on "The rights of peoples". In January of 1918 the Finns declared their sovereignty and were followed in this by the Poles and the Baltic peoples of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.⁴⁶

The Communist Party's position rejecting traditional Russian imperial policy was seemingly consistent in these years. Nonetheless with regard to the right of sovereignty of peoples one cannot overlook the fact that the Party made concessions only in matters of the nationalities on the periphery, and even then not always.

Lenin's Bolshevik general staff was not overjoyed at the proclamation of the Hungarian Republic of Councils on March 21, 1919 as it had been counting on not only revolutionizing the territories of the former Monarchy, but also Germany as well. It was in the days just before the Hungarian Republic of Councils was proclaimed that the First Communist International had been established for the purpose of organizing world revolution.⁴⁷

Summary

The Comintern, as the Third International was referred to, declaredly took as its point of departure that in the time of communist revolutions "*the liberation of the peoples must be achieved*".⁴⁸

⁴⁵ MAJOROS – ORMOS, pp. 256–257.

⁴⁶ A commonality amongst them was that they were all close to Europe, and the European influence prevailed in their territories. KOHN, p. 279.

⁴⁷ *A Kommunista Internacionálé válogatott dokumentumai*, Budapest 1975, pp. 13–20, as well as 1920 party rules ibidem, pp. 53–57.

⁴⁸ The founding congress (March 2–6, 1919) minutes ibidem, p. 14.

In the period at issue, although their ambitions were global, in reality even though the foreign policy of the Bolsheviks was based to a significant degree on the rejection of Pan-Slavism, it also remained European centered. Their position was not free from contradiction, as although they were mainly counting on revolutionizing the wartime enemy of Germany, at the same time they practiced realpolitik. The need to consolidate the state power of the Bolsheviks simultaneously required that they forsake not only the Russian objectives of the war: i.e. those of procuring the straights to the sea and gaining Constantinople, Ruthenia, Galicia and Bukovina, but also that they relinquish such territories of the Russian Empire the dis-annexation of which was seen by the majority of the Russians to be unnatural: i.e. Ukraine, Bessarabia, and the Caucasian nations, although it is conceivable that the independence of Finland, Poland and even the Baltic states could have been digested.

The Russian national rightwing program was not free from contradiction either. It outlined an uncompromising annexation program in both the Central European region and also in the region of the Bosporus. By mid-1917, however, it was evident that it would be unable to realize this program alone, and by July 1917 politically both the Kadets and the Octobrists were removed from the Provisional Government due to the intolerance by Russian society of these factions' own expansionist policies. For them remained the blind belief in the victory of the Allied Powers, while only socialist parties: the Social Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks were ruling at the center in the Provisional Government. The Kadets and the Octobrists began to organize in the marginal territories, but in addition to the fact that they were unable to count on the support of the nationalities making up more than half of the Empire, they could not recover the support of the majority of the Russian population either. The fall in production further exacerbated the situation. The lack of any gains from the war increased the popularity of Bolsheviks who had been promoting a foreign policy nihilistic from the outset, which led to Lenin and his circle being able to solidify their power following the revolution of October 1917. The program of relinquishing traditional expansion and

breaking with the former foreign policy objectives seemed to be the lesser destructive of two evils. Thus unfolds the tale of gradual failure of Russian Pan-Slavism pushing European expansionism in the period between the assassination at Sarajevo and the planned congress at Princes' Islands. In the course of these events the Tsar and his circle were confronted with the scope of the fiasco although, perhaps due to the particular Russian governmental structure, mainly the traditional civil parties of the Duma were not. While the Tsar and his supporters were almost immediately ejected from the power structure, the Octobrist and Kadet members of the Duma left only a half year later and due to a number of major foreign policy blunders they drifted to the periphery. The greater part of the Social Revolutionary Party was expelled by the open dictatorship of the Bolsheviks, definitively in January 1918. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was, from a Bolshevik viewpoint, not about foreign policy goals but about survival and which the Bolsheviks repealed as soon as they were able to. As the burdens of the war were born by Russia and thus she contributed to the defeat of Germany to a significant degree, it would have been morally justified for Russia to participate at the Versailles Peace Conference. (From a political power perspective, just as for all the defeated nations who were not allowed to participate either, consequently for Germany as well). These, mainly Anglo-Saxon initiatives in January and February of 1919 did attempt one thing, but a compromise, and thus participation at the Peace Conference, was made impossible by the enmity by all parties towards each other. The Bolsheviks were the ones to sense the divisiveness of the Great Powers when they reacted to the invitation to the Princes' Islands, as the "carrot" held out of payment of the debts incurred by the Tsarist governments and the Provisional government was designed for the French. The French, however, played deaf to the proposal as they were hoping for the collapse of the system. Therefore the peace treaty to be concluded with the Russians failed due to the opposition of the various Russian anti-revolutionary centers, to the civil war taking place on the territory of Russia, and in part due to the resistance by the French as well.

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It seems in any case to be certain that the various political groups endeavored consistently to realize their own objectives. The question, however, remains: to what degree that did what occurred in Russia come about due to lack of inexperience with power, simple stupidity or to the unnatural degree of reliance on foreign allies?

Abstract

Russian expansionism in Europe during World War I – despite the temporary victories - by the end of 1916 concluded to an occasional and by the spring of 1918 a decisive defeat. Tsar Nicholas II was the first who was willing to take steps towards peace that led to the fiasco of Tsarism which was the most influential cause of the Russian Revolution and foundation of the Russian Republic by the end of February in 1917. The new Russian Provisional government had been emphasizing the goal of the final victory continuously, which led to the victory of the anti-expansionist Bolshevik movement. Lenin's followers had signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany, Austro-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria at the spring of 1918, but after the defeat of the Central Powers in the autumn of 1918 the Bolshevik government declared it null and void in all respects. The Allied Powers originally counted on the participation of Russia at the peace talks in Versailles, but by January 1918 they changed their mind. At the same time they had made steps to bring about a joint Russian position, so they invited all the Russian political movements and parties to Princes Islands nearby Constantinople. Nevertheless, the Russians were not able to form a common standpoint, partly because they were conflicting amongst themselves, on the one hand, and partly because their expansionist programs were contradictional to each other and were not based on a real strong and functioning military power.

Keywords

Sarajevo; Princes' Islands; Pan-slavism; Russian Expansionism; Octobrists; Bolsheviks; Social Revolutionaries

Great Britain, the Dominions and the Paris Peace Conference¹

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Introduction

The First World War was the greatest test for the cohesion of the British Empire after the first Dominions came into being.² The Empire entered the war as one single entity as the Dominions were still formally subordinated to their mother country. The Dominions had the right to decide about the extent of their involvement in the war effort; however, as a result of various pre-war agreements, their fleets and expeditionary forces found themselves under the command of the British Admiralty and the Supreme Military Command.³ Although the Dominions' military deployment was below the level of their mother country, their help was everything but negligible.⁴ Losses and victories of these overseas countries, symbolized by the heroism of Australians and New Zealanders during the Gallipoli Operation, of Canadians at Passchendaele and Vimy Ridge, and of South Africans during the conquest of German Southwest and East Africa, deeply entered the collective memory of the Dominions. In addition, they accelerated local

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² See H. E. EGERTON, *The War and the British Dominions*, Oxford [1914].

³ N. MANSERGH, *The Commonwealth Experience*, London 1969, p. 166.

⁴ C. E. CARRINGTON, *The Empire at War, 1914–1918*, in: *The Cambridge History of the British Empire: The Empire-Commonwealth 1870–1919, Vol. 3*, Cambridge 1967, pp. 641–642.

nationalism, weakened imperial patriotism and deepened their desire for independent policies.⁵

The British Government assured the Dominions that they would have the possibility to discuss the form of the postwar peace settlement already in 1915.⁶ Yet, the promise was not always kept. In mid-November 1918, for example, the Australian Prime Minister, William “Billy” Morris Hughes, complained that President Woodrow Wilson’s so-called Fourteen Points were adopted by the British Cabinet without consulting the Dominions about the issue.⁷ The Dominions felt particularly threatened by the U.S. “open door policy” and “free seas” principle and hoped these would not be enforced. This was especially the case when it came to former German colonies as they were somewhat in opposition to British imperial policy which, on its part, was introducing the imperial preference system bit by bit.⁸

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Shortly after declaring truce, representatives of the British Government and of the Dominions discussed the question of the Dominions’ status at the Peace Conference. From the very beginning, Leopold Amery tried to push through the idea that the Dominions together with India should have direct representation. Furthermore, he was convinced that the overseas autonomous polities should be viewed as equal partners of their mother country and, consequently, should be free to express their opinion on all issues of the peace arrangements, not only

⁵ A. MAY, *The Round Table and Imperial Federation, 1910–17*, in: *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 99, No. 410, 2010, p. 553.

⁶ United Kingdom, *Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons*, 5th Series, Vol. 71, 14th April, 1915, cc. 16–17.

⁷ The British Library (hereafter BL), Balfour Papers (hereafter BP), Add MS 49775, Vol. XCIII, L. S. Amery, Representation of the Dominion at the Peace Negotiations, 14th November, 1918, ff. [191–192].

⁸ The National Archives (hereafter TNA), Cabinet Papers (hereafter CAB) 23/42/19, Imperial War Cabinet, [No.] 47: Minutes of a Meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet, 30th December, 1918, f. 2.

on those that directly affected them.⁹ The British Prime Minister David Lloyd George sympathized with the aspirations of the Dominions' representatives. Nevertheless, he originally assumed that five seats would be sufficient for the British Empire Delegation. However, the Dominions, with regard to their war effort, openly demanded separate representation.¹⁰ As a consequence, dual representation for the Dominions and India came into being: firstly, as members of the British Empire Delegation and, secondly, as members of the warring parties that were able, because of their special interests, to send two delegates forth to the meeting.¹¹

Nonetheless, the Dominions were subject to certain limitations. They could not vote separately for instance as the British Empire was to act, at least on the outside, as a single "political entity" with a unified view.¹² The dual representation of the Dominions rose the question what the actual position of the Dominions at the Paris Peace Conference was. Compared to their European allies, representatives of the Dominions had a significant advantage.

⁹ University of Cambridge: Churchill College: Churchill Archives Centre (hereafter CAC), Amery Papers (further only AP)AMEL 2/1/1, Representation of the Dominions at the Peace Negotiations, 14th November, 1918, ff. [s. p.].

¹⁰ Cf. R. L. BORDEN, *Canada and the Peace: A Speech on the Treaty of Peace, Delivered in the Canadian House of Commons on Tuesday, September 2, 1919*, [Ottawa 1919], p. 13; L. F. FITZHARDINGE, *Hughes, Borden and Dominion Representation at the Paris Peace Conference*, in: *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 49, No. 2, 1968, pp. 163–169; D. LLOYD GEORGE, *The Truth about the Peace Treaties*, Vol. 1, London 1938, p. 205; F. S. MARSTON, *The Peace Conference of 1919: Organisation and Procedure*, London 1944, pp. 37, 51; C. P. STACEY, *Canada and the Age of Conflict: A History of Canadian External Policies: 1867–1921*, Vol. 1, Toronto 1984, pp. 270–274; TNA, CAB 29/28, B. E. D. [No.] 1, Peace Conference: British Empire Delegation: Minutes of a Meeting of Members of the British Empire Delegation, Villa Majestic, Paris, 13th January, 1919, f. [1].

¹¹ Canada, Australia and South Africa were able to send forth two delegates, India one as a representative of British India and one as a representative of the native states, New Zealand had only one delegate and Newfoundland had no delegate at all. L. F. FITZHARDINGE, *W. M. Hughes and the Treaty of Versailles 1919*, in: *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*, Vol. 5, Is. 2, 1967, p. 133; TNA, CAB 29/7, W. C. P. [No.] 5, British Empire Delegation: Note by the Secretary of the Imperial War Cabinet, 13th January, 1919, f. [25].

¹² Cf. A. B. KEITH, *War Government of the British Dominions*, Oxford 1921, p. 151; TNA, CAB 29/28, B. E. D. [No.] 1, Peace Conference: British Empire Delegation: Minutes of a Meeting of Members of the British Empire Delegation, Villa Majestic, Paris, 13th January, 1919, f. 3.

As members of the British Empire Delegation they had access to confidential materials and conclusions of the Council of Ten and of the Council of Five. Therefore, they were able to express their opinion on all key issues that were being debated at the conference.¹³

Specific interests of the Dominions became obvious when it came to the question of dividing former German colonies in Africa and in the Pacific and of the associated creation of the Mandate System under the League of Nations. Indeed, Australia sought to annex German Pacific islands whereas South Africans were interested in German Southwest Africa.¹⁴ Already during the war, Australia continuously highlighted the need to prevent the spread of Japanese influence southwards.¹⁵ For this reason, negotiations about a mutual British-Japanese understanding concerning the future organization of German territories in the Far East and the Pacific took place in February 1917.¹⁶ Several Australian politicians initially suggested that the best thing for the future of German New Guinea and the Solomon Islands would be if the United States took over the administration of the territories in concern.¹⁷ Eventually, however, Australia's and New Zealand's statesmen reached the conclusion

¹³ Cf. J. W. DAFOE, *Canada and the Peace Conference of 1919*, in: The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 24, No. 3, 1943, pp. 237–240; A. I. INGLIS, *Loring C. Christie and the Imperial Idea: 1919–1926*, in: Journal of Canadian Studies / Revue d'études canadiennes, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1972, p. 21; MANSERGH, p. 179.

¹⁴ Cf. W. R. LOUIS, *Australia and the German Colonies in the Pacific, 1914–1919*, in: Journal of Modern History, Vol. 38, No. 4, 1966, pp. 407–421; TNA, CAB 29/28, B. E. D. [No.] 4, Peace Conference: British Empire Delegation: Minutes of a Meeting of Members of the British Empire Delegation, Villa Majestic, Paris, 27th January, 1919, f. [1]; ibidem, CAB 29/1, P. 34, Peace Conference: Memorandum Respecting German Colonies, January 1919, ff. [1]–20.

¹⁵ TNA, CAB 23/43/2, Procès-verbal of the Second Meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet, 22th March, 1917, f. 3.

¹⁶ Understanding between Great Britain and Japan regarding ultimate Disposal of German Rights, February [16], 1921, in: J. V. A. MacMURRAY, (Ed.), *Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China, 1894–1919: Republican Period (1912–1919)*, Vol. 2, New York 1921, pp. 1167–1168.

¹⁷ R. C. SNELLING, *Peacemaking 1919: Australia, New Zealand and the British Empire Delegation at Versailles*, in: The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1975, pp. 17–18.

that former German territories should be in the hands of Great Britain or some other friendly country.¹⁸

On 29 January 1919, the British Empire Delegation discussed the draft of the resolution on former German and Ottoman territories. Because the American President Woodrow Wilson rejected the principle of annexation, a compromise solution was adopted. The territories in questions were divided into three different categories (labelled as A, B and C) and were to become trust territories of the League of Nations. During the discussions, Lloyd George pointed out that he did not want the Japanese to participate in the administration of the trust territories. The proposed restrictions on the exercise of the mandate did not satisfy the Australian Prime Minister, Hughes, who, because of the administration of British New Guinea, was accustomed to a different degree of authority in the field of trade and immigrant policy. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that he likewise treated the Japanese with a considerable amount of antipathy.¹⁹ A British representative, Sir Maurice Hankey, reassured Hughes that the purpose of establishing the Class C Mandate was basically forming a “*lease for 999 years*”.²⁰ Lloyd George, on the other hand, tried to convince Hughes that “*there was virtually no difference between the Class C Mandate and open annexation*”.²¹

On 6 February 1919 Hughes presented an important memorandum specifying the position of Australia on the issue of islands in the South Pacific. Hughes once again openly expressed his concerns about the Japanese population preponderance. He even called the matter as “evil” and overtly raised racial issues and the need to continue with the practice of “white

¹⁸ Cf. *Administration of Samoa*, in: The New Zealand Herald, Vol. 55, Is. 17073, 31st January, 1919; *Our Share*, in: Auckland Star, Vol. 50, Is. 25, 29th January, 1919, p. 4; SNELLING, p. 18.

¹⁹ FITZHARDINGE, *W. M. Hughes*, p. 136; M. P. A. HANKEY, *The Supreme Control at the Paris Peace Conference*, London 1963, pp. 58–59; TNA, CAB 29/28, B. E. D. [No.] 6, Peace Conference: British Empire Delegation: Minutes of a Meeting of Members of the British Empire Delegation, Rue Nitot, Paris, 29th January, 1919, f. [1].

²⁰ C. BRIDGE, *William Hughes: Australia*, London 2011, p. 80.

²¹ D. D. JONES, *The Foreign Policy of William Morris Hughes of Australia*, in: Far Eastern Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1943, p. 158.

politics” as in the case of British New Guinea.²² A few days later he sent another memorandum, in which he expressed doubts whether the League of Nations would have the power to deter the Japanese from their expansionist plans. He also criticized the proposed principles, especially the limits of mandate administration.²³ The Australian Minister for the Navy, Sir Joseph Cook, made use of the negotiations and during a meeting that took place on 20 February 1919 he presented his request stating it should be forbidden to build armed forces in the mandate areas. He feared that Japan could take advantage of the situation and use the territories in concern as enemy bases.²⁴ Australian demands provoked fear among some of the British delegates that such uncompromising attitudes could cause the failure of the peace talks.²⁵ Last but not least, New Zealand’s Prime Minister Vincent Massey was not happy about the unwillingness of the Australians to support efforts to gain control over Samoa and the country’s unwillingness to act in the issue of administrating Nauru²⁶ where both of the Pacific Dominions had primarily economic interests.²⁷ The British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Milner, held the opinion that it would be beneficial for Great Britain, for practical reasons, if Australia and New Zealand participated in the mandate system in the Pacific.

²² TNA, CAB 29/7, W. C. P. [No.] 71, W. M. Hughes, Australia and the Pacific Islands, 6th February, 1919, ff. 1–5, [584–588]. To importance “White Policy” cf. Australia, *Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives*, No. 37, 10th September, 1919, pp. 12174–12176.

²³ TNA, CAB 29/8, W. C. P. [No.] 116, W. M. Hughes, Memorandum Regarding the Pacific Islands, 8th February, 1919, ff. 1–4.

²⁴ TNA, CAB 29/28, B. E. D. [No.] 9, Peace Conference: British Empire Delegation: Minutes of a Meeting of Members of the British Empire Delegation, Villa Majestic, Paris, 20th February, 1919, f. 2.

²⁵ FITZHARDINGE, *W. M. Hughes*, p. 137.

²⁶ To the problems Nauru see TNA, CAB 29/9, W. C. P. [No.] 240, W. M. Hughes to Walter H. Long, 3rd January, 1919, f. [313]; *ibidem*, CAB 29/7, W. C. P. [No.] 97, W. F. Massey, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands, 14th February, 1919, ff. 1–2, [761]; *ibidem*, CAB 29/9, W. C. P. [No.] 240, W. M. Hughes, The Control of Nauru under the Mandatory System, 13th March, 1919, f. [312]; *ibidem*, CAB 29/10, W. C. P. [No.] 345, W. M. Hughes, The Control of Nauru, 21st March, 1919, f. [173].

²⁷ SNELLING, pp. 16, 20, 23.

On 3 April 1919 the British Empire Delegates discussed Milner's memorandum of March 8,²⁸ which contained notes and remarks on Article XIX of the Covenant of the League of Nations dealing with mandate administration. Australia, South Africa and New Zealand were mostly concerned about those passages that focused on the Class C Mandate as they concentrated on small areas with sparse populations that were isolated from civilization. It was believed that this would defend best the interests of the local inhabitants. Milner did not think that their administration would be too demanding and, therefore, he agreed with the fact that these territories would have a small degree of autonomy. In addition, Milner also approved Japan's participation in the administration of former German territories north of the Equator and he likewise discussed the problematic status of the Island of Nauru.²⁹ However, he expressed certain doubts about the effectiveness of the sixth paragraph of Article XIX of the Covenant that enabled the integration of the mandate into the area belonging to the mandate power. In this context, he additionally highlighted possible complications that could arise if the inhabitants of the administered area decided to become independent.³⁰ Furthermore, Australia, in general, intended to continue with the implementation of "white politics" in New Guinea whereas the Japanese repeatedly made demands that the "open door" principle should be respected in the case of the territories in concern.³¹

Indeed, the new status of the Dominions at the Paris Peace Conference and their special interests were simultaneously expressed during negotiations about a new international organization – the League of Nations. Nevertheless,

²⁸ TNA, CAB 29/9, W. C. P. [No.] 211, Lord Milner, Mandates: Under Clause XIX of the Draft "Covenant" of the League of Nations, 8th March, 1919, ff. [1]–13, [99–111].

²⁹ TNA, CAB 29/28, B. E. D. [No.] 16, Peace Conference: British Empire Delegation: Minutes of a Meeting of Members of the British Empire Delegation, Hotel Majestic, Paris, 3rd April, 1919, ff. 7–9.

³⁰ Srv. TNA, CAB 29/9, W. C. P. [No.] 211, Lord Milner, Mandates: Under Clause XIX of the Draft "Covenant" of the League of Nations, 8th March, 1919, f. 4, [102]; *ibidem*, W. C. P. [No.] 211A, W. M. Hughes, Mandates: New Clause 6 for Typical Mandate Class "C", 14th March, 1919, f. [112].

³¹ See BL, BP, Add MS 49734, Vol. LII, C. J. B. Hurst, 'B' and 'C' Mandates: Memorandum on the Present Position, 20th July, 1920, ff. [203–205].

the first American proposal of the Covenant did not count with providing membership for the Dominions, Australians and New Zealanders, on the other hand, did not show much interest in the issue either.³² Yet, the Dominions were devoted to talk over the matter at the Imperial War Cabinet³³ even though the Canadian memorandum dealing with the possible form of the organization was not discussed.³⁴ However, no “Dominion text,” in fact, had a greater impact than the so-called Smuts’ pamphlet about the League of Nations of December 1918.

South African General Jan Christiaan Smuts spoke several times in favour of establishing an international organization that would replace the Great Powers in the postwar era in the matter of monitoring compliance with international law and universal peace between nations.³⁵ He even did so already in 1917. Indeed, the organization was to take up the position of the world powers that had failed to ensure peace when they allowed the outbreak of the war. Moreover, Winston Churchill pointed out that the League could only function properly if there was a certain agreement and understanding between Britain, France and the United States.³⁶ Milner also stressed the need to coordinate actions of the Allies, especially in the case of the Americans.³⁷

On 20 March 1918 the Committee of Sir Walter Phillimore, with whom Lord Robert Cecil, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

³² F. H. SOWARD, *Sir Robert Borden and Canada’s External Policy, 1911–1920*, in: Report of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association / Rapports annuels de la Société historique du Canada, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1941, p. 78.

³³ K. C. WHEARE, *The Empire and the Peace Treaties 1918–1921*, in: *The Cambridge History of the British Empire: The Empire-Commonwealth 1870–1919*, Vol. 3, Cambridge 1967, p. 652.

³⁴ G. P. GLAZEBROOK de T., *Canada at the Paris Peace Conference*, Toronto 1942, pp. 60–61.

³⁵ Cf. G. CURRY, *Woodrow Wilson, Jan Smuts, and the Versailles Settlement*, in: *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 66, No. 4, 1961, p. 969; A. LENTIN, *General Smuts: South Africa*, London 2010, p. 52; TNA, CAB 23/40/12, Imperial War Cabinet, [No.] 46: Minutes of a Meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet 26th April, 1917, f. 9.

³⁶ TNA, CAB 23/42/18, Imperial War Cabinet, [No.] 46: Minutes of a Meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet, 24th December, 1918, f. 4–7.

³⁷ TNA, CAB 29/1, P. 28, Report of Committee on Terms of Peace, 24th April, 1917, f. 3.

and a great supporter of establishing the League, cooperated, presented an internal report to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Arthur James Balfour, on what the Covenant should look like.³⁸ A following, final report of early July was extended and included a detailed analysis of various old and new peace projects.³⁹ At the same time, an official group in France led by Leon Bourgeois⁴⁰ published its own idea of the League of Nations on 8 June 1918.⁴¹ However, Lord Phillimore was highly critical of it. A few months later, on 5 October, Robert Cecil also drafted a memorandum about the role and position of the League of Nations for the War Cabinet. He did so at the request of the Prime Minister himself. Lord Cecil analyzed the whole matter from a somewhat visionary perspective and, therefore, was not able to present a realistic proposal that would include an exact structure of the organization.⁴² Lloyd George was not satisfied with either of the proposals, and for this reason he asked Smuts to prepare his own point of view on the issue under scrutiny.⁴³

On 16 December 1918, consequently, Smuts published his own “practical proposal” about the League of Nations with the support of the British Government. It was to represent the heir of the values of devastated Europe.⁴⁴ Matters concerning former territories of the Ottoman Empire, Russia and Austria-Hungary, were to be based on the principle of “*no annexations and self-determination of nations*”. As for the question of Alsace and Lorraine,

³⁸ See R. CECIL, *A Great Experiment: An Autobiography*, London 1941, p. 60; RAFFO, P., *The League of Nations Philosophy of Lord Robert Cecil*, in: *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, Vol. 20, Is. 2, 1974, pp. 186–196; TNA, CAB 29/1, P. 26, The Committee on the League of Nations: Interim Report, 20th March, 1918, ff. [1]–7.

³⁹ TNA, CAB 29/1, P. 26, The Committee on the League of Nations: Final Report, 3rd July, 1918, ff. [1]–24.

⁴⁰ See L. V. A. BOURGEOIS, *Pour la société des nations*, Paris 1910.

⁴¹ TNA, CAB 29/1, P. 28, Report of the Committee Appointed by the French Government, 9th August, 1918, ff. [1]–7.

⁴² TNA, CAB 29/1, P. 29, War Cabinet: League of Nations: Memorandum by Lord R. Cecil, 5th October, 1918, ff. [253–273].

⁴³ CURRY, p. 969.

⁴⁴ WHEARE, p. 653.

he recognized the legitimate claim of France, and in the case of former German African and Pacific territories, "*occupied by barbarians unable to rule themselves*," he admitted that the idea of self-determination could be somewhat impractical.⁴⁵ Smuts, therefore, ranked among firm supporters of mandate administration from the outset.⁴⁶

Smuts's main benefit, however, lied in the way how he regarded future relations between nations. Taking into consideration the experience and the development of the British Empire, Smuts held the view that relations between nations should be based on the principles of political freedom and equality, broad autonomy, political decentralization, allowing the existence of small nations, and "*finally an institution like the League of Nations, which [...] will guarantee the weak against the strong*".⁴⁷ Smuts' vision of international relations sparked interest in President Wilson who was especially interested in the designed structure of the organization and who modified some of the proposed points.⁴⁸ Smuts believed that it would be beneficial for the British Empire if its representatives and the Americans held close opinions about the issue. In fact, this was exactly what happened.⁴⁹ The Canadian Prime Minister, Sir Robert Laird Borden, was of a similar view as Smuts whereas Hughes looked at Wilson's intentions with deep suspicion.⁵⁰ In addition, the Australian Prime Minister, for instance, was convinced that the general's concept of the League of Nations would further deepen the bond between Britain and foreign countries than between the Dominions and their mother country.⁵¹

⁴⁵ J. C. SMUTS, *The League of Nations: A Practical Suggestion*, London 1918, pp. 12–15.

⁴⁶ D. H. MILLER, *The Drafting of Covenant*, Vol. 1, New York 1928, p. 38.

⁴⁷ Cf. SMUTS, pp. 27–28; WHEARE, p. 653.

⁴⁸ R. S. BAKER, *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*, Vol. 1, New York 1922, pp. 225–228.

⁴⁹ To the British-American cooperation see P. KERR, *The British Empire, the League of Nations, and the United States*, in: *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 10, Is. 38, 1920, pp. 221–253.

⁵⁰ M. BELOFF, *Imperial Sunset: Britain's Liberal Empire 1897–1921*, Vol. 1, London 1969, p. 281.

⁵¹ TNA, CAB 23/42/18, Imperial War Cabinet, [No.] 46: Minutes of a Meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet, 24th December, 1918, f. 12.

The British and American delegations worked together to prepare the final version of the Covenant of the League of Nations from early January 1919.⁵² On 3 February 1919 the British legal adviser Sir Cecil Hurst and his U.S. counterpart David Hunter Miller prepared a compromise solution known as the Hurst-Miller draft.⁵³ It largely relied on Smuts' previous proposals and it was used as a default text for further discussions that took place within the Commission of the League of Nations. In addition, the French proposal of Leon Bourgeois was not even discussed and the French regarded this with great displeasure.⁵⁴

The Hurst-Miller draft had 22 clauses and it meant indirect disadvantages for British self-governing polities. According to the second article, members of the League of Nations were to be represented by envoys or ministers and British Dominions were not to have separate diplomatic representation.⁵⁵ However, Miller later changed his mind and pushed through such modifications of the text so that even Dominions without diplomatic representation could be members of the League of Nations.⁵⁶ Great Britain did not want the League of Nations to become some sort of a "super-state" and made efforts so that the Dominions would have comparable rights to other countries.⁵⁷ For this reason, Britain accepted the principle of separate Dominion representation in

⁵² CURRY, pp. 975–981; G. W. EGERTON, *Great Britain and the Creation of the League of Nations: Strategy, Politics, and International Organization, 1914–1919*, London 1979, pp. 115–116.

⁵³ *Draft Covenant*, in: BAKER, Vol. 3, Doc. No. 16, pp. 144–151.

⁵⁴ CURRY, pp. 981–982.

⁵⁵ BAKER, Vol. 3, Doc. No. 16, p. 145.

⁵⁶ D. H. MILLER, *My Diary at the Conference of Paris with Documents, Vol. 4*, New York 1924, Doc. No. 236, p. 171.

⁵⁷ Cf. R. G. CECIL, *The Moral Basis of the League of Nations: The Essex Hall Lecture, 1923*, London 1923, p. 21; R. HENIG, *New Diplomacy and Old: A Reassessment of British Conceptions of a League of Nations, 1918–20*, in: M. L. DOCKRILL – J. FISHER (Eds.), *The Paris Peace Conference, 1919: Peace without Victory?*, London 2001, p. 169. To critique of the text of the Covenant of the League of Nations TNA, CAB 29/14, W. C. P. [No.] 729, R. JEBB, *The British Empire and the League of Nations*, April 1919, ff. [149–167].

the bodies of the League.⁵⁸ Subsequently, on 14 February 1919, the text of the Covenant of the League of Nations was adopted.⁵⁹

Nevertheless, Miller remained doubtful whether the Dominions were actual states and, for this reason, he did not agree with their participation as potential non-permanent members of the Council of the League of Nations. In fact, he was convinced that Dominions and other dependent territories should not possess the privilege of representation.⁶⁰ The Dominions did not reflect the situation adequately until 21 April 1919⁶¹ when the Canadian delegate Arthur Sifton pointed out that under article IV Dominions could not be elected to the Council of the League Nations. He considered this to be everything but a happy formulation. Hughes, surprisingly, had no objections against it. Furthermore, he argued that if the British Empire was one state then it had to have only one representative. Nonetheless, Borden demanded that the Dominions should have the right to become members of the Council. Lord Robert Cecil subsequently assured the Dominions' statesmen that the intention of the British certainly was not to prevent the Dominions from participating in the running of the League of Nations. For this reason, they were forced to find a compromise solution. The word "state" in the text was to be replaced with the expression "members of the League", which included the Dominions under scrutiny as well.⁶² After discussing the matter with the American delegation, the change in concern was adopted and, as a result, British Dominions had the possibility to be elected as members of the Council.⁶³ In addition, Canadians also sought a certain modification or deletion of Article X of the Covenant, which dealt

⁵⁸ BL, Cecil Papers, Add MS 51102, Vol. XXXII, R. Cecil, Memorandum, 12th June, 1923, ff. [91–93].

⁵⁹ *Covenant*, in: BAKER, Vol. 3, Doc. No. 18, pp. 163–173.

⁶⁰ MILLER, *The Drafting*, p. 480.

⁶¹ Cf. TNA, CAB 29/10, W. C. P. [No.] 346, The League of Nations: W. M. Hughes, Notes on the Draft Covenant, 21st March, 1919, ff. [179–187]; *ibidem*, CAB 29/9, R. L. Borden, The Covenant of the League of Nations, 13th March, 1919, W. C. P. [No.] 245, ff. 1–17 [345–361].

⁶² TNA, CAB 29/28, B. E. D. [No.] 26, Peace Conference: British Empire Delegation: Minutes of a Meeting of Members of the British Empire Delegation, Hotel Majestic, Paris, 21st April, 1919, ff. 3–4.

⁶³ MILLER, *The Drafting*, pp. 477–483, 487–493.

with intrusion on territorial sovereignty of the League's member states. They considered it to be too binding.⁶⁴ In general, all British Dominions, with the exception of Newfoundland, became members of the new international organization.⁶⁵ Moreover, they likewise gained a new international position, a position that they had not had in the past.

Japanese delegates Count Makino Nobuaki and Viscount Chinda Sutemi negotiated with the American member of the Commission for the Preparation of the Covenant of the League of Nations Edward Mandel House, generally known as Colonel House, from 4 February 1919. The negotiations focused on how to expand the Pact with a passage dealing with racial equality.⁶⁶ In the end, they decided to include it into the article concerning religion.⁶⁷ On 13 February 1919 the negotiators presented the final draft of the text. In it, Makino argued that the equality of nations was the fundamental idea on which the League of Nations was based. Therefore, he continued, it should be accompanied by respect for other races and nationalities. Indeed, adopting the Declaration on Race Equality promised the reduction of racial and religious animosities in the world.⁶⁸ In fact, the Japanese demanded a guarantee of equality with Europeans as a condition to signing the agreement on the League of Nations. However, the clause in concern caused ambivalent reactions. Representatives

⁶⁴ Cf. A. BRADY, *Dominion Nationalism and the Commonwealth*, in: The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science / Revue canadienne d'Economie et de Science politique, Vol. 10, No. 1, 1944, p. 11; C. J. DOHERTY, *Article 10 of the Covenant – Guarantees against External Aggression of the Territorial Integrity of All States Members of the League*, in: GLAZEBROOK, Appendix C, pp. 140–149; G. M. CARTER, *Some Aspects of Canadian Foreign Policy after Versailles*, in: Report of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association / Rapports annuels de la Société historique du Canada, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1943, pp. 99–103; R. CECIL, *The League of Nations and the Problem of Sovereignty*, in: History, Vol. 5, 1920/1921, p. 13; MILLER, *The Drafting*, p. 354; A. J. TOYNBEE, *The Conduct of British Empire Foreign Relations since the Peace Settlement*, London 1928, pp. 56–58.

⁶⁵ R. Y. HEDGES, *Australia and the Imperial Conference*, in: The Australian Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1937, p. 81.

⁶⁶ C. SEYMOUR (Ed.), *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House: The Ending of the War*, Vol. 4, Boston 1928, pp. 309–313.

⁶⁷ H. PURCELL, *Paris Peace Discord*, in: History Today, Vol. 59, No. 7, 2009, pp. 38–40.

⁶⁸ BAKER, Vol. 2, p. 234; FITZHARDINGE, *W. M. Hughes*, p. 138.

of smaller nations welcomed it, while representatives of the Dominions rejected it vigorously. In particular, representatives of Canada, Australia and New Zealand felt threatened by Japanese expansionist tendencies in the Pacific and the Far East. For this reason, they did not want the Japanese to get the same status as Europeans. Last but not least, it should be mentioned that although the British Government accentuated the importance of racial issues, its members did not see the solution in adopting the Japanese request as it interfered with the sovereignty of future members of the League of Nations in the field of immigration policy.⁶⁹

In Hughes' eyes, the Japanese request featured an obvious appeal to alleviate Australian immigration laws and to change local "white policy".⁷⁰ The Australians assumed that Americans and Canadians, who practiced a similar restrictive immigration policy, would not support Japan's proposal. However, the opposite proved to be the case. As for the British Empire Delegation members, only Hughes and Massey vigorously rejected the adoption of the clause under scrutiny. Smuts, on his part, did so only partially for example. At a meeting of the Covenant of the League of 11 April 1919, the Japanese proposal did not pass 16:11.⁷¹ Furthermore, the approved document also paid attention to the mandate areas in Article XXII. A few days later, on 7 May, the Council selected mandate powers that were to administrate former German and Ottoman territories. The Dominions (except for Canada and Newfoundland) found themselves among those powers. Australia gained administration over former German New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago and areas south of the Equator. New Zealand, for instance, was to administer former German Samoa, and the Japanese were

⁶⁹ K. ALLERFELDT, *Wilsonian Pragmatism? Woodrow Wilson, Japanese Immigration, and the Paris Peace Conference*, in: *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 2004, pp. 547–548.

⁷⁰ BRIDGE, p. 83; G. M. CARTER, *The British Commonwealth and International Security: The Role of the Dominions 1919–1939*, Toronto 1947, p. 4.

⁷¹ Cf. ALLERFELDT, s. 565; BRIDGE, s. 84; P. G. LAUREN, *Human Rights in History: Diplomacy and Racial Equality at the Paris Peace Conference*, in: *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 2, Is. 3, 1978, pp. 257–278; SNELLING, p. 23.

to oversee several islands located north of the Equator – i.e. the Marshall Islands and the Carolinas. The Island of Nauru, a well-known major source of phosphates, was jointly managed by Australia, Britain and New Zealand. In addition, the Union of South Africa was to control the administration of the territory of former German Southwest Africa. The Mandate System came into being gradually and was slightly modified in 1925. It enabled the League to become a guarantor of peace, not a colonial power.⁷²

The position of the Dominions at the Paris Peace Conference led to some theoretical (dis)advantages when it came to signing certain contracts. If the authorized Dominion representatives signed a treaty, they did so with the consent of their domestic governments and, therefore, the contracts were automatically valid.⁷³ In contrast, British delegates did not confirm the convention only on behalf of Britain, but on behalf of the whole Empire.⁷⁴ On 12 March 1919 Sir Robert Borden sent a memorandum to his Dominion colleagues, in which he stressed that all treaties should be written in such a style that the Dominions could be considered to be equal partners. Borden justified this course of action making use of the IX Resolution of the Imperial War Conference of 1917, in which the equality of nations within the Empire was highlighted.⁷⁵ He likewise proposed that the names and signatures of the British should be followed by a list of the Dominion ones.⁷⁶ Additionally, the Canadian Prime Minister sought

⁷² See A. J. CROZIER, *The Establishment of the Mandates System 1919–25: Some Problems Created by the Paris Peace Conference*, in: *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 1979, pp. 483–513; L. L. ILSLEY, *The Administration of Mandates by the British Dominions*, in: *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 28, No. 2, 1934, pp. 287–302; A. SHARP, *The Versailles Settlement: Peacemaking After the First World War, 1919–1923*, 2nd Ed., Basingstoke 2008, pp. 173–174; TNA, CO 886/9/7, Dominions No. 80, Mandates, May 1921, ff. [246–275].

⁷³ MANSERGH, p. 180.

⁷⁴ W. K. HANCOCK, *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs: Problems of Nationality 1918–1936*, Vol. 1, London 1937, pp. 67–68.

⁷⁵ TNA, CAB 29/9, W. C. P. [No.] 242, R. L. Borden, The Dominions as Parties and Signatories to the Various Peace Treaties, 12th March, 1919, ff. [318–319].

⁷⁶ R. L. BORDEN, *Canada in the Commonwealth: From Conflict to Co-operation*, Oxford 1929, pp. 102–103.

to make the Dominions to sign the contracts separately so that their new postwar status would excel.⁷⁷

The ceremonial signing of the Treaty of Versailles happened according to Borden's proposal. Signatures of five British statesmen, representing Great Britain, were joined by the signatures of Dominion delegates – this meant international recognition, however symbolic, of the new status of the Dominions. The Canadian Prime Minister was very involved in the whole matter. Nevertheless, the signatures did not come to the fore among the signatures of the British. From the legal point of view and with regard to the existence of the British Empire Delegation, in which the Dominions had their representation, the signatures of the dominion statesmen alongside the British ones were superfluous as the British represented the entire Empire on the outside.⁷⁸ For this reason, the Dominion statesmen insisted that these contracts did not mean any obligations for the Dominions until they were approved by the home parliaments overseas.⁷⁹ Even though Borden's intention to use the peace treaty with Germany as symbolic recognition of the Dominions' independence somewhat failed, the fact that they won the right to decide whether they would or would not sign a treaty meant a certain level of acceptance of the new status of the Dominions on the part of their mother country.⁸⁰

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Indirectly, the Dominions acquired the possibility to conduct their own foreign policy. In fact, the importance and significance of the overseas self-governing polities became apparent as a result of their membership in the League of

⁷⁷ TNA, CAB 29/9, W. C. P. [No.] 242, R. L. Borden, The Dominions as Parties and Signatories to the Various Peace Treaties, 12th March, 1919, f. [319].

⁷⁸ Cf. R. L. BORDEN, *Canada in the Commonwealth: From Conflict to Co-operation*, Oxford 1929, p. 103; GLAZEBROOK, p. 111; P. J. NOEL BAKER, *The Present Juridical Status of the British Dominions in International Law*, London 1929, pp. 67–83; WHEARE, p. 664.

⁷⁹ KEITH, p. 154.

⁸⁰ TNA, CO 886/8/3, Dominions No. 66, D. 22114, Extract from The Times, 11th April, 1919, [Doc.] No. 8, f. 16, [79].

Nations. Along with other dependent territories, the Dominions formed the British Empire. In addition, they won the right to individual representation in the Assembly of the League of Nations, they had the possibility to be elected to the organization's Council, etc. Nonetheless, the international community continued to see them as an integral part of the British Empire. The Empire, if nothing else, did indeed represented the Dominions in many ways on the outside. In spite of all the limitations arising from the Dominions' status, British officials were fully aware that "*they were no longer colonies, but nations intensely conscious of their nationhood*".⁸¹ The fact that Dominion representatives participated at the Paris peace talks marked the beginning of a new epoch in the constitutional history of the autonomous polities of the British Empire.⁸²

Abstract

The First World War represented the biggest challenge and a test of cohesion for the individual parts of the Empire. Newly, the dominions were to reach full recognition as autonomous nations of the imperial community. Participation of the Dominions at the Paris Peace Conference and the issues discussed there influenced the status of the Dominions not only to their mother country, but also to the wider world. All the Dominions, except for Newfoundland, found themselves among members of the new international organisation – the League of Nations. In addition, Dominion delegates also signed the Treaty of Versailles, which the overseas leaders considered a formal recognition of their formal independence on the part of the British. However, in contrast to the expectations of the Dominion representatives, a symbolic recognition of their new status did not take place and, therefore, the world continued to regard them as an integral part of the British Empire, i.e. that the British still represented them in many aspects on the outside. The course of the conference, however, did confirm that it was not possible to view the Dominions as "ordinary"

⁸¹ Ibidem.

⁸² TOYNBEE, p. 83.

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colonies or dependent territories anymore. The First World War strengthened the general trend heading towards a broader understanding of autonomy and to a more intense cooperation within the Empire.

Keywords

British Empire; Commonwealth; Great Britain; Dominions; Constitutional Relations; Foreign Policy; Paris Peace Conference; Treaty of Versailles; League of Nations

The World of American Communism: Ups and Downs 1918–1945¹

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Introduction

The history of the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) and related questions have been the subject of research for decades. Indeed, it remains a topic of heated debate among scholars, and their findings in terms of the activities of the CPUSA itself, its sympathisers, and those who secretly spied for the Soviet Union, are still being regularly discussed and considered. Newly available sources and modern methodology have cast light on many aspects of the story that were previously unknown. Generally speaking, there are two main approaches to the theme: the first is a top-down perspective, represented by historians from the so-called traditionalist school such as Theodor Draper, and later Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes and Ronald Radost; while the second, from the bottom-up has been adopted by the younger generation of revisionist historians, such as Maurice Isserman and Mark Naison. To put it simply, as far as the former is concerned, American Communists were nothing more than unscrupulous dogmatic pawns of the Soviet Union. For the latter, on the other hand, communist activists and fellow-travellers were people who often saw the USSR as the great and only hope for the human race.² The issue is complex.

¹ This article was written with the support of the Grant Agency of Charles University in Prague, Grant No. 253344.

² K. A. CUORDILEONE, *The Torment of Secrecy: Reckoning with American Communism and Anticommunism after Venona*, in: *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 35, Is. 4, 2011, pp. 623, 634.

The Origins and the First Decade of the American Communist Movement

The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia had a profound impact on left-wing American radicals. Even though their knowledge of what was happening on the ground, and indeed of the conditions prevailing in the Russian Empire in general, was rather sketchy, what they did realise was that a tiny political party had managed to take control of a country as vast as Russia.³ Consequently, there was hardly a left-leaning radical in the United States who did not wholeheartedly support the Bolshevik Revolution. American intellectuals considered the Bolshevik leaders to be not only endowed with a will of iron but as men of ideas who brought political hope to the world. Articles, books and pamphlets enthusiastically portraying the events on the other side of the globe struck a responsive chord in the hearts of revolutionaries resident in the United States.⁴ The most famous was John Reed's vivid account, *Ten Days that Shook the World*, which was first published in 1919.⁵ Reed was an eyewitness to what happened in St. Petersburg in 1917 and believed that the unfolding events provided the “*steam that [powered] the turbines of change*” of the universe.⁶ It is noteworthy that Lenin himself wrote a short introduction to the Russian edition of the book and recommended it to workers worldwide.⁷ To a certain extent, it can be argued that Reed and his fellow impassioned writers who extolled the Bolshevik Revolution laid the foundations for the interconnectedness between the Russian and American communist worlds.

The American communist movement was born in the tense and troubled period which followed the end of the First World War. Given the immigrant character of the United States at the time, the American situation was unique in comparison with other English-speaking countries. From the outset, the

³ H. KLEHR – J. E. HAYNES, *The American Communist Movement: Storming Heaven Itself*, New York 1992, p. 16.

⁴ I. HOWE – L. COSER, *The American Communist Party: A Critical History 1919–1957*, Boston 1957, pp. 25–26.

⁵ For example J. REED, *Ten Days that Shook the World*, London 2007.

⁶ D. W. LEHMAN, *John Reed and the Writing of Revolution*, Athens, OH 2001, pp. 172–173.

⁷ A. BROWN, *The Rise and Fall of Communism*, London 2010, p. 95.

American communist movement echoed developments in Soviet Russia, and later the Soviet Union, and its members were, by and large, unable to distinguish between actual conditions in the United States and the theoretical and practical requirements placed upon them from the headquarters of the new communist state in Moscow.⁸ Furthermore, the very formation of the American Communist Party proved a challenge. Differences among the various factions that made up the left were not settled on the movement's inception and resolute efforts would be undertaken by representatives of the Soviet Union to heal the divisions. In fact, two communist parties came into being in the United States in 1919, namely the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party. Neither, however, was very large in terms of membership.⁹ Each claimed to be a truer adherent to Leninism than its rival and hoped to gain support from Moscow, or, more precisely, the Comintern, established the very same year.¹⁰

The Communist Party of America, led by Charles E. Ruthenberg, was based almost exclusively on foreign-language federations. Those were (in terms of numbers) the Russian, Finnish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, South Slavic, Polish, Latvian, Jewish-Yiddish-speaking, Hungarian, German and Estonian. By the end of 1919, the party was composed of approximately 24,000 dues-paying supporters of whom, in fact, only about 1,900 formed the English-speaking cohort. The Communist Labor Party, on the other hand, had a much larger proportion of native-born and English-speaking members. Its main proponent was none other than John Reed, followed by Jay Lovestone.¹¹ It is important to note that during the 1920s, the bulk of American communists were immigrant blue-collar workers. The result was that the movement came to be associated with foreigners in its formative years and this image persisted in the public mind even in the later period when it was still viewed by many

⁸ R. SERVICE, *Comrades: Communism, A World History*, London 2007, p. 129.

⁹ KLEHR – HAYNES, p. 25.

¹⁰ HOWE – COSER, pp. 43–44.

¹¹ N. GLAZER, *The Social Basis of American Communism*, New York 1961, p. 39; KLEHR – HAYNES, p. 25.

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as alien, something imported to the United States from Europe.¹² Additionally, ever since the 1870s, foreign radicals were often regarded by native-born Americans as a threat to what was believed to be the national destiny of the United States. This might account for the fact that many Americans later found it very difficult to accept that Alger Hiss, the exposed secret Communist and Soviet spy, actually came from upper-class, WASP American stock.¹³

The turbulence that followed on the home front as a result of increased radicalism in the wake of the First World War was widespread. The years 1919 and 1920 were marked by a series of bombings, in which the Communists had neither hand, act, nor part, and large-scale strikes, in which their role was minimal. Nevertheless, these events aroused extensive public disquiet, amounting to panic in some quarters, and became identified as the Red Scare. The Federal Attorney-General, Mitchel Palmer, launched a series of attacks known as the Palmer Raids against members of the communist movement and its sympathisers who were taken into custody and in many cases deported as alien radicals.¹⁴ The agents conducting the swoops paid scant regard to civil liberties, frequently failed to obtain search warrants, held the arrested incommunicado, and subjected them to various forms of abuse.¹⁵ The Red Scare drove the divided American communist movement underground. Already at this stage the Comintern, and its designated American Agency, had begun to exert pressure on the American Communists. Firstly, the need for a united movement was stressed, and secondly the movement was to operate openly wherever possible. Even though neither demand was easy to fulfil, American Communists sought to obey the instructions received from Moscow, viewing themselves as an integral part of a worldwide movement led by the

¹² N. FISCHER, *The Founders of American Anti-Communism*, in: *American Communist History*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2006, p. 77.

¹³ H. KLEHR, *Communist Cadre: The Social Background of the American Communist Party Elite*, Stanford 1978, p. 19.

¹⁴ T. MORGAN, *Reds: McCarthyism in Twentieth Century America*, New York 2003, pp. 79–80.

¹⁵ KLEHR – HAYNES, p. 28.

Russian revolution experts. However, the American movement suffered from poor organization and an inexperienced leadership in its formative years.¹⁶

Throughout the 1920s, the CPUSA was faced with a chronic shortage of recruits and a high turnover rate in membership. It should be stressed that it was still an organization controlled mainly by immigrants and language federations. Despite the fact that the Bolshevization campaign, under directives from Moscow, aimed at destroying the language federations, it took more than a decade to change the immigrant character of the party.¹⁷ In 1923, for example, English-speakers (including foreign-born English-speakers) represented only 7.8% of members. In general, it should be noted that membership rose when party policy turned to mass politics and fell when it vehemently advocated revolution. At the same time, membership grew during a downturn in the country's economy and, in like manner, the party saw a corresponding decline in numbers in times of prosperity when job prospects improved. It should also be noted that already in the 1920s the CPUSA had begun to attract a large group of sympathisers who for one reason or another never actually joined the party, but nonetheless subscribed and regularly read communist newspapers and periodicals or joined various front organizations. In 1926, for instance, the CPUSA published 27 journals in 19 languages with a total circulation of 177,000.¹⁸

The Heyday of American Communism

The heyday of American communism came in the 1930s, especially the latter half when the CPUSA abandoned its ultra-leftist rhetoric. The relative strength of the Communists was the result of both domestic and international circumstances. The Soviet Union was admired by many in the West during this "decade of engagement", its prestige considerably enhanced by the seeming ability of the country's planned economy to avoid the instability

¹⁶ HOWE – COSER, pp. 71–72, 89–91.

¹⁷ KLEHR, p. 22.

¹⁸ KLEHR – HAYNES, pp. 52–53.

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and the economic hardship of the Depression years and for its advocacy of collective security against fascism, expressed among other things in the help offered the Republican government during the Spanish Civil War. Indeed, one could go so far as to state that Western intellectuals had virtually fallen in love with the idea of the Plan and those of them who visited the Soviet Union saw most often a blend of their own utopian preconceptions. In addition, following instructions from the 1935 Comintern Congress, the CPUSA moderated its political position and was ready to ally itself with other so-called progressive forces in a Popular Front. For this reason, American Communists supported their erstwhile ideological foe President Roosevelt and his New Deal policy. The new atmosphere encouraged many intelligent and committed men and women in the United States and elsewhere who were eager to contribute to the success of socialism and of the anti-Fascist forces to openly enrol in the party or, if this was deemed inappropriate, to secretly help the Soviet cause in other ways, or indeed to join one or more of its front organizations.¹⁹ The most considerable achievement of this Popular Front period was the success of the Committee of Industrial Organization (CIO).²⁰

The CPUSA achieved a significant albeit limited success in regions such as the states of New York, California, Washington, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Oregon, and Illinois.²¹ Large concentrations of party members were resident in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and San Francisco. In fact, 75% of the entire CP membership was located in these cities.²² The most sizeable proportion of the party, however, was based in the New York area. In 1934, New York made up only 22.5% of CPUSA membership; four years later it was 47% and, according to FBI data, New York accounted for 51%

¹⁹ M. ISSERMAN, *Which Side Were You on?: The American Communist Party during the Second World War*, Middletown – Connecticut 1982, pp. ix, 3; D. PRIESTLAND, *The Red Flag: Communism and the Making of Modern World*, London 2010, pp. 195–196.

²⁰ HOWE – COSER, p. 368.

²¹ H. KLEHR, *The Communist Experience in America: A Political and Social History*, New Brunswick – London 2010, p. 187.

²² KLEHR – HAYNES, p. 74.

of the party faithful in 1951.²³ The CPUSA did its utmost to attract as many new followers as possible in the period and several recruitment drives were launched to this end. One such was a campaign to “Americanise” the party and thereby draw in more English-speakers. Indeed, throughout the 1930s, CPUSA membership rose steadily. Harvey Klehr, for instance, has demonstrated that card-carrying members increased from 7,500 in 1930 to 55,000 eight years later. It could be argued that the rise in appeal was a direct result of the Popular Front strategy, which enabled the movement to identify itself with what could be called core American values. The slogan “Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism” propagated by Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Party, may also have played a role.²⁴ In 1934, the native-born element constituted only some 34%; however, the proportion of foreign-born had already begun to decline in comparison and by 1936 the bulk of the members were native-born. Indeed, in 1938, the absolute majority of CPUSA members was born in the United States.²⁵ It should be borne in mind that though the Communists made up only a very small segment of the American population, they were a highly concentrated minority. They lived in the same neighbourhoods, spent a lot of their spare time together, and their children were friends.²⁶

On the other hand, a paradox emerges with respect to membership in the 1930s. Due to its predominantly immigrant make-up, the CPUSA had a truly proletarian character in the 1920s. However, with the growing number of native stock among its ranks, the party became more middle-class in the 1930s.²⁷ It is likewise noteworthy that by the end of the 1920s, there was a strong Jewish influence in the CPUSA and the party was very successful in attracting American-born Jews, often the second generation of immigrants, to the fold, a pattern that would continue the following decade. In fact, people

²³ GLAZER, p. 116.

²⁴ KLEHR – HAYNES, p. 23; D. BELL, *Marxian Socialism in the United States*, Princeton 1973, p. 146.

²⁵ GLAZER, pp. 110, 114.

²⁶ ISSERMAN, p. 36.

²⁷ GLAZER, pp. 110, 114.

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of Jewish origin, often with a much higher level of education than their non-Jewish counterparts, were the only native-born group into which the CPUSA made substantial recruiting inroads, and this, in turn, contributed to the trend of making the party increasingly middle-class. In addition, foreign-born Jews also had advantages for the party. Primarily, they had a greater ability to assimilate themselves into both the American communist movement and the American way of life than other foreign-born members, who often found themselves isolated in their ethnic communities. Moreover, they frequently spoke and wrote English, were better educated than other foreign-born nationals, and were more likely to get a white-collar job.²⁸ It should also be mentioned that Jewish Communists were very active both in the party and in affiliated organizations, such as the Young Communist League, and took major leadership roles.²⁹

Another campaign run by the CPUSA in the 1930s was designed to attract black Americans and to develop their revolutionary potential. The Soviet Union saw the vexed question of racial inequality in the United States as an important weapon in the struggle against capitalism and came up with its own racial solution in 1928. Not having understood the actual nature of the problem, Soviet, and consequently American, Communists called for self-determination for African Americans around the so-called Black Belt in the South of the United States with the ultimate goal of establishing a “Negro Soviet Republic”.³⁰ Not surprisingly, this did not engender any very positive response among the African American community themselves. Indeed such a programme would in fact merely confirm the existing racial segregation. What the campaign did achieve, however, was to highlight the CPUSA’s role in championing both at home and abroad the injustices African Americans

²⁸ KLEHR, *Communist Cadre*, pp. 35, 39, 40, and 43; J. HOLMES, *American Jewish Communism and Garment Unionism in the 1920s*, in: *American Communist History*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2007, pp. 171–173.

²⁹ KLEHR – HAYNES, p. 55.

³⁰ B. KEYS, *An African-American Worker in Stalin’s Soviet Union: Race and the Soviet Experiment in International Perspective*, in: *The Historian*, Vol. 71, Is. 1, 2009, p. 35.

suffered in the United States. The party mobilised its resources and took a determined stand against racial discrimination and injustice and also sponsored local anti-lynching rallies.³¹ This policy began in its own ranks, when a man by the name of August Yokinen was expelled from the party for being impolite to African Americans who attended a dance in a communist-affiliated club.³² The party likewise led a successful international drive to save the so-called Scottsboro Boys from legal lynching in Alabama where they had been falsely accused and convicted of raping two white women. Many other such campaigns followed and this deepened respect and support for the CPUSA among African Americans.³³

As mentioned earlier, not everyone who supported the communist movement had to be a member of the CPUSA, the contrary was indeed the case. The so-called Popular Front phase of international communism that followed the 7th Congress of the Comintern in 1935 relied on various front organizations to advance the cause. In the case of the United States, they included the American League against War and Fascism, the American Youth Congress, the League of American Writers, the National Negro Congress, and the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League. This created a special “front psychology” based on a sense of political urgency, a spirit of fraternity, and a foreboding about the rise of Fascism. The Communists were doing their level best to build bridges with a broad-spectrum of sympathisers, fellow-travellers, and non-Communist progressives and liberals.³⁴ The left-leaning community in the Hollywood motion-picture industry, for instance, was very active. Its members attended front-organization meetings, wrote pamphlets, collected money and rallied around the banners of the unjustly arrested.³⁵ It is

³¹ Ch. H. MARTIN, *The International Labor Defense and Black America*, in: Labor History, Vol. 26, Spring 1985, p. 170.

³² GLAZER, p. 172.

³³ M. C. DAWSON, *Blacks In and Out of the Left*, Cambridge, MA – London 2013, pp. 1–3. See also M. L. ROWAN, *African Americans and the Soviet Indictment of U.S. Racism, 1928–1937*, Nebraska 2012, p. 91.

³⁴ HOWE – COSER, p. 332.

³⁵ P. MCGILLIGAN – P. BUHLE, *Tender Comrades: A Backstory of the Hollywood Blacklist*,

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noteworthy that between 1935 and 1939, literally millions of Americans from New York to Hollywood joined pro-Soviet organizations and, in one way or another, supported various campaigns directed by the Soviet Union.³⁶

In addition, more than 3,000 Americans, among whom there was a large proportion of Communists, travelled to Spain to enlist as volunteers in the International Brigades and aid in the Republican struggle against General Franco. Half of them never returned. In fact, there was hardly a communist family in the United States that did not have a relative or friend on the casualty lists.³⁷ It should also be mentioned that Communists and communist sympathisers and fellow-travellers turned a blind eye to the terror that was taking place in Stalin's Soviet Union. Of course, it is questionable whether they really believed that "*the Soviet people [were] building a great, new, free society [...] and those who [were] trying to stop this progress by treason and assassination, to betray the Soviet people into the hands of the fascist barbarians, [had to] expect to pay the price of their treachery when caught,*" or "*the stronger and more prosperous [the USSR] became, the more savage [were] the attacks of its enemies.*"³⁸ Nevertheless, according to some, mistakes could occur on the way to world revolution and should not ruin the "greater good of socialism".

A Wrong Bet in the Gamble

The CPUSA continued to follow instructions from the Comintern through the late 1930s. After 1935, Communism had, remarkably, become a rather respectable tenet in the United States; in fact, the party was enjoying its greatest success to date with an ever-expanding membership base. Communists

New York 1999, p. xv.

³⁶ W. L. O'NEILL, *A Better World: Stalinism and the American Intellectuals*, New Brunswick – London 1990, p. 9.

³⁷ ISSERMAN, pp. 27–28.

³⁸ E. YAROSLAVSKY, *The Meaning of the Soviet Trials, Including the Official Text of the Indictment of the Bukharin-Trotskyite Bloc*, with the Introduction by W. Z. Foster, New York 1938, p. 2. *The Plot against the Soviet Union and World Peace*, Moscow 1938, p. 4.

and their supporters strove hard to expose the danger of Fascism and of Nazi Germany both on the domestic and international plane and likewise highlighted what they hailed as the “brave stance of the Soviet Union”. On top of that, the CPUSA claimed that it had inherited the mantle of such revered American figures as Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine and Abraham Lincoln. It also clearly demonstrated its ability to cooperate with a wide range of organisations, from the trade union movement to churches and civil rights groups.³⁹ The sudden radical departure from the previous Soviet course manifest in the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of 23 August 1939, however, and in the Soviet attack on Poland three weeks later, unambiguously showed the CPUSA’s willingness to sacrifice everything it had achieved on the American front for the sake of the USSR. Communist parties all over the world carefully awaited Soviet guidelines on how to explain the sudden about-turn in policy and offer an alternative interpretation of the war that had just broken out.

Earl Browder, the leader of the American communist movement, accepted the view that Germany and the West were alone responsible for the situation. Furthermore, he described the Nazi-Soviet Pact as nothing other than Stalin’s “master stroke” for peace. Overnight, anti-Fascist slogans were replaced by anti-imperialist ones and the party adopted an anti-British and anti-French posture. The Soviet occupation of “its” part of Poland was depicted as a “sacred duty” of the Soviet “liberators” who freed the national minorities in Eastern Poland from “*the tyrannical rule of the greedy landlords and the corrupt nobility,*” and “*scored another triumph for human freedom*”.⁴⁰ The American Jewish communist press went even further, with *Freiheit*, the Yiddish-language newspaper, maintaining that the Soviet occupation of Poland was actually good news for the Jews. Readers were informed that even though two million Jews had fallen under Hitler’s heel, another million were “saved” by the Soviets.⁴¹ In addition, the main message propagated by the

³⁹ PRIESTLAND, p. 192.

⁴⁰ ISSERMAN, pp. 43, 47; HOWE – COSER, p. 387.

⁴¹ HOWE – COSER, p. 402.

CPUSA during this period was that the United States had to stay out of the war. For this reason, the FDR Administration found itself under attack from the American Communists who also pursued an aggressive trade union policy with calls for strikes. The CPUSA tried to minimise the number of defectors in the fallout from its attitude to political events in Europe and, in the case of party membership at least, it was generally successful. Indeed, the majority of American Communists remained in the party. However, what was destroyed were the alliances so painstakingly formed in the previous years, since many fellow-travellers and supporters of the communist movement felt completely disillusioned at the turn of events, for the time being at any rate.⁴²

It is hardly surprising that the American Government retaliated and that CPUSA members found themselves the butt of legal proceedings. In January 1940, Earl Browder, for instance, was found guilty of passport fraud, an offence committed years earlier, and was sentenced to four years in prison and fined \$2,000 by the Federal Court in New York (he was granted early release in May 1942). Other party stalwarts were likewise targeted. Communist leaders of the Fur Workers Union were indicted on antitrust charges and an officer of the Communist-led National Maritime Union was arrested for libel. Nor did the trials and tribulations of party members end there.⁴³ In June 1940, the so-called Smith Act, which was aimed primarily at Communists, was passed. Its provisions decreed that “to intend and to advocate the overthrow of the US government by force and violence” constituted a crime; it established strict alien registration procedures and the deportation of any aliens who were members of groups that adhered to the proscribed code.⁴⁴

The policy and the rhetoric emanating from the CPUSA again changed completely in June 1941, after Nazi Germany attacked the headquarters of international communism – the Soviet Union. What had been an “imperial

⁴² F. M. OTTANELLI, *The Communist Party of the United States: From the Depression to World War II*, New Brunswick – NJ 1991, pp. 198–199.

⁴³ O’NEILL, p. 43.

⁴⁴ HOWE – COSER, pp. 400, 417–418.

war” now mutated into the struggle against Fascism. With no further ado, American war preparations were promoted and, just a few months later, US participation in the war itself; funds were raised for food, clothing and medical supplies for the USSR, all strikes were opposed, the opening of a second front in Europe was advocated, and virtually every domestic policy of President Roosevelt was supported.⁴⁵ The new course and the successes enjoyed by the Red Army after 1943 naturally had an impact also on the fellow-travellers and progressives. In fact, most Americans appreciated the tremendous sacrifices made by the Soviet people and in many respects Soviet military achievements made up for everything that had been done in the past. Max Lerner, an American journalist and a prominent fellow-traveller, believed for example that the Soviets were able to fight so well only because they had been given a sense of participation in a process of social and economic reconstruction. “*The great reason why the Russian people are fighting as they are is that they are fighting in defence of something they believe they themselves have had a hand in building, and something they believe belongs to them.*”⁴⁶ Once again party membership grew substantially. In fact, it doubled between 1941 and 1943 and reached about 80,000 in 1944. The CPUSA managed to recruit heavily among industrial workers. In 1943 alone, party membership in the automotive industry rose by 100%, in shipbuilding by 60%, and in steel by 50%.⁴⁷

Stalin and the conditions prevailing in the Soviet Union were very rarely criticised in this period. Furthermore, some twenty-five movies portraying the USSR in favourable colours were made during the war. The most significant of these was *Mission to Moscow* (1943), based on the book written by Joseph E. Davies, the former American Ambassador in Moscow (1936–1938). Davies depicted the Soviet Union as a progressive society and insisted that those condemned in the Soviet trials were indeed guilty of the crimes they had been accused of. On top of that, changes that took place within the CPUSA

⁴⁵ ISSERMAN, pp. 134, 138, 143–144.

⁴⁶ Quoted in O’NEILL, p. 49.

⁴⁷ HOWE – COSER, p. 419.

and the international communist movement itself at this time were also welcomed quite enthusiastically by American progressives, fellow-travellers and other apologists and supporters of communism. In 1943, Stalin dissolved the Comintern and many Americans, and others, believed that national communist parties would now act and function on their own and not simply follow the dictates of Moscow. In like manner, after the Big Three Conference at Teheran, which also took place in 1943, the progressive spirit rose even higher. The normally quite restrained magazine *The Atlantic Monthly*, for example, reported that Americans had returned from the conference “with the impression that Stalin is both a military genius and a man of his word.” The commentators even believed that the previous suspicion of the Soviet Union was the result of Soviet secrecy and they hoped this was now over.⁴⁸

Actually, not only progressives and fellow-travellers were influenced by the mood of confidence that followed the talks in Teheran. The American Communist leader himself was convinced that the Soviet-American alliance that was born during the war begot in turn a whole new character in the international communist movement. Browder believed that Teheran meant that Western democracies had finally agreed to accept the Soviet Union “as a permanent member of the family of nations.” Moreover, he predicted that the Teheran accords would result in Soviet-American harmony and a complete and lasting peace after the war.⁴⁹ In this spirit, he wrote *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace*, a pamphlet that only a year later would result in his own undoing.⁵⁰ Browder was also behind the renaming of the CPUSA as the Communist Political Association (CPA), being of the opinion that this would better correspond with American traditions and thus enable party members to function more effectively within the American political system. His proposal was adopted unanimously by the subordinate bodies.

⁴⁸ O’NEILL, pp. 62, 106.

⁴⁹ ISSERMAN, pp. 185–186.

⁵⁰ E. BROWDER, *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace*, New York 1944.

Conclusion

In 1945, after the war had ended, Communists in America were doing quite well all told. Party membership had reached about 75,000 to 85,000; over half of the members were trade unionists and more than half were native-born. Moreover, African American members made up over 10%. They included several professionals who had received training at American elite schools; among whom were Ben Davis, William Patterson, James Jackson and Doxey Wilkerson. The communist newspaper, *Daily Worker*, had a strong readership base. Its Sunday edition had a circulation that topped 65,000 and weekday issues ran between 20,000 and 25,000. In addition, Communists in the United States still retained over a dozen foreign language newspapers that circulated among various immigrant communities.⁵¹ Browder called for the continuation of the wartime line. However, Moscow's leadership in the movement was unpredictable and American Communists were still ready to follow the orders they received.⁵² As a result, with the deterioration of international relations and with their clear and open aligning with the Soviet Union in the emerging (or re-emerging?) conflict, once again they lost all the gains they had made. However, that and the revelations of communist spying activities, a story which would rock the nation, would be a whole new article – or two.

American Communists had a vision of a revolution that would transform society and bring about egalitarian socialism. They dreamt of a society where oppression of any sort would not have a place. Their utopian vision was indeed one of messianism and therefore they were ready to make use of every means possible to reach their goals. In so doing, they were both idealistic and ruthless. On top of that, they were ready to accept Moscow's requirements in all matters of life. Yet, not all of the CPUSA members were willing to do that for a longer period of time and, consequently, the turnover in party membership was very high. Nevertheless, one could argue that all of those

⁵¹ KLEHR – HAYNES, pp. 98, 100; KLEHR, *Communist Cadre*, p. 60.

⁵² D. A. SHANNON, *The Decline of American Communism: A History of the Communist Party of the United States since 1945*, London 1959, pp. 3, 7.

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who believed in or experimented with the communist movement realised that the path to socialism and a just and egalitarian society was not paved with gold.

Abstract

The presented article offers a brief overview of the history of the American communist movement and, consequently, the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) between ca 1918 and 1945. It focuses on questions connected to the membership base and racial and ethnic issues. Furthermore, it analyses the link between the CPUSA and the communist headquarters in Moscow. The analysis terminates with the year 1945 as post-world history of the CPUSA represents a different story that is beyond the scope of this text.

Keywords

Communist Party of the United States; Communism; USA; Earl Browder

“We do not want Foreign Strongholds within Our National State” – the Romanian Educational Policy and the Historically Established Churches between the Two World Wars¹

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The First 20 Years of Denominational Education in Romania

Four periods can be distinguished with regard to the governmental actions and public attitude.²

The so-called transitional period lasted from 1918 to 1922. The first two years were about the foundation of the new establishment, under the supervision of the governing council³. They acted in the spirit of the Alba Iulia decrees and they claimed to entrust the church with the organization of minority education. In theory, Hungarian laws were considered relevant when authorizing the creation of new schools. Teaching Romanian language and Romanian national subjects were introduced; geography, history and constitutional law of Romania. In the beginning, these could be taught in the mother tongue of the given minority. After the termination of the governing council, the minister of the new government, Petre P. Negulescu took over the supervision. His attitude represented the growing Romanian nationalism, he claimed that state schools were more useful than denominational ones.⁴

¹ This research is supported by the National Scientific and Research Fund (Országos Tudományos és Kutatási Alap) (application number: PD 76004).

² S. BÍRÓ, *Az erdélyi magyar iskola keresztútja*, in: Magyar Szemle, Vol. 40, No. 1, 1941, p. 27.

³ Consiliu Dirigent.

⁴ BÍRÓ, p. 27.

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The complete turn in attitude came in 1922, during the first ministerial period of Anghelescu⁵ of the national liberal party. The first suppressive era lasted until 1933. In this period, politics opposed denominational education.⁶ Negotiations were started about the issue of the expropriation of Romanian denominational (Eastern Orthodox and Eastern Catholic) schools. The reaction to the refusal was that financial support from the state was denied. As a consequence, the teachers “demanded” the expropriation of schools by means of a decree. The bill was drafted, but the process was interrupted by the fall of the Avarescu-regime⁷. The expropriation was finally completed during Anghelescu’s ministerial term.⁸

Within the new borders, the political elite of the majority nation made efforts to inhibit the undisturbed operation of those institutions that maintained and nurtured the Hungarians’ identity, language and culture. “*We do not want foreign strongholds within our national state.*”⁹

There were two possible means to hinder the operation of the aforementioned institutions. Either all of the denominational schools are eliminated, or they can be ousted and forced out by the installation of state schools. Due to reasons of diplomacy and foreign affairs, they decided for the latter. Anghelescu was appointed minister during the reign of the liberal party, in the spring of 1922. His hungarophobia was publicly known.¹⁰ There were three main means of acting against educational institutions. The first was draining the incomes necessary for the upkeep of schools, through the agrarian act. As a result, 20 thousand kh (kataszteri hold – an obsolete

⁵ June 10, 1869 – September 14, 1948. Physician, university teacher, minister of education and prime minister, the “kultúrzhóna” was created under his supervision

⁶ BÍRÓ, p. 27.

⁷ March 9, 1859 – October 3, 1938 – soldier, prime minister.

⁸ BÍRÓ, p. 28.

⁹ Ibidem. There were statements in opposition to this, but they were never realised in practice. See *The Transylvanian Catholic Status before the Senate: the speech of lay chairman Elemér Gyárfás and the reply from N. Jorga Prime Minister in the February 12, 1932, Senate session*, in: Erdélyi Tudósító, Is. 5, 1932, pp. 26–27.

¹⁰ Ibidem.

measurement unit of area, equals 0.57 hectares) of the 24,000 kh Roman Catholic agricultural and forest lands became seized by 1922.¹¹ Usually there was no compensation for the seized lands, or if there was, the devaluating bills of credit actually failed to solve the financial problems. This led not only to the profound financial crisis of the Status, but the upkeep of the educational institutes became threatened as well.¹² The enormous gap between incomes and expenses brought a very severe situation for the school managements. Another means of financial ruination was the withholding of state grants and benefits.¹³ The second field of intervention was the curbing of schools' publicity rights (to be considered as official public schools), the third was the termination of the autonomy of schools. Where these disadvantageous measures were not applied, the institutions were immediately closed. There were several hundreds of schools that were eliminated by these means, in the course of one year.¹⁴ According to the 6th article of the circular decree No. 6505,¹⁵ issued by the Kolozsvár state secretariat for public education, members of different denominations could no longer attend each other's schools. There had been no equivalent restriction under Hungarian control. Even Onisifor Ghibu, a professor in Kolozsvár known for his anti-Hungarian sentiment, told about this issue in a contemporary official report.¹⁶ The Romanian-language teaching of the national subjects was also introduced. The 1924 elementary

¹¹ A. BALÁZS, *Adatok az erdélyi kisebbségek iskolavédelmi küzdelmeihez 1919–1929*, in: *Minerva irodalmi és nyomdai műintézet részvénytársaság*, Cluj-Kolozsvár 1930, p. 221.

¹² J. SCHEFFLER, *Az „Erdélyi Katolikus Státus” küzdelmes húsz éve*, in: *Magyar Szemle*, Vol. 40, No. 5, 1941, p. 300. 50-year bonds were issued in exchange for the lands with an annual interest of 5%, but many did not actually receive there either. See Z. SZÖVÉRDY, *Milyen az erdélyi agrárreform valóságban?*, in: *Magyar Szemle*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1928, p. 348.

¹³ I. SULYOK, *Végső veszedelemben középfokú oktatásunk III.*, in: *Magyar Kisebbség*, Vol. 2, No. 13, 1923, p. 497. The state aid that was due according to the 10th article of the minority treaty was paid only once, in 1921 See AZ ERDÉLYI KATHOLICIZMUS MULTJA ÉS JELENE, *Erzsébet Könyvnyomda Részvénytársaság*, Dicsőszentmárton 1925, p. 351.

¹⁴ BÍRÓ, p. 28.

¹⁵ For the text, see I. SULYOK, *Végső veszedelemben középfokú oktatásunk II.*, in: *Magyar Kisebbség*, Vol. 2, No. 8, 1923, pp. 283–285.

¹⁶ I. SULYOK, *A 6505. számú körrendelet*, in: *Magyar Kisebbség*, Vol. 2, No. 9, 1923, pp. 325–328.

school laws also served the Romanian nationalist efforts. One after the other, kindergartens were opened to “*lead back minors to the ancient (i.e. Romanian) language*”.¹⁷ According to the law, “citizens of Romanian origin” could attend Romanian-language schools only, regardless of denomination. Neither the law, nor its directives of execution defined who is to decide what “of Romanian origin” means. “*As a consequence, every minority citizen in Romania was subjected to the practice that any state official: from the village scribe to the gendarmerie captain could, at a whim, declare his child as Romanian.*”¹⁸

In those days, data on the populace of Székelyföld were published, claiming that they are of 50% Romanian origin. Among other things, their re-Romanian-isation was the reason for the creation of the “*kultúrzóna*”, according to the 159th article of the new law on elementary schools.¹⁹ As of 1920, more than 750,000 Hungarians were living in this area.²⁰

The law on private education was the greatest blow to denominational education. The law did not recognize denominational schools, these were categorized among private schools. New institutions could be founded only with the preliminary permission and supervision of the minister of public education. Privately schooled students could not be admitted to private schools, the installment of parallel classes was subject to official authorization,

¹⁷ BÍRÓ, p. 28.

¹⁸ E. BARABÁS, *A magyar iskolák a román uralom alatt*, in: Magyar Szemle, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1928, p. 145.

¹⁹ In the territory of the “*kultúrzóna*”, Romanians with Transylvanian origins could not be employed as teachers, either, only those arriving from the Regate, for a higher salary. In addition, Romanian-language schools were opened wherever possible, to hinder the existing Hungarian institutions. Those who moved here from ‘Old-Romania’ received 10 hectares of land from the spare land reserve of the Romanian state. See BÍRÓ, pp. 28–29.

²⁰ A. AJTAI, *A kultúrzóna*, in: Magyar Kisebbség, Vol. 3, No. 15–16, 1924, p. 617. It is not easy to assess the number of ethnicities and denominations in the period. For further details, see Á. KOVÁCS, *Erdély nemzetiségi statisztikája I.*, in: Magyar Kisebbség, Vol. 14, No. 19–20, 1935, pp. 556–559; Á. KOVÁCS, *Erdély nemzetiségi statisztikája II.*, in: Magyar Kisebbség, Vol. 14, No. 21, 1935, pp. 590–596; N. HEGEDŰS, *Megjegyzések Dr. Kovács Árpád fejtegetéseire*, in: Magyar Kisebbség, Vol. 14, No. 22, 1935, pp. 614–616; I. JAKAFBBY, *Magyarázat Közép-Európa nemzetiségi térképéhez, 1942*, Budapest 1994, pp. 29–42; BARABÁS, p. 145.

just as the employment of instructors. They could not issue diplomas and all administrative work was to be in Romanian. They could not receive any support, aid or allowance without explicit permission from the state. The management theoretically had the rights to decide the language of education, but if children of Romanian parents also attended the school, then it could be Romanian only.²¹ (As mentioned above, the discernment of Romanian origin was not regulated by law, which allowed for abuses²²). In the institutions of monastic orders, Romanian became the exclusive language of education. Regardless of the language of education, national subjects could be taught only in the official language.²³ Those schools had public school rights that conformed to every criteria. If they possessed public school rights, then students could take the end-term exams in front of their own teachers. Without the public school rights, however, they had to take exams in front of mostly Romanian teachers from state schools, and extra fees were to be paid to these.²⁴

On March 7, 1925, another law of serious gravity passed. It was the law on matura-bacchalaureate, which was “a sort of disguised ‘*numerus clausus*’ toward the Hungarian high school students”, its goal being to stop Hungarian students from entering colleges beyond their numerical proportions.²⁵ There were two major exams that student had to take during their studies. The first was at the end of the fourth class, to enter the fifth. The exam included Romanian national subjects and Maths or French, with teachers of their own institution and an officially commissioned inspector, in Romanian language. The school-leaving matura exams took place at the end of the eighth year, in front of an exam committee of state school teachers, with the supervision of a university teacher. Apart from the national subjects, the exam included a modern language and two science subjects. The latter exams were in Hungarian, the rest had to be taken in Romanian.

²¹ BÍRÓ, p. 29.

²² BARABÁS, p. 145.

²³ SÚLYOK, *Végző veszedelemben középfokú oktatásunk III.*, p. 496.

²⁴ BÍRÓ, p. 33.

²⁵ BARABÁS, p. 149.

Regulations of the law meant a great burden for teachers as well. Each instructor of the denominational schools had to pass an exam in Romanian language and the national subjects.²⁶ From those teachers who requested their resignation after the change of imperium, none received their due pensions. To address the situation, the Status created its own self-aiding funds.²⁷

Between 1926 and 1933, governments and the public attitude of the Roman majority stayed with the direction laid down by Angheliescu, and his successors did not really deviate from it even if they did not consider it suitable. There were mitigation attempts, especially in the case of language use, but the only thing they achieved was that teachers could make the exams easier at their discretion. Most of the time, this did not mean much good.²⁸

The third period of the Romanian minority education policy was from 1933 to 1938, bringing new and stricter resolutions. The “kultúrzóna” in Székelyföld was extended by ten years, the school-leaving exam became more difficult, native language use was completely abolished, teachers were ordered to take a new language exam, and the mini-abitur exam at the end of the fourth year was to be taken in front of a committee consisting of state school teachers. In this period, there was not one Hungarian denominational school that was granted public school rights.²⁹

The word “autonomy” was deleted from the text of the law of university education, though some modification bills retaining its essence did pass.³⁰

It was decreed that a Romanian-language state school was to be built in every village, the expenses of which also burdened the Roman Catholic citizens as well. Many denominational schools went bankrupt as the Hungarian population could not support and sustain two institutions. The conclave of high

²⁶ AZ ERDÉLYI KATHOLICIZMUS MÚLTJA ÉS JELENE, p. 350.

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 353.

²⁸ BÍRÓ, pp. 30–31.

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 34. About the educational institutions that had publicity right issues in 1928, see BALÁZS, p. 223.

³⁰ J. SÁNDOR, his speech at the March 9, 1932 session of the Senate, Prime Minister Iorga’s reply, in: Magyar Kisebbség, Vol. 11, 1932, p. 191.

school instructors, held in Temesvár on 17–19 April, 1936, went as far as they demanded the immediate and full abolishment of denominational education. *“It is absolutely necessary that the task of educating the future generations be entrusted only to Romanians [...] if the children of minorities want to live in Romania, their education must be done by Romanian teachers, in Romanian spirit and in Romanian language.”*³¹

After the 1937 fall of the liberal party, the next year, 1938, brought some changes. Due to the international situation, the strongly centralizing and Romanian-ising school policy became somewhat more temperate. From then on, the parents were to decide on the national identity of their children, and teachers of the denominational schools were to hold the entrance exams. However, the national subjects were still to be taught in Romanian, and they did not reclaim the right to hold the matura school-leaving exam.³² As a consequence of the softening situation, several schools received the public school rights and even some new schools were opened, though all of this did not alleviate the more serious difficulties.³³

The Struggle of Historical Churches for Denominational Education

The Romanian government used education as a tool of assimilation. Denominational schools were nurturing the two “features” that made the Hungarian minority so undesirable in the eyes of the Romanian political elite and, thus, of the rest of the population: that they were Roman Catholic and they were Hungarian.³⁴ The goal was a unified nation state, so they intended to Romanian-ise everyone who stood in the way.³⁵ The fact that Ghibu was aware of the dangers of forcing the official language is clear from how he

³¹ BÍRÓ, p. 31.

³² Ibidem.

³³ Ibidem, p. 34.

³⁴ B. JANCsó, *A magyar egyházak helyzete a román uralom alatt*, in: Magyar Szemle, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1928, p. 62.

³⁵ A. BALÁZS, *Az erdélyi egyházak lépése Genfben*, in: Magyar Kisebbség, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1926, p. 95.

opposed it during the Hungarian rule, when he feared for the continuity of his own minority.³⁶

Because of the educational unfairness toward them and thus the non-adherence to the Paris conventions, leaders of the Transylvanian Roman Catholic, Reformed, Unitarian and Evangelical churches edited a submission first to the League of Nations on May 6, 1926, then a memorandum on 12th of August, and requested protection for themselves, in accordance with the minority treaties. They asked for the creation and commission of an international committee. According to András Balázs, this did not happen. In his final conclusion, he declares that it did not bring about too much result either, perhaps as much as the Romanian state did not terminate everything for good.³⁷ As they found no legal support in Romania, the Status and the Reformed and Unitarian church districts complained at the League of Nations (the predecessor of the UN)³⁸ – the Romanian government’s reply was to defend themselves with the 1907 Apponyi-laws, but it falsified their text when communicating with Genf.³⁹

³⁶ K. GÁL, *Kéménylőség a népiskolában és Dr. O. Ghibu tanár felfogása*, in: Magyar Kisebbség, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1925, pp. 132–133.

³⁷ BALÁZS, *Adatok az erdélyi*, pp. 221–222.

³⁸ BALÁZS, *Az erdélyi egyházak*, pp. 93–95. See also E. JAKABFFY, *Az erdélyi magyarság helyzete nemzeti vonatkozásaiban*, in: Magyar Szemle, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1928, p. 168.

³⁹ This is how Angelescu referred to the law: “*If the Romanian schools accepted the state support, however little it was, they had been obliged to teach not only the history, geography and constitution, of Hungary, but also mathematics, general geography and history in Hungarian language.*” In addition, the government referred to one of Ghibu’s book, so they had to know the authentic legal text, since this is what Ghibu relates: “*The state supports denominational schools, if they adhere to the defined conditions, but in this case, the curriculum of five subjects (Hungarian language, history, geography, constitutional studies and mathematics) is decided by the state.*” With regard to the law, the Transylvanian Eastern Orthodox episcopate issued the following circular: “*Whether or not they are supported by state funds, in our denominational schools each subject must be taught exclusively in Romanian language, with the exception of the Hungarian language. There can be mathematical, historical, constitutional and geographical matters included in this course. Whatever is discussed in Hungarian should come after it was studied in the Romanian-language lessons of the respective subject. In the mathematical, historical, constitutional and geographical lessons there is only Romanian-language used.*” BARABÁS, pp. 146–147.

To return to the original debate, it must be noted that Duca, minister of foreign affairs offered to mediate at the negotiations between the minister of public education and the churches.

They summarized their standpoint in 13 points,⁴⁰ which served as the basis of the negotiations. As a reply, the ministry created a bill proposal of 19 points.⁴¹ The standpoints failed to converge sufficiently, so the negotiating parties signed the agreement only conditionally, but the Status, the Reformed and the Unitarians did not accept it anyway. Even so, the bill went under discussion on December 2 and included certain measures that basically countered those alleviations that the churches had achieved during the talks. However, the 19 points about these alleviations were sent to Genf. On December 11, the churches articulated their still valid concerns to the League of Nations.⁴²

This was not the first time when the international community was faced with the situation of Hungarians in Transylvania. International committees had come to the province in 1924 and 1927 as well⁴³ and they saw that there were problems with the enforcement of the minority treaty. The 1927 committee confirmed that the school reforms did not serve the interests of the minorities and their primary goal was to “*persecute the institutions by*

⁴⁰ The 13 point included the following main demands: the public school rights should not be rejected from schools that fulfill the legal requirements, monastic schools should be treated as the other denominational schools. With regard to pedagogy, the government should not interfere in the school management, any denominational school should be permitted to accept students with a different religion or private students, the language of teaching should be decided by the school management; providing a proper state support fund. Those believers who financially support denominational schools should not be obliged to pay for state school support; the seized school buildings should be given back or compensated for. See BALÁZS, *Az erdélyi egyházak*, pp. 96–97.

⁴¹ Some demands from the thirteen were acknowledged, but in a manner that stripped them of their essence. The more important ones, concerning language of education, state funds, and private students were not included, they were acknowledged only verbally. With regard to the school buildings and the financial support of state schools by denominational supporters, the minister claimed that the issues are outside of his authority and thus he did not comment on them. Ibidem, pp. 97–98.

⁴² Ibidem, pp. 96–99.

⁴³ Among others, the representatives of the American Unitarians.

official means⁴⁴ [...] to reject the public school rights, to impose the Romanian language, to restrain school autonomy [...] The 1925 laws constitute uncaring and nationalist political tools [...] Romanian language is not only compulsory but also completely dispossesses native language education [...] minorities are excluded from school supervision committees [...] it is a fixed idea of the Roman public education policy that they want to cram patriotism down the throats of reluctant millions.”⁴⁵

The subject matter of my paper does not include why the reports of these committees or the complaints to the League of Nations had no effect, but a significant element is to be noted, which is “*a severe blunder of every so-called ‘impartial’ work abroad that discusses the Hungarian minorities today*”.⁴⁶ Zsombor Szász and before him István Sulyok and Elemér Jakabffy already lamented about the fact that these discussions always draw a parallel between the Hungarian ethnic policy before the war and the Romanian one after the war.

To a differing extent, but both involved the matter of schools in the issue and the employed means are also similar, just like the demands of the respective minorities. Therefore, the comparison seems straightforward. Then again, just like in the case of ecclesiastic funds, one must not forget the changes in the legal-constitutional environment.

To quote Sulyok: “*what was once the wish and demand of the Romanian minority in Hungary, is now the right of the Hungarian minority in Romania, recognized by international treaties.*”⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Sometimes in truly surprising forms. According to the newspaper article, the headmaster of the state school tricked the key from the instructor of the denominational school and then took the school building by force. After the report from the county prefect, the supervisor contacted the involved parties but there was no relevant action taken to give the school building back. See *Ilyen iskolafoglalásra még nem volt példa! – A „Keleti Újság” 250-ik számából*, in: Magyar Kisebbség, Vol. 13, No. 21, 1934, pp. 640–642.

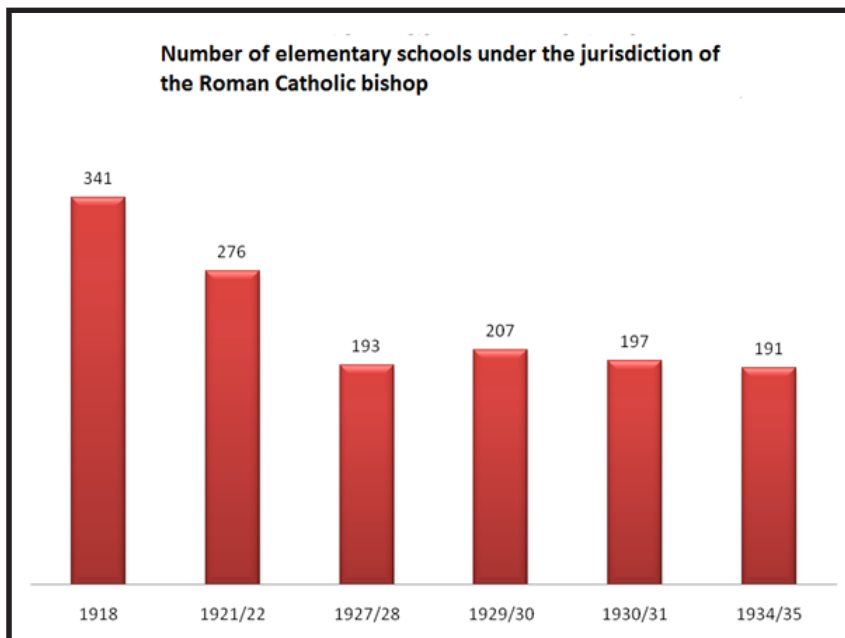
⁴⁵ Zs. SZÁSZ, *A vallási kisebbségek jogai – Egy amerikai bizottság jelentése a romániai kisebbség helyzetéről*, in: Magyar Szemle, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1928, pp. 65–66.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, p. 66.

⁴⁷ I. SULYOK, *A 6505. számú körrendelet*, in: Magyar Kisebbség, Vol. 2, No. 9, 1923, p. 324.

Evaluation and Summary

After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, there were 2,331 Romanian-language denominational schools, operating with the financial support of the Hungarian state.⁴⁸ Their role on the formation of the Romanian intelligentsia and thus on the development of the patriotic identity is an undisputable fact.



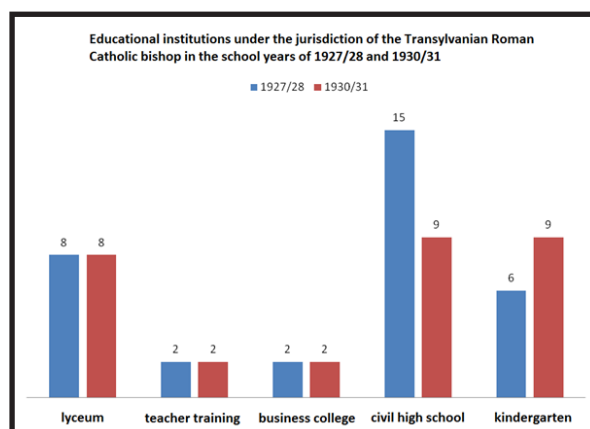
After the change of imperium, the number of denominational schools started to decrease. At first at a slower rate, because during its two years of functioning, the governing council wanted to address the issue of minority education through the denominational schools. They also authorized the opening of new institutions, in accordance with the former Hungarian laws. Then in 1922 the first Anghelescu-government launched the program of dispossessing the denominational schools. As a result, by the end of the 20's, their number had almost halved, compared to 1918. There was a slight increase in the school year of 1929/30, but then the decline continued.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ I. KOSHUTÁNY, *A római katolikus egyház Erdélyben*, Cluj 1924, p. 8.

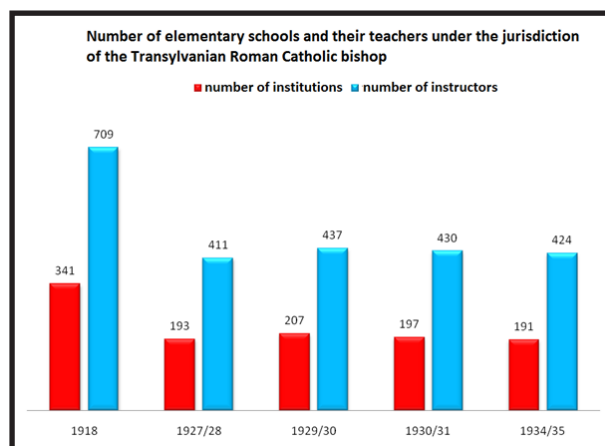
⁴⁹ BÍRÓ, p. 27.

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Not only were primary schools affected by the changes. At the most active period of the disadvantageous educational policy, there were only two teacher training colleges, two business/trade colleges and eight lyceums operating in Transylvania under the supervision of the Roman Catholic episcopate. In addition, while the number of kindergartens grew by a half, the number of civil secondary schools continued to decline, by around 40% by the early 30's.



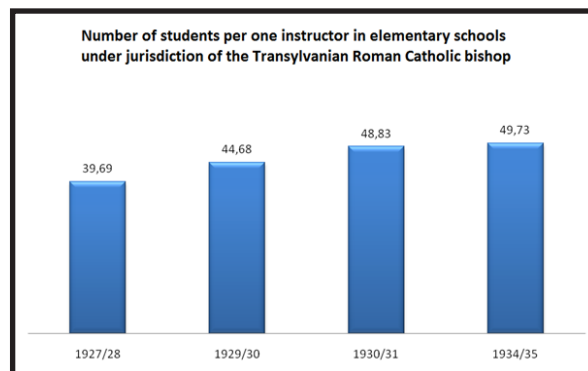
Decrees were made in the effort of dispossessing the denominational schools. The financial funding was taken away,⁵⁰ the state support denied⁵¹ and the

⁵⁰ SCHEFFLER, p. 300.

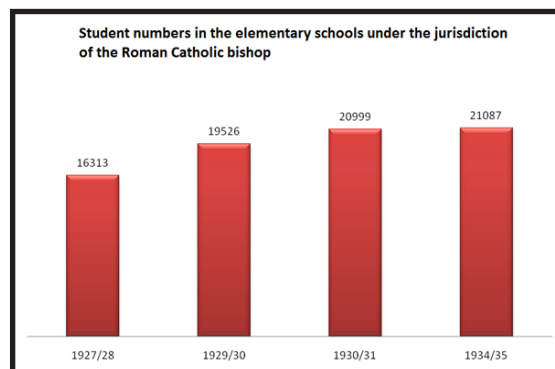
⁵¹ SULYOK, *Végő veszedelemben középfokú oktatásunk III.*, p. 497, BÍRÓ, p. 33.

public school rights rejected.⁵² As a result of this all, the number of students dwindled to around the 60% of the 1918 number.

Due to the severe burdens on the instructors, the compulsory exams, the closing of schools and the scarce financial resources, their numbers were also declining. The 1925 law on private schools ordered the ministerial permit necessary for employing new teachers,⁵³ and those still working had to take newer exams from time to time, which cost much money and effort.⁵⁴



Despite the difficulties, there was an increase of denominational school students in the 30's. But the increase in the teacher count was not proportional with the tendency, thus the ratio of students per one teacher was growing. This could endanger the quality of education on the long run.



⁵² Ibidem, p. 34.

⁵³ Ibidem, p. 29.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, p. 31.

The education policy of the Romanian government contradicted three agreements and its own official promises: the resolutions of the Alba Iulia conference, those of the Paris conventions and the canons of the Corpus Iuris Canonici (1372–1382).

The 1st 2nd and 4th articles of the IIIrd section of the Roman national conference in Alba Iulia declared the followings: “1. *Complete national freedom for the cohabiting nationalities. Every nation has the right for education and governance in their own native language, their own administration conducted by individuals of their own.* 2. *Equal rights and complete autonomous denominational freedom for all denominations within the state* 4. *Unrestricted freedom of press, association and assembly; the free propagation of every human idea.*”⁵⁵

When in December 9, 1919, the allied powers and Romania made an agreement on the issue of minorities, some hope flickered for the Transylvanians – this treaty could have improved the situation of the churches seceded from Hungary. “Every Romanian citizen, regardless of differences in race, language or religion, is equal before the law and enjoys the same civil and political rights. No religious, faith-related or denominational difference can be disadvantageous for any Romanian citizen, concerning the enjoyment of civil or political rights, namely: the gaining of public positions, offices and honours, or the practice of trades.”⁵⁶ – as the document says. Article 9 states that minorities “have the right to establish, manage and supervise, at their own expense, institutions of charity, religion or of social nature, in addition to schools and other institutions of education; in accordance with their right to freely use their own language and freely practice their religion”.⁵⁷ According to the tenth article, “in those towns and districts where there is a significant

⁵⁵ Magyar Kisebbség, Vol. 1, No. 7, 1922, december 1. <http://www.jakabffy.ro/magyarkisebbsseg/index.php?action=cimek&lapid=2&cikk=m950206.html>.

⁵⁶ <http://www.jakabffy.ro/magyarkisebbsseg/index.php?action=cimek&lapid=1&cikk=m950115.html>.

⁵⁷ SÜLYÖK, *Végső veszedelemben középfokú oktatásunk III.*, p. 496.

*proportion of Romanian citizens belonging to a racial, religious or linguistic minority, these minorities shall be provided a fair fraction from all those funds of public resources that are spent, in the town or other budget, on purposes of education, religion or charity”.*⁵⁸ These articles were deliberately ignored by the Romanian administration.

As we have seen, the two referenced documents had promised full religious freedom and internal autonomy for every church, including the Roman Catholic Church. The international treaties and the Alba Iulia decrees could have guaranteed the minorities’ right to manage their schools, but as they were never authorized by law, their legal binding power and quality are seriously dubious.⁵⁹

It must be noted that the first never entered the text of law (except for the first article) and even though the latter entered the Romanian corpus iuris in 1920, it was never actually used.

The primary goal of the education policy of the Romanian governments was that as many children should attend the state schools as possible, thus receiving an education that makes them faithful subjects of the country, instead of an education that maintains and nurtures Hungarian sentiments and the Roman Catholic faith.⁶⁰ To achieve this goal, they usurped the parents’ right to declare ethnic identity and impeded the possibility to attend denominational schools.⁶¹ The parents, however, insisted that their children receive appropriate religious education and be able to follow their traditions as much as possible, even taking on financial burdens for denominational schools and the number of pupils in the elementary schools managed by the episcopate began to rise steadily in the 30’s.

⁵⁸ AZ ERDÉLYI KATHOLICIZMUS MULTJA ÉS JELENE, p. 333.

⁵⁹ A román alkotmány és törvénykezés kisebbségi szerződésekhöz és a gyulafehérvári határozatokhoz fűződő viszonyát lásd bővebben: About the Romanian constitution’s and legislature’s relations to the Alba Iulia decrees, see: L. NAGY, *A kisebbségek alkotmányjogi helyzete Nagyromániában*, Kolozsvár 1944. Only the first point of the Alba Iulia decrees entered the law on territorial unification, the rest never took legal effect.

⁶⁰ BÍRÓ, p. 31.

⁶¹ BARABÁS, p. 145.

Csaba Máté Sarnyai

“We do not want Foreign Strongholds within Our National State” – the Romanian Educational Policy and the Historically Established Churches between the Two World Wars

The political elite failed to completely achieve its real goals, because the *“churches fought with a heroic effort to retain their self-management and the denominational school network was the most extensive institution system of the Hungarians, up until the Communist expropriations”*.⁶²

Abstract

Within its territory, which had been extended by the peace treaties following WW1, Romania intended to create a nation-state that is also religiously uniform. Therefore, minorities in Transylvania meant a twofold problem, as they were both Hungarians and Roman Catholics.

Just as Romanians had the denominational schools as fountainheads of national/ethnic awakening during Hungarian authority, now these schools served the safekeeping of the Hungarian national sentiment. This is why governments strived to suppress them as much as possible, even if they were obliged by international treaties to protect them. With regard to governmental actions and public attitude, four periods can be distinguished. In our paper, we aim at monitoring and evaluating the process in an analytic manner.

Keywords

Hungarian Ethnic Minorities; Transylvania; Roman Catholic Schools

⁶² A. JAKAB, *Vergődésben. Magyar kisebbségek “történelmi” egyházai az átalakuló Európában, (Problématár)*, Budapest 2009, p. 60.

The Perspectives of the Archaeological Knowledge of the American Military Activities during World War II¹

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Introduction – Archaeology of the Conflicts in 20th Century

For a long time, the archaeology dealt with the research of the prehistoric and middle age period in the first place. The interest of the later periods increased in the second half of the 20th century, when it was focused on the key historical events. Above all the important war conflicts, e.g. Thirty Years' War, Seven Years' War, the Napoleonic Wars or the conflicts among French, English and native Americans in North America, caught the interests of the archaeologists. Also the questions of the quick economic development, mainly the relics of the Industrial Revolution or the colonization of America, Africa or Asia, became also significant. The presence have attracted the interest of the archaeologists, who have been trying to understand of the nowadays people behaviour using the archaeological methods (observing the trash and consumption), since the end of the last century.

The era of the World War I is considered to be the important event with a great impact on the course of the following years. The professional archaeologists from France and Belgium came into contact with the relics from the years 1914–1918 during the ordinary salvage researches of the monuments of the earlier period, they documented these relics and started to find out that

¹ The article represents a result of the research of the project SGS-2013-042 (*Perspektivy výzkumu přítomnosti americké armády v západních Čechách v roce 1945 I*) of the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts of the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen.

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they gained the information, which were not known and also not detectable out of other sources, because they could be identify only using the archaeological methods. Mainly, it was the mapping of the defensive fighting position and the location of the battles. Hundreds meters of the filled up lines of the defensive fighting position were revealed, where the dozens of the artefacts of many sorts, e.g. little personal things, the parts of weapons and armours, unexploded ammunition, were found. Also the places, which were completely destroyed by an artillery attack and therefore there were only craters on these locations, were documented. Dozens of graves were uncovered – the individual ones and the mass graves as well, where a lot killed soldiers of both sides were found. The dead soldiers were in some cases identified and their bodies could be buried under their names. Starting the half of the 1990s, the conferences on this topic were organized and also the specialized departments were created.² Today the archaeology of the World War I is fully established discipline.

Described success of course had a positive impact on archaeological research of the World War II. The amateurs have studied the various aspects of the topic for a long time and their activities led to the topic the professional researchers as well. Studying of two themes, the air war and the fortifications, while the archaeological methods were used, have had a very long tradition. The beginnings of these activities can be found at the turn of the 1950s and 1960s in the UK. The amateur groups charted the events of the air war from 1939 to 1945 carried out the first excavation of the crashed aircraft. However, they encountered with a strong criticism of the public, because they treated the remains of the fallen soldiers, which were still found in the cockpits of downed machines, unethically. The large expansion of these activities occurred in connection with the premiere of the film *Battle of Britain* in 1969. The first fallen RAF pilot from this battle was identified in 1972 and the first Luftwaffe pilot one year later. The found artefacts lay the foundations for the first private museum, but the official archaeological institutions still did not care of this

² Y. DESFOSSÉS – A. JACQUES – G. PRILAU, *Great War Archaeology*, Rennes 2008, pp. 9–23.

problematic. At the same time, the amateur researchers elsewhere, particularly in Germany, France, the USA, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, became to be interested in the problematic of the air war. Their activities were also very limited to the political situation.³

Later, the remains of the fortification started to be interested for the researchers as well. The selected parts of the defensive lines built during the World War II in Finland were part of the heritage protection and they were researched and documented. These activities are occurring even today. The remains of the Atlantic Wall, that relics were also found in Norway, were documented in the 1990s in France. The research of the fortification from World War II also started in Italy, Germany and North Africa. However, it is still mainly the amateur activities. The involvement of the professional researchers happened for the first time in Britain. There were two projects in Britain – the project Twentieth Century Fortifications in England created by the organization English Heritage and the Defence of Britain Project under the guidance of the Council for British Archaeology. A typology of the main objects of defence was created and supported by the archival sources and tracing in the field during the first project, the second one charted the remains of the anti-invasion positions of the year 1940 with the help of volunteers.⁴ These actions followed up with the activities of journalist Henry Wills, who was interested in the problematic of the British defence system of 1940 in the late 1960s, when he was sent to document the removal of one of the many concrete bunkers on the east coast. During the preparation of his article he found out that there were only little information on this topic, because the defence in 1940 had been made hastily and only a few documents about that survived. Therefore, the volunteers began charting the situation of the field in order to preserve some information for future.

³ M. RAK, *Aeroarcheologie – výzkum havarovaných letounů*, in: Acta FF ZČU, No. 4, 2010, pp. 250–252.

⁴ J. SCHOFIELD, *Military archaeology, Past practice – future directions*, in: Conservation Bulletin, Is. 44, 2003, pp. 4–7; W. FOOT, *Public Archaeology – Defended areas of World War II*, in: Conservation Bulletin, Is. 44, 2003, pp. 8–11.

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The researchers from both projects soon established a close cooperation not only with each other, but also with the other institutions in Britain. Their staff and the workers from the other projects of the monument heritage were trained in recognizing this type of monuments for their next monument protection. All of the registered locations were written to the most important lists of monuments like Sites and Monuments records or National Monument Record. There has been a course of the documentation of the military monuments ran at the University of Oxford open to all interested professionals and the general public since 2000. In 1995 the manual summarizing all the relevant sources, methods of documentation, construction types a locations examined in the context of archaeology of the military monuments was published.⁵ Moreover, a number of the educational and popular documents approaching these activities were created.

The first project finished in 2000, the second one in 2002, but soon was followed by a two-years project the Defence Areas Project. There were involved over six hundred volunteers and identified over twenty thousand military locations. Out of these twenty thousand locations approx. seven thousand were concrete fortresses and positions for heavy weapons and two thousand obstacles on the road, which had complicated the movement especially of the tanks.⁶ Today, these monuments are protected and used in the development of tourism and education, the lectures sometimes are held at chosen locations. The projects have also become an inspiration for other types of research for neglected monuments in Britain, such as the prisoner-of-war camp o the relics of the Cold War.⁷

At the same time, the English Heritage also becomes interested in the issue of the crashed aircraft. A law to protect the wrecked aircraft and ships was created in 1986 in Britain, but it does not solve the problem, how the wreckage

⁵ B. LOWRY (Ed.). *20th Century Defences in Britain. An Introductory Guide*, York 2002.

⁶ <http://www.britarch.ac.uk/cba/projects/dob>; <http://old.britarch.ac.uk/projects/dob/map.html> [12–122013].

⁷ SCHOFIELD, pp. 6–7; FOOT, pp. 9–11.

of the aircraft should be uncovered neither the presence of the archaeologist during the excavation that has been criticized for a long time. The amateur researchers realized this problem and founded association, which has tried to coordinate the activities and also apply the standards of the archaeological praxis. Several studies of the professional archaeologists, who have researched the wrecked aircraft, were created in the 1990s and in this time it was suggested a lot of possibilities, which can be observed in these locations.⁸

At the end of the last century, other historical periods started to be explored – mainly the period of the Cold War and it's the most typical monument the Cold War the Iron Curtain, the relics of the Caribbean Crisis, the War in Vietnam, Civil War in Yugoslavia, the crimes of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. They also began to study the non-military conflicts e.g. the remnants of apartheid in South Africa and gulags in the countries of the former Soviet Union. The study of the conflict areas of the last century is popular and it brings a lot of new and interesting information.

Archaeology of the US Army in the World

Before the explanation the interesting archaeological projects researching the activities of the US Army in Europe, I briefly draft several interesting projects in other parts of the world. Let's start right in the territory of the USA. There has been the mapping the locations, which have the connection with the army activities in past. Firstly, it was mainly the locations of the American Revolutionary War and the Civil War. At the turn of the millennium, however, the interest turned on the locations from the World War II. The main objective was to determine the total number and also the condition in order to preserve them as a cultural heritage. Very extensive project took place in Tennessee.

Between the years 2004 and 2006 there were recorded totally 118 locations, which are only a small fraction of the total locations, which were in the are of the USA in the years 1941–1945. There were locations of various

⁸ RAK, p. 252.

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kinds – including the areas, where took place many extensive military exercises (more than 77,000 soldiers participated on the first exercise and during the year 1944 the number of soldiers rose up to 850,000), military training camps, regular military base, military headquarters, prisoner-of-war camps or the locations, where the war production took place (including the aircraft and tank production). A total out of the 87 recorded areas were marked as “short term”, the ones, which were used for a limited period of time (e.g. field camps), but they are sometimes placed nearby the building (barracks etc.). The information about them was mostly gained out of the memories of the contemporaries or the contemporary maps and plans. It was also reported during the survey that the locations from the World War II were particularly threatened to be destroyed by the nowadays development and construction. Although the territory of the United State of America was not directly the battleground in 1941–1945, it was an important training and production centre, after which a lot of traces still remained in the country and its research brings new data to the information from other kinds of sources.⁹

The extensive archaeological researches take places on the important location for the American history, in the Pacific Ocean. Leaving aside the extensive studies of the sunken ships and aircrafts in this area, which are not possible to apply in the Central Europe, but which is an important part of the American archaeological research of the World War II, the mapping of the locations of the invasion and battles on the Pacific islands stands in the centre of current activities. A large number of the relics are still preserved on the islands such as Saipan, Tarawa or Okinawa, including the abandoned wrecks of the combat techniques. Also the activities, as in previous case in the USA, are held particularly to protect these locations against the destruction. However, there is also a unit of the US Army’s Joint POW/MIA Accounting Command (closer description further), which is very active, in this area, and

⁹ B. J. NANCE, *An Archaeological Survey of World War II Military Sites in Tennessee*, Nashville 2007.

which has recently managed to find the bodies of many missing American soldiers, ensure their proper identification and burial.¹⁰

At the beginning of the new millennium, the number of the American research teams started to deal with the battle operations in Europe as well. Therefore, it is not surprising that one of the first researches focused on the invasion of Normandy in June 1944. The object of the interdisciplinary team from Texas was the battlefield on the cliffs of Pointe-du-Hoc. The Reefs, which are located at the interface landing beaches, became the targets of the 2nd and 5th Ranger Battalions. The aim of the soldiers was to silence the local artillery batteries, which could threaten the disembarked soldiers. The Americans conquered the position and found out that the main armament was taken away.¹¹ This area was proclaimed as a cultural monument by the French government in 1955 and in 1979 it was even transferred to the US administration. Although the remains of the fortresses on the Atlantic coast were examined over the years, all these activities avoided the reefs Pointe-du-Hoc. The main aim of the team was to document not only the standing concrete bunkers, which were threatened by some soil erosion, but especially the remains of the field fortifications and the effects of the Allied bombing in order to better understand the role of the Ranger battalions while occupying the areas. Moreover, it should have been investigated if the position on the cliff in the Atlantic Wall was unique, and the attempt of the identification of the destructed objects should be made. Finally, the best methods should have been identified to save the endangered location.¹²

A large number of methods were applied to achieve these objectives. It was a classis non-destructive surface exploration of the area combined with the use of the electromagnetic and radar measurements to identify the hidden underground constructions. Also the analysis of the war exploratory

¹⁰ <http://archive.archaeology.org/0211/abstracts/wwII.html> [17–12–2013].

¹¹ S. BADSEY, *Normandie 1944. Vylodění spojeneckých vojsk a průlom z předmostí*, 2011, p. 36.

¹² R. BURT a kol., *Pointe-du-Hoc Battlefield, Normandy, France*, in: D. SCOTT – L. E. BABITS – C. M. HAECKER, *Fields of Conflict: Battle Archaeology from the Roman Empire to the Korean War*, Washington 2009, pp. 383–387.

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aerial photographs and the recorded memories of the contemporaries were used to the recognition of the location. The architects documented all of the standing buildings. The result was the accurate maps, plans and 3D models of the fortifications, as it was published in 2004, and the description of all of the recorded changes from 1944. The identification a reconstruction of the course of the field operations, mainly the defensive fighting position, which were nearby the bunkers, are very interesting and important as well. There has also been an attempt to locate the exact position of the dreaded 155 cannons, which should be used for the defence of the beaches, but, as mentioned above, were taken away before the landing itself. Combining the information from aerial photographs, the testimony of the contemporaries and the metal detector survey was to determine the possible position near the village Circqueville.¹³

One of the most legendary parts of the Atlantic Ocean managed to be mapped by combining various non-destructive methods. The most important thing was certainly the identification of the original trench system and the possible locations of the artillery positions. This could be clarified the Ranger units participation in the overall success of the landing and the role of the reefs Point-du-Hoc in the German defence. Also further research questions were defined for future stage of the exploration.

Several years after the precious project, the attention was paid to another great battle, where the Americans in Europe interfered. It is known as the Battle of the Bulge. The operation began on December 16, 1944 with the attack of the 5th Panzer Army on the 6th SS Panzer Army, which was supported by infantry on the 135 km long line between the Belgian town of Monschau and the Luxembourg town of Echternach. The opponents were mainly US Infantry Divisions, which were reorganized in this area and completed after the previous fights. The Germans took advantage of the bad weather to eliminate the Allied air superiority and also the forested terrain to conceal their activities. However, after the initial successes, the Americans managed to slow the German advance, the defence of Bastonage became legendary. The

¹³ Ibidem, pp. 389–397.

forested and mountainous terrain of the Ardens allowed conceal the German troop movements, simultaneously it determined clearly, through which the attackers could advance. The US troops took advantage in the defensive battles and managed to keep their positions until the reinforcements, which were consisted mainly of the American armoured units, arrived. The Germans gradually lost the initiative and whole their operation the Watch on the Rhine (Die Wacht am Rhein) ended in failure on January 25, 1945.¹⁴

Although a lot of museums commemorate this operation and the part of the field fortification has been preserved and maintained as a memorial since the end of the war, the exact extent of the fortification works had never been documented. In 2007, the first project was created that documented the relics of a forested area in east Belgian towns St. Vith – Schoenberg. This area, which was occupied mainly by the 106th Infantry Division and other smaller units, became the target of the attack of the 18th Grenadier Division, which managed to break the American positions, capture a large number of the American soldiers and conquer the town St. Vith itself during the night from 21st to 22nd of December. The research was conducted on two selected locations. The first area was the Prumerberg space (range 1 km²) located on the east of the town, which lieutenant colonel Thomas J. Riggs chose as the best place for building the defence against the advancing enemy. In fact, this space provided an excellent overview of the main access road from the east and the Germans had to use this road during their advance inevitably. The second research area was located south of Schoenberg, on the border with Germany and it was called Lindscheid (range 0.4 km²).¹⁵

The classical surface survey with the documentation of the found relics was performed on the both selected locations. The length, the width and the depth with the planimetric coordinates were noted for all the relics.

¹⁴ R. J. ARNOLD, *Ardeny 1944. Hitlerův poslední pokus na Západě*, 2011, pp. 9–19.

¹⁵ D. G. PASSMORE – S. HARRISON, *Landscapes of The Battle of Bulge: WW2 Field Fortifications in the Ardennes forest of Belgium*, in: *Journal of Conflict Archaeology*, No. 4, 2008, pp. 88–92.

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Subsequently, the attempt to determine the type of the field fortification according to the military manuals Field Manual FM5-15 (Field Fortification) was made. It was managed to identify only 11 in Lindscheid, but the number of objects in Prumeberg was 105. The interesting thing is that seven objects from the first location was identified as the positions for the howitzer or the antitank 57mm cannons, whereas there were only 15 similar positions on the second location. The most of the relics on the both sides of the main access road constituted the foxholes for the shooters with rifles, machine guns mortars services and also the covers and the vantage points. It is interesting that the Americans considered the defence foxholes for two men, who could cooperate, better than the foxholes for only one soldier and the dimensions of the found object confirmed this assumption. Other twelve objects were identified as the craters after the shooting. The research showed that the defence had been divided into the depth, where the individual foxholes could have covered the fire and had been built as the strategic locations. This arrangement allowed to reflect the German attacks for four days and prompted the attackers to transport the reinforcements, who finally managed to occupy the area. It was also estimated, on the basis of the structure of the objects in the line, that their occupation needed 239 men, but with the knowledge that about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the line was destroyed by logging and other activities in the post-war period. According to the estimates approximately 300 Americans defended the area and this number is confirmed by the data obtained in the field. But the fact that the area was exposed to a strong German artillery fire was not confirmed, because there were only seven objects interpreted as the craters after the bombing in Prumeberg.¹⁶

The research also showed clearly that the data obtained in the field can complement the information from the written sources and the testimony of the contemporaries and can contribute to a more detailed knowledge and understanding of the observed events. The research has brought much new information about the organizing of the defence and the deployment of the

¹⁶ Ibidem, pp. 94–106.

different weapons. It has brought new information of the German attack and the damage it caused. Finally, it was documented a unique example of the merging the battlefield of World War II.

The studying of the activities of the US Air Force, especially the famous 8th Air Force, which heavy bombers were involved in the strategic bombing campaign against Germany, has had a long tradition. The first documentation of the air bases, which were used by the Americans during the World War II and after that they were abandoned and deteriorated in the English countryside, started in the 1950s. Already in 1953, the fighter P-51 Mustang from the 357th Fighter Group, which had crashed on March 22, 1945, when also the pilot Otto D. Jenkins died, was uncovered on one of these bases, Leiston airport.¹⁷ It was also the first excavation of the US aircraft, and dozens of the excavations like this have been uncovered since then and they also have enabled the identification and the proper burial of many missing airmen. The searching for the missing soldiers has played a unique role in the USA and in the archaeological research as well.

The first attempt to locate and identify the fallen soldiers was made during the American Indian Wars in the second half of the 19th century and at the end of the Civil War. A special office was established during the World War I, which task was to transport the fallen soldiers back to the USA. The first identification laboratory was founded during the World War II and it identified the fallen with the latest scientific methods using the physical anthropology, but it also helped with the identification of the remains buried in the liberated areas. Although the laboratory ended its activities in 1951, the similar institution was needed on the Korean Peninsula, where the war had broken out earlier. For the third time, the similar institution was founded in 1973 during the Vietnam War. Originally, the institution was called the Central Identification Laboratory – Thailand and its main task was the search for the missing soldiers, the exhumation of the graves and the identification of the bodies and their return to the USA. The laboratory moved to Hawaii under the pressure of the wartime events in 1975, and it has been located at Hickam Air

¹⁷ B. ROBERTSON, *Epic of Aviation Archaeology*, Cambridge 1978, pp. 87–91.

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Force Base on the island of Oahu since 1992 (Central Identification Laboratory – Hawaii, known as CILHI). The new headquarters was established in 2003 with the name *Joint POW/MIA Accounting Command*, which, besides other things, associates Identification Laboratory and the Department for Work in the Field. The main base of this institution is still in Hawaii, the branches are placed in Laos, Thailand and Vietnam, because the search for the missing soldiers in the Southeast Asia is the main activity of the institution. More than 88 000 soldiers have been missing – most of them from the World War II, the institution carries out the research in the other parts of the world, including Iraq and Afghanistan.¹⁸

The teams of the institution working in terrain use the latest archaeological and anthropological methods, including the high-quality and detailed documentation. The uncovering of the interest area is made at a very high level, when the main reason is to discover and capture all the preserved human remains, which can help with the identification of the fallen soldier and contribute to its subsequent burial with full military honours. This procedure was used while excavating the area of the crash of the American fighter P-51D Mustang from the 55th Fighter Group. Its pilot William Lewis was missing from the great air battle over the Ore Mountains on September 11, 1944. Originally, it was assumed that the airplane had crashed in the Bohemian area, but in 2001 the crash place was managed to locate by the members of the Aero-historical group Kovářská near the German town Oberhof. The team working in terrain uncovered this area, which was examined thoroughly with the metal detection, divided into a square grid and all the excavated soil was sifted. As a result, the wreckage of the airplane was found and also the skeletal remains were identified. Pilot William Lewis could be properly buried in 2004. But the institution does not search only for the crashed aircraft and their pilots, it also participates in the exhumation of the graves of the fallen soldiers from the ground troops from the World War II, who were buried at various locations all round the world.¹⁹

¹⁸ M. RAK, *Nebudete zapomenuti* – pátrání po nezvěstných amerických vojácích, in: Kuděj, No. 2, 2009, pp. 71–73.

¹⁹ Ibidem, pp. 77–78.

The Perspectives of the Recognition of the Presence of the US Forces in Bohemia

The fighting actions of the World War II touched Bohemia at the very end, in spring 1945. It was the Red Army, which proceeded to Bohemia and Moravia from the east, that liberated most of Bohemia, but the south and west areas were liberated by the Americans, specifically by the 3rd Army under the command of General George S. Patton. The soldier from the 90th Infantry Division reached the village Hranice u Aše on April 18. The Third Reich annexed this village as a part of the area of Sudetenland by signing the Munich Agreement from 1938. The Americans liberated Aš two days later. In connection with the Sudetenland, the term “liberated” is probably incorrect. The German-speaking population living in this area did not certainly consider the Americans as the liberators and absolutely did not welcome the American soldiers joyfully. They were just happy the war was over. The battle of Cheb began on April 25 and after that some small clashes happened in the surroundings.²⁰

Other actions in the area of Bohemia were limited by the agreement on the operational areas concluded with the Soviets. The agreement on the definite demarcation line was signed later, on April 30, 1945, and the demarcation line was set on the connecting line among the towns Karlovy Vary – Pilsen – České Budějovice. Mainly the border settlements as Svatá Kateřina, Folmava, Železná Ruda, Bělá pod Radbuzou or Všeruby were occupied until then. The major offensive led by V Corps began on May 5. The target of the 1st Armoured Division was to reach Pilsen through the axis Bor – Stříbro, while the 9th Armoured Division came to Karlovy Vary. But the Germans offered a stiff resistance and the Americans managed to advance to the line Kynšperk nad Ohří – Planá – Klatovy till the evening. The following day, the first units of the 16th Armoured Division came to Pilsen, where had been the uprising the day before, the other American troops liberated for instance Stříbro, Přeštice, Horažďovice, Písek or Český Krumlov. The following day, the Americans came to Rokycany, Nepomuk, Sušice or Strakonice. České Budějovice was

²⁰ K. FOUDE – M. JÍŠA – I. ROLLINGER, *500 hodin k vítězství*, Cheb 2011, pp. 108–111.

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liberated next day. Although the Germans capitulated mostly without a fight, there were some hard struggles in some places, which cost the Americans 116 fallen and 406 wounded soldiers.²¹

The US Air Force was also very active on the territory of Bohemia. The first fight happened between Pilsen and Nepomuk on February 22, 1944, when the formations of bombers B-24 Liberator returning from an attack on a factory in German Obertraubling became the target of the German heavy fighter Messerschmitt Bf 110. The next fight resulted in the loss of three American and four German planes, all of them landed on the area of Bohemia.²² Pilsen with the significant Škoda Works subsequently became an important goal on the US Air Force bomber, the first attacks in autumn 1944 did not cause any damage. Škoda Works were struck for the first time during a raid on December 20, 1944. However, the surrounding area and the civilian population suffered from each attack. The deathblow for Škoda Works was the very last raid of the famous 8th Air Force on April 25, 1945. The factory complex was heavily damaged during the bombing, but the attackers also suffered from the great losses. Ten bombers were shot down and nearly all other aircraft were damaged (raid was attended by 307 machines B-17). Six downed Boeings crashed on the territory of West Bohemia.²³ A large number of the American fighter-bombers, popularly called “kotláři”, operated over the territory of Western Bohemia in spring 1945. These aircrafts attacked the road and rail transports and other important targets, like airports, barracks, factories or bridges. Some of them were shot down during the operations. As it is stated, the total number of the American losses was 123 aircrafts and 769 pilots, of whom 282 died.²⁴

The US Army remained in the territory of Bohemia even after the end of the fighting. The soldiers built several military camps, ensured the order

²¹ V. MUCHA, *Účast V. a XII. U.S. Corps při osvobození území západních a jihozápadních Čech v dubnu a květnu roku 1945*, 2009 [http://www.valka.cz/clanek_13188.html; 12–12–2013].

²² J. RAJLICH, *Mustangy nad Protektorátem*, Praha 1997, pp. 26–27.

²³ Ibidem, pp. 125–129.

²⁴ Ibidem, pp. 133–134.

and the guard duty in the camps for the German prisoners, whose number reached thousands in Western Bohemia. Most of them were repatriated back to the Germany in summer. The last Americans left the territory of liberated Czechoslovakia in November 1945. It means, they were living there for eight months. They also left many relics in the landscape that can provide further information on this topic during archaeological research. Either it is the survey of the places, where happened the clashes with the Germans, or the areas, where the Americans lived after the war ended. Using the modern non-destructive methods can identify these places, document them and prepare them to another phase of research that can be also destructive, classical excavation. The foreign research described above can provide us an inspiration. The problem is that no archaeological department is interested in this issue and also the basic information lacks. On the contrary, this topic is very popular among the amateurs and they managed to accumulate a large amount of data of many different kinds. They also perform the works in terrain, but some of them mainly the ones with using the metal detectors are on the edge of breaking the law. Also the misunderstanding between the two groups prevents closer cooperation. It means that we can lose some valuable information, which a person without an archaeological education is not able to recognize in the field.

Conclusion

The examples mentioned above clearly show that the use of the archaeological methods for recognition the presence and activities of US forces in the area of Bohemia can bring a lot of new and interesting information that the other disciplines cannot provide. While comparing the data with the other non-archaeological source we can gain the comprehensive view on the late phase of World War II in the area of Western Bohemia. During their knowledge, the possibility of applying the most advanced testing and non-destructive methods is offered. The fact that the presence of the Americans in Bohemia was limited in time is also very important for better understanding their activities. The first

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American plane was shot down on area of Bohemia on February 22, 1944, the first American soldier crossed the former Czech-German border on April 18, 1945 and the last unit left Bohemia in November 1945. This allows us to support the work in the field and complete a lot of sources – information from chronicle, police reports, contemporaries' testimony and analysis of the aerial photographs. This allows us to reconstruct the daily life of the soldiers, not only at the end of the war, but also their adaptation and behaviour during the peace. Overall the identification of the relics of the Americans in Bohemia is of no interest to the scientists, which causes that a lot of data have been lost. A major problem in this case is the activities of the “detector men” (men using the metal detectors), who do not document or public their activities and therefore all of the information they had gained disappeared. The first step in attempt to recognize the presence of US forces in Bohemia should be the way of contacting between the professionals and amateurs and finding the way of cooperation between these two groups, which have the same main goal – the research of the issue.

Abstract

The participation of the US Army in the liberation of Western Bohemia in spring 1945 has been a popular topic for historians and non-professional public as well. However, all the books and articles dealing with this theme are based on the written sources or the contemporaries' testimony. The perspectives of the archaeological approach to this topic are quite marginal. This article represents few international projects, which have dealt with the activities of the Americans during World War II, and nears its possible application of the realization of this topic in our country.

Keywords

Archaeology of the Conflicts in 20th Century; the US Army; Western Bohemia; World War II; Aeroarchaeology

On the Situation of Workers of German and Hungarian Nationality in Czechoslovakia in the Period Immediate after World War II on the Background of Restrictive Legislative Measures (1945–1946)¹

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After World War II, the citizens of German and Hungarian nationality in Czechoslovakia lost their citizenship and all their property due to so called Beneš Decrees. The members of both those large national minorities were deprived of citizenship based on the Constitutional Decree on regulation of Czechoslovak citizenship of persons of German and Hungarian nationality No. 33/1945 Coll. from 2 August 1945, losing their property particularly based on the Decree of the President of the Republic on confiscation of enemy property and on Funds of National Restoration No. 108/1945 Coll. from 25 October 1945. Czechoslovak citizenship was lost not only by citizens of German and Hungarian nationality who had acquired German or Hungarian citizenship according to regulations of foreign occupational power. In those cases, the decree only stated that such citizens lost their Czechoslovak citizenship by the day of acquisition of other citizenship. By the day of the effect of the Decree, also the other German or Hungarian citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic lost the Czechoslovak citizenship. That decree provision was not to

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affect only the Germans and Hungarians who, in the time of increased danger to the Republic, had claimed to be Czechs or Slovaks in an official report, as was stated in the Decree. As for property, all natural persons of German and Hungarian nationality were deprived of it, except for persons who were able to prove to have remained loyal to the Czechoslovak Republic, to have never offended against the Czech and Slovak nation or to have been involved in the fight for liberation of Czechoslovakia or to have suffered under the Nazi or fascist terror.²

The number of Germans and Hungarians in Czechoslovakia was not negligible. Based on the last census made in the First Czechoslovak Republic in 1930, 3,2 million Germans, i.e. about 22% of all population, claimed allegiance to German nationality. Almost 700 thousand citizens, i.e. almost 5% of the total number of the population, claimed allegiance to Hungarian minority.³

An overwhelming minority of the three-million German minority was to be subject, in connection with the effort of the Czechoslovak government to create as homogeneous national state as possible, to mass displacement from the country, legalized from international legal perspective by the Potsdam Conference in summer 1945 and implemented substantially in 1945 and 1946. The displacement of the Hungarian minority, amounting to more than half a million persons, was not pushed through by the Czechoslovak government

² For the above stated Decrees of the President of the Republic, compare the Collection of Acts and Decrees of the Czechoslovak Republic (hereinafter referred to only as the CoAaD), Vol. 1945, Is. 17, issued on 10 August 1945, Doc. No. 33, Constitutional Decree of the President of the Republic from 2 August 1945, on regulation of Czechoslovak citizenship of persons of German and Hungarian nationality, pp. 57–58; ibidem, Is. 48, issued on 30 October 1945, Doc. No. 108, Decree of the President of the Republic from 25 October 1945, on confiscation of enemy property and Funds of National Restoration, pp. 248–254.

³ In the census made in 1930, 3 231 688 citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic claimed allegiance to German nationality and 619 923, to Hungarian nationality. The total number of population of the Czechoslovak state amounted to 14 479 565 in 1930. Cf. *Československá statistika* – Vol. 98. Sčítání lidu v republice Československé ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Part I., Praha 1934, Tab. 6. Národnost československých státních příslušníků podle volebních krajů a zemí, s. 47*.

at international level. In case of the Hungarian minority, “only” so called exchange of population between Hungary and Slovakia took place in form of expatriation of almost 77 thousand members of the Hungarian minority from Czechoslovakia, who were substituted by 60 thousand re-emigrants from among the Slovak minority of Hungary in 1947 to 1949. The “national homogenization” of the state was to be performed, in case of Czechoslovak Hungarians, by so called re-slovakization, forcing the remaining Hungarian speaking population to apply for adjudgement of Slovak nationality.⁴

The principle of collective guilt put all members of the German and Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia to the position of enemy population without claim to their civil rights, or to rights to citizenship and property, and to social and national rights, respectively. But their position became markedly aggravated not only from the civil perspective. Markedly aggravated became also the position of German and Hungarian workers who had lost even standard labour-law position pertaining to Czechoslovak citizens. Their general complicated position in post-war Czechoslovakia became, of course, further worsened by the overall atmosphere in the society, that was not only strongly anti-German but defined negatively also against the Hungarian minority, which had not been related to the Nazi regime, but was blamed for involvement in disintegration of the Republic in 1938.

The anti-German and anti-Hungarian mood in the whole society of Czechs and Slovaks spread of course also to businesses and factories. Particularly the legislatively chaotic and turbulent period after the end of the war was critical. In the first days after the revolution, the Central Trade Union Council issued instructions for its organizational components and works councils to perform national cleansing in factories and offices. The instructions were allegedly issued in compliance with the conviction of the workers. In view

⁴ In order to re-acquire their civil rights, two fifths of Czechoslovak Hungarians, in total 452 thousand persons, asked for adjudgement of Slovak nationality within so called re-slovakization. But the authorities adjudged Slovak nationality only to less than 363 thousand Hungarians. Cf. L. SZARKA (ed.), *A szlovákiai Magyarok kényszertelepítései emlékezete 1945–1948*, Komárom 2003, p. 18.

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of the lack of legal norms, the instructions were to become orientational aid and the courts of honour and commissions of inquiry, established on their base, became expression of the revolutionary atmosphere among employees and of assertion of their effort aimed at elimination from labour process of all traitors and collaborators. Given the general revolutionary mood, it can be naturally assumed that, at least at the beginning, even such persons from among the German and Hungarian nationality whose only guilt consisted in their nationality became victims of the instructions. The execution of national cleansing in factories and offices got legal framework only in November 1946, when the Minister of the Interior, based on the empowerment by § 1 para. 3 of the Constitutional Decree of the President of the Republic No. 138/1945 Coll., from 27 October 1945 on punishment of some offences against national honour, issued Directive No. B-2220–23/11–45–I/2 for punishment of offences against national honour. According to the Directive, it was possible to report suspicion of crimes according to the relevant Decrees of the President of the Republic, issued in the meantime, to the Safety Commission of Local National Committee. The Safety Commission of District National Committee was authorized with the right of inquiry. The District National Committee also implemented criminal proceedings, through a four-membered Finding commission. At the same time, the National Committees had to implement the criminal proceedings in accelerated manner, as the crimes committed according to the Constitutional Decree No. 138/1945 Coll. on punishment of some offences against national honour had limitation period of six months from the effect of the Decree in December 1945.⁵

⁵ Všeodborový archiv Českomoravské konfederace odborových svazů (hereinafter referred to only as VA ČMKOS), f. Sociální oddělení Ústřední rady odborů z let 1945–1950 (hereinafter referred to only as SOÚRO 1945–1950), Card File No. 9, inv. unit 7/22/1a, typed document without detailed identification and dating, titled “O provádění národní očisty”; for the referred Constitutional Decree cf. CoAaD, Vol. 1945, Is. 57, issued on 26 November 1945, Doc. No. 138, Decree of the President of the Republic from 27 October 1945 on punishment of some offences against national honour, p. 338; for the referred Directive of Minister of Interior compare also *Úřední list republiky Československé, I. díl normativní (nařizovací)* (hereinafter referred to only as ÚŘLS I), Is. 157, issued on 20 December 1945, Doc. No. 607, Directive of Minister of Interior from 26 November 1945, No. B-2220–23/11–45–I/2, to implement the

Improper behaviour offending the feelings of the Czech or Slovak people, subject to punishment, was specified in paragraph 10 of the above stated Directive of the Ministry of the Interior. For example the following behaviours were considered punishable: claiming allegiance to German or Hungarian nationality, unless it had led to loss of Czechoslovak citizenship according to § 1 para. 4 of the above stated Constitutional Decree of the President of the Republic No. 33/1945 from August 1945⁶ on regulation of Czechoslovak citizenship of persons of German and Hungarian nationality or deliberate support to denationalization efforts of the Germans and Hungarians; political co-operation with Germans or Hungarians and membership in fascist organizations, if the respective person had acted with special eagerness, exceeding the normal framework of their member obligations; approval of, support to or defence of enemy statements or acts of Nazis, fascists and Czech or Slovak traitors; professional co-operation with Germans, Hungarians and Czech or Slovak traitors exceeding the limits of average order of performance (initiative and extra-service proposals, orders for increased work performance, etc.); applications for promotion, decorations, awards, services and other advantages at German or Hungarian authorities or officials or provision of payments and different other advantages to occupiers; social contacts with Germans or Hungarians in an extent exceeding the indispensable level, as well as economic contacts with Germans or Hungarians, exceeding such level and aiming at achieving above-average evaluation and at knowing support to occupiers; abusing, offending or terrorizing of Czechs and Slovaks, committed in the services or in the interest of the occupiers or in the effort to appeal to them, etc. A precondition of punishability consisted in the fact that the act had provoked public nuisance.⁷

Decree of the President of the Republic No. 138/1945 Coll., on punishment of some offences against national honour, pp. 1761–1762.

⁶ Cases of failure to recognize claiming of German or Hungarian nationality by Czechs or Slovaks, with reference to the fact that it had been done due to pressure or special circumstances. Cf. CoAaD, Vol. 1945, Is. 17, issued on 10 August 1945, quot. Constitutional Decree of the President of the Republic No. 33/1945 Coll., § 1 para. 4, p. 57.

⁷ VAČMKOS, f. SOÚRO 1945–1950, Card File No. 9, inv. unit 7/22/1a, quot. typed document without detailed identification and dating, titled “O provádění národní očisty”; ÚŘLS I, Is.

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The situation of the German and Hungarian workers without basic civil rights was markedly complicated also by Act No. 83 Coll. from 11 April 1946 on employment (apprenticeship) of Germans, Hungarians, traitors and their supporters⁸ that responded to the loss of Czechoslovak citizenship by members of those national groups. Based on provision of § 1 para. 1 of the Act, the members of German and Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia who had lost their citizenship lost also their employment (apprenticeship).⁹ The persons of German and Hungarian nationality were to lose their employments and apprenticeships within three months from the day on which the Act had entered into force, unless the persons of the above stated nationalities were able to submit the following documents to the competent District Office of Employment Protection: 1) certificate of Czechoslovak citizenship, issued under the effect of the above stated Constitutional Decree No. 33/1945 Coll. on regulation of Czechoslovak citizenship from 1945, or a document that they had applied for issue of such certificate and that the application had not been effectively settled without their fault (for the Germans and Hungarians who, according to § 1 para. 3 of the Constitutional Decree No. 33/1945 Coll., had claimed allegiance to Czech or Slovak nationality in the period of increased danger to the Republic);¹⁰ 2) certificate of the competent District National Committee or District Administrative Commission or representative office (for the persons of German and Hungarian nationality who were able to prove that they had remained loyal to the Czechoslovak Republic and never offended against the Czech and Slovak nation, or that they had been actively involved

157, issued on 20 December 1945, quot. Doc. No. 607.

⁸ The act covered employments or apprenticeships established by contacts of private law. It did not cover employment of public employees, regardless of the character of their employment. Cf. CoAaD, Vol. 1946, Is. 40, issued on 3 May 1946, Doc. No. 83, Act from 11 April 1946 on employment (apprenticeship) of Germans, Hungarians, traitors and their supporters, § 6, p. 836.

⁹ For the above stated article and paragraph of the act cf. *ibidem*, p. 835.

¹⁰ *Ibidem* § 1, para. 1, and 2a, p. 835; *ibidem*, Vol. 1945, Is. 17, issued on 10 August 1945, quot. Constitutional Decree of the President of the Republic No. 33/1945 Coll., § 1 para. 3, p. 57.

in the fight for its liberation or suffered under Nazi or fascist terror, so that they, according to § 2 para. and 1 § of Constitutional Decree No. 33/1945 Coll., did not lose claim to the Czechoslovak citizenship);¹¹ 3) document of having applied for returning of the Czechoslovak citizenship and that the application had not been effectively settled without their fault yet (only for married women of German or Hungarian nationality who, for the purposes of the Constitutional Decree No. 33/1945 Coll., were assessed together with minor children separately, or for women of German and Hungarian nationality, married to Czechoslovak citizens who did not lose their citizenship; such women were to be considered Czechoslovak citizens until decision of the competent authorities).¹²

But the act defined at the same time that persons of German and Hungarian nationality not preserved or not returned their Czechoslovak citizenship in the subsequent period would lose their employment or apprenticeship by the day of effective decision that those persons did not have claim to Czechoslovak citizenship. However, the act cancelled also employment or apprenticeship of German and Hungarian citizens of German or Hungarian nationality,

¹¹ CoAaD, Vol. 1946, Is. 40, issued on 3 May 1946, quot. Act No. 83/1946 Coll., § 1 para. 2c, p. 835; ibidem, Vol. 1945, Is. 17, issued on 10 August 1945, quot. Constitutional Decree of the President of the Republic No. 33/1945 Coll., § 2 para. 1, p. 57.

¹² Ibidem, Vol. 1946, Is. 40, issued on 3 May 1946, quot. Act No. 83/1946 Coll., § 1 para. 2d, p. 835; ibidem, Vol. 1945, Is. 17, issued on 10 August 1945, quot. Constitutional Decree of the President of the Republic No. 33/1945 Coll., § 4 para. 1 and 2, p. 58. The employment or apprenticeship was lost, according to § 1 para. 2b, automatically also by Czechs and Slovaks and members of other Slavic nations who, in the past period, had claimed to allegiance to German or Hungarian nations due to pressure or to special circumstances, unless they submitted a certificate of national reliability, issued by the District National Committee or by the District Administrative Commission and approved by the Ministry of Interior, or a document stating that they had applied for issue of such certificate and that the application had not been effectively settled without their fault yet. Such persons, according to § 1 para. 4 of the Constitutional Decree of the President of the Republic No. 33 Coll. on regulation of Czechoslovak citizenship from 1945, were not considered Germans and Hungarians, but they had to apply for official examination of the facts under whose pressure they had been forced to claim allegiance to German or Hungarian nations, and such facts were finally confirmed by the Ministry of the Interior. Cf. CoAaD, Vol. 1946, Is. 40, issued on 3 May 1946, quot. Act No. 83/1946 Coll., § 1 para. 2b, p. 835; ibidem, Vol. 1945, Is. 17, issued on 10 August 1945, quot. Constitutional Decree of the President of the Republic No. 33/1945 Coll., § 1 para. 4, p. 57.

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i.e. also to the Germans and Hungarians not concerned by the Constitutional Decree No. 33/1945 Coll.¹³

The discussed legislation norm on employment (apprenticeship) of Germans, Hungarians, traitors and their supporters confirmed at the same time the validity of the formerly factually terminated employment or apprenticeship of persons with withdrawn Czechoslovak citizenship according to Constitutional Decree No. 33/1945 Coll. that had been terminated in any manner before the Act had been passed. According to law, such terminated employment or apprenticeship of the concerned persons was considered cancelled lawfully by the day on which it took place.¹⁴

In case the public interest required it, persons whose employment or apprenticeship was cancelled by the Act had to continue working at their past place of work. In such case, they were covered by the provisions of the Decree of the President of the Republic No. 71/1945 Coll. on work obligation of persons who had lost the Czechoslovak citizenship. Whether the continuation of work was in public interest was to be decided by the District Office of Employment Protection in whose district the relevant factory was situated, after having interviewed the employer, the factory representation of the relevant factory, the relevant interest organization and the relevant body of the Trade Unions.¹⁵

The Act on employment (apprenticeship) of Germans, Hungarians, traitors and their supporters cancelled at the same time also the employment and apprenticeship of persons found guilty of crime according to the Decree of the President of the Republic No. 16/1945 on punishment of Nazi criminals, traitors and their supporters and on extraordinary people's courts, affecting significantly also persons of German and Hungarian nationality. In case of such persons, the Act confirmed that their employment or apprenticeship had

¹³ CoAaD, Vol. 1946, Is. 40, issued on 3 May 1946, quot. Act No. 83/1946 Coll., §1 para. 3 and 4, p. 835.

¹⁴ Ibidem, § 3, p. 836.

¹⁵ Ibidem, § 2, pp. 835–836.

terminated by the day of their effective conviction or by the day such persons were taken into custody.¹⁶ In case the employment or apprenticeship of such persons had been terminated in any manner before, the Act confirmed that the validity of termination of such employment or apprenticeship was considered lawful by the day on which it took place.¹⁷

Additionally, each employee whose employment or apprenticeship had ceased to exist due to the provisions of Act No. 83/1946 Coll. had no claim to payments that otherwise would belonged to such employee according to law or contract for the case of premature termination of employment or apprenticeship. It is obvious that such provision aggravated further the already dramatic social situation of persons of German or Hungarian nationality who became virtually deprived, and often the displacement (in case of the German minority) across the state border constituted the only hope of their full reintegration into the society both from civil and from labour-law perspective. But the act applied only in the Czech and Moravian-Silesian lands, which means that it was directed particularly on the German minority that was experiencing the culminating deportation to the territory of Germany. In less extent, it affected the members of the Hungarian minority or, more precisely, it affected them only in the territory of the western half of the Republic. The relation of the state to the Hungarian minority was limited particularly by the fact that its destiny had not been decided yet; it was obvious that it could not

¹⁶ But the provision did not affect persons whose prosecution had been abandoned by the court according to § 16 para. 2 of Decree No. 16/1945 Coll. According to that article of the above stated Decree, the person could be exempted from punishment for crimes that could be classified as subversive and supportive to fascist and Nazi movement, if it was commonly known or if it could be demonstrated without delay that the accused person had acted with the purpose to benefit the Czech or Slovak nation or the Czechoslovak Republic or their allies or that the accused person contributed e.g. to the liberation of the Republic with later activities, etc. However, the loss caused by the perpetrator should not exceed disproportionately the public benefit aimed at. Cf. CoAaD, § 4, p. 836; *ibidem*, Is. 9, issued on 9 July 1945, Doc. No. 16, Decree of the President of the Republic from 19 June 1945 on punishment of Nazi criminals, traitors and their supporters and on extraordinary people's courts, § 16, para. 2, p. 28.

¹⁷ CoAaD Vol. 1946, Is. 40, issued on 3 May 1946, *quot.* Act No. 83/1946 Coll., § 4, p. 836.

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be displaced massively to Hungary like the German minority, as the great powers did not agree to it.¹⁸

The Act on employment (apprenticeship) of Germans, Hungarians, traitors and their supporters was, of course, passed by the Interim National Assembly in its original bill, as it had been approved at the meeting of the Government. For internal information, the bill was sent out by the Central Trade Union Council to all local, district and regional trade union councils, to all central committees and to the national economic commission of the Central Trade Union Council on 23 February 1946, with a note that after being approved by the Chamber, the contents of the Act could be revealed to the public. In view of the general post-war atmosphere in the country, it could be expected that the bill, further complicating the social situation of persons of German and Hungarian nationality, would be approved by the deputies without delay. In compliance with application of collective guilt in the Czechoslovak law, the Central Trade Union Council probably did not have any problem with the bill either.¹⁹

In general, workers of German and Hungarian nationality were covered, with regard to labour-law conditions, by special regime that was continuously legislatively regulated by acts, decrees and directives. The state had benevolent attitude only towards a narrow group of working Germans and Hungarians. They included particularly the then irreplaceable employees in mining industry or specially qualified employees, or experts and specialists particularly in industry, not covered even by the provision of the directives of the Ministry of the Interior to perform continuous displacement of Germans from the territory of the Czechoslovak Republic in order to provide for the

¹⁸ Ibidem, §§ 5 and 7, p. 836.

¹⁹ VAČMKOS, f. SOÚRO 1945–1950, Card File No. 13, inv. unit 14/8/3c), Němci, Maďaři a pomahači, Doc. of the Central Social-Political Commission of the Central Trade Union Council with original ref. V–25105–46–Šo/Ku from 23 February 1946, Subject: “Bill on employment of Germans, Hungarians, traitors and their supporters”, the document was sent out to all local, district and regional trade union councils, to all central committees and to the national economic commission of the Central Trade Union Council.

operation of important production branches. The special category of employees included also non-divorced and non-widowed wives of Czech or Slovak nationality from mixed marriages who had kept Czechoslovak citizenship according to the principles of the Constitutional Decree No. 33/1945 Coll., or whose marriage was contracted before 21 May 1938. As for mixed marriage of a German or Hungarian man with a Czech or Slovak woman, the wife remained Czechoslovak citizen provided that both the man and the wife had been Czechoslovak citizens before the occupation. In such situation, the wife of Czech or Slovak origin was not considered German or Hungarian according to § 1 para. 4 or § 5 of the Constitutional Decree No. 33/1945 Coll. on regulation of Czechoslovak citizenship of persons of German and Hungarian nationality. Such persons had virtually the same status as the Czech and Slovak employees and were subject to standard labour-law regulations and decrees, including for example the standard regulations and decrees on holidays that, in case of other German and Hungarian employees, was normalized separately by a special decree of the Ministry of the Interior, upon accord with the Ministry of Social Care from 26 June 1946.²⁰

A different regime covered workers of German and Hungarian nationality, or Germans and Hungarians who had been deprived of Czechoslovak citizenship based on the Constitutional Decree of the president of the Republic No. 33/1945 Coll., also in the area of social insurance. Based on the resolution of the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic on the directives for interim regulation of social insurance, persons deprived of Czechoslovak citizenship were provided with unrestricted allowances only in case of sickness benefits. Instead of benefits from all areas of pension insurance, united allowances were given, only in case of disability, widow

²⁰ VA ČMKOS, f. SOÚRO 1945–1950, *ibidem*, Doc. of the Ministry of Social Care with original ref. III–4071–18/6 from 23 July 1946, circular No. 201, Subject: “Holiday in 1946 for persons of German nationality”, document directed to all District Offices of Employment Protection. The document was sent to the Provincial Office of Employment Protection in Prague, Brno and to the subsidiary in Moravian Ostrava. The persons that could not be covered by standard regulations on holiday during collective holiday were covered by the decree of the Ministry of the Interior from the above stated day No. 1620–26/46–2–Vb/3. (Cf. *ibidem*).

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and orphan benefits. Instead of other benefits of pension insurance, persons without Czechoslovak citizenship were not awarded any allowances. However, also persons over 65 years of age who did not work were considered disabled persons. Instead of accident insurance benefits, allowances were provided to the injured person, to the widow and to the children. Instead of other accident insurance benefits, no allowances were provided. According to law, there was no legal claim to such allowances substituting the benefits according to legal regulations of the Act on insurance of employees for the case of illness, disability and all age and according to the Act on accident insurance. Allowances were provided only at request. If conditions for payment of several allowances to the same person were met, only the highest allowance was provided. The above stated allowances were provided, of course, based on the insurance acquired in Czechoslovakia, and only persons with residence on the territory of Czechoslovakia had claim to them.²¹

From the point of view of public and state interest, also the placement of labour was specially normalized from the perspective of their nationality. For placement of labour from the perspective of their nationality, the Czech and Moravian-Silesian territory was divided, for reasons of state safety and public interests, into two areas: the frontier area and the inland area. For the purposes of allocation of workers, a narrow frontier strip corresponding to the customs frontier zone, as specified by the Ministry of Finance in the period of the First Republic, was defined as frontier area. The inland area was understood as

²¹ VAČMKOS, f. SOÚRO 1945–1950, Card File No. 9, inv. unit 7/22/1e, Bill of government resolution of interim regulation of social insurance of persons deprived of Czechoslovak citizenship, doc. of the Ministry of Employment Protection and Social Care, with original ref. IX–1000–3/6–46 from 6 June 1946, Subject: “Government resolution on directives for interim regulation of social insurance of persons deprived of Czechoslovak citizenship”, see §§ 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 11; the document was directed to fourteen recipients or institutions in total, including the Central Trade Union Council. See further also the document of the Ministry of Employment Protection and Social Care with original ref. IX–1000–26/6–1946 from 27 June 1946, Subject: “Government resolution from 27 June 1946 on directives for interim regulation of social insurance of persons deprived of Czechoslovak citizenship. Implementation”, the document was directed to six recipients or organizations, e.g. to Central Social Insurance Company, General Pension Institute, Union of Pension Institutes, etc.

all the remaining territory of the Czech and Moravian-Silesian lands situated outside the above stated zone. The border between the zones consisted in so called internal customs border whose line had been defined in detail in 1929. In context with considering the nationality of the workers when placing them into the above stated two zones of the Czech and Moravian-Silesian lands from the perspective of state safety and public interests, the District Offices of Labour Protection or their branches through whose area of authority the above stated border of the frontier and inland areas ran were invited to perform in their administrative district, based on the relevant First-Republic regulations, the delimitation of both areas to define which villages and municipalities fell within the frontier area and which into the inland area, and to mark the border in synoptic maps of their districts if possible. The relevant District Offices of Labour Protection were to care that the delimitation was performed correctly, i.e. in unified manner, also by the branches.²²

The District Offices of Labour Protection were instructed to observe consistently the specific principles when allocating labour to both areas. Exclusively workers of Czech, Slovak or other Slavic nationalities could be allocated to the frontier area, particularly the Bulgarians who were sent to the Sudeten frontier area after the displacement of Germans who had lived there. The District Offices of Labour Protection were explicitly prohibited from placing workers of non-Slavic nationality, i.e. particularly the Hungarians, to the frontier area. Persons of non-Slavic nationality could be allocated as workers only to the inland area. With regard to the fact that there was lack of labour that could be placed to the broader frontier strip lining the actual Czech and Moravian-Silesian frontier area, the District Offices of Labour Protection were consistently instructed that Bulgarian workers should not be allocated

²² VA ČMKOS, f. SOÚRO 1945–1950, Card File No. 13, inv. unit 14/8/3c), Němci, Maďaři a pomahači, doc. of the Ministry of Social Care with original ref. IV–2111–21/12 from 20 December 1946, circular No. 377, Subject: “Placement of labour from the perspective of their nationality with regard to public and state interests”, the document was sent out to all District Offices of Labour Protection, or to their branches, to all Labour Inspectorates at District Authorities, to the Provincial Office of Labour Protection of Prague and Brno and to the Provincial Office of Labour Protection, subsidiary of Ostrava.

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to inland areas on principle and used only for the frontier area, unless special circumstances required their exceptional allocation to inland. The Ministry of Social Care alerted explicitly the heads of the District Offices of Labour Protection that they were personally responsible for consistent implementation of those principles of allocation of labour in their administrative districts.²³

The rules of allocation of labour to areas near the state border of the Czech and Moravian-Silesian lands, i.e. to broader frontier area corresponding to the customs frontier zone declared in December 1946 applied particularly to persons from among the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, used to compensate the loss of labour in Bohemia particularly in the area of agriculture caused by displacement of the German population. The Czech economy felt distinct absence of labour from spring 1945 already, even before the actual end of war, i.e. before the actual displacement of the large German speaking population from the Republic. Many Germans, including a lot of qualified workers, had preferred to leave the territory of Czechoslovakia with advancing front already. Within the subsequent wild displacement and afterwards, within the regular transfer of Germans, a number of qualified workers, who could not be immediately replaced by new labour, left the Republic. In spring 1946, the absence of labour became alarming already, and additionally to industrial production, also production in agriculture was endangered by it. According to official data from February 1946, the labour market of Czechoslovakia was lacking something more than 192 thousand persons. But due to the continuous transfer of Germans to Germany, the figure was increasing and in September 1946, the absence of labour in the national economy exceeded 254 thousand. In agriculture, the absence of labour was intensified by the fact that as compared to 1930, one and a half million hectares more land were to be cultivated in 1946. The continuously increasing loss of labour in the area of agriculture in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia was compensated by the Czechoslovak authorities from 1945 by forced appointment of persons of Hungarian nationality from Slovakia. According to official data from mid-

²³ Ibidem.

December 1945, 9,247 men and women of Hungarian nationality, including 4,337 agricultural workers and 4,728 self-standing farmers were employed in Czech agriculture in 1945 already. From the total number of minority Hungarians employed forcibly in Czech Agriculture in 1945, only 2%, i.e. 182 persons had gone to Bohemia voluntarily. The others were placed to Bohemia by virtue of office. However, the above stated total number of Hungarians forcibly working as agricultural workers in Bohemia in 1945 includes not only persons who had made their living by agriculture in Slovakia too. Also members of intelligentsia were moved to Bohemia for agricultural work; those persons are probably included in the category of agricultural workers.²⁴

In national economy, the Czechoslovak state used as needed not only the Hungarians in Czech agriculture, but also the Germans in other areas of economic life – both the Germans waiting for forced transport to Germany and the Germans waiting for the decision of Czechoslovak authorities with regard to their further staying in the Republic. Forced appointment of persons of enemy nationalities in economic life of the state was enabled by Decree No. 71/1945 Coll. from 19 September 1945 on work obligation of persons who had lost Czechoslovak citizenship. The Decree was aimed at obtaining cheap labour to eliminate and compensate for the damage caused by war and air bombing, as well as to restore the economic life disturbed by war. According to the Decree, the work obligation bound not only persons who had lost Czechoslovak citizenship based on the Constitutional Decree No. 33/1945 Coll., but also persons of Czech, Slovak or other Slavic nationalities who had applied for awarding of German or Hungarian citizenship in the period of increased danger to the Republic, without being forced to do it by pressure or by special circumstances. The work obligation did not apply to the Germans and Hungarians who had claimed to be Czechs or Slovaks in an official report in the period of increased danger to the Republic or who had claimed to be Germans or Hungarians under pressure, according to § 1 para. 3 and 4 of the

²⁴ K. VADKERTY, *Magyar sors Csehszlovákiában 1945–1947*, in: *História*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 1997, p. 4.

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Constitutional Decree No. 33/1945 Coll., or the Germans and Hungarians who, according to the above stated § 2 para. 3 and § 4 para. 2 of the Constitutional Decree on regulation of Czechoslovak citizenship of persons of German and Hungarian nationality, were to be considered Czechoslovak citizens until further decision.²⁵

According to the provisions of the Decree of the President of the Republic on work obligation of persons who had lost Czechoslovak citizenship, men aged 14 to 60 years and women aged 15 to 50 years were subject to work obligation.²⁶ Persons covered by the Decree had to register, at public or personal invitation, personally and in the specified period, with the Local National Committee or with the Local Administrative Commission by their place of residence; those authorities had the power to allocate the persons subject to the work obligation to specific work or, as the case may be, to put together so called working columns or transfers of such labour for the necessary places of the Republic. The persons subject to work obligation due to loss of Czechoslovak citizenship had to perform the assigned works anywhere, and they had to perform even works not belonging to their regular profession. But the Decree of the President of the Republic covered particularly persons of German nationality, as its territorial validity was limited only to the Czech and Moravian-Silesian territory.²⁷

The above stated table of the Ministry of Social Care shows the numbers of employed workers of German and Hungarian nationality who were subject to work obligation according to the Decree of the President of the Republic No. 71/1945 Coll. in the Czech and Moravian-Silesian lands in June 1946. Statistical data in the table show illustratively only the movements in the

²⁵ CoAaD, Vol. 1945, Is. 32, issued on 27 September 1945, Doc. No. 71, Decree of the President of the republic from 19 September 1945 on work obligation of persons who had lost Czechoslovak citizenship, § 1 para. 1 and 2, p. 121.

²⁶ Physically or mentally disabled persons, pregnant women from the fourth month of pregnancy, recent mothers during six weeks after birth, women caring for a child under six years of age were exempt from the work obligation. Cf. *ibidem*, § 2 para. 2, p. 121.

²⁷ Cf. *ibidem*, § 2 para. 1, § 3 and § 8 para. 1, pp. 121 and 122.

category of persons with work obligation in the relevant month, stating total numbers of workers of German and Hungarian nationalities by branches at the beginning and at the end of the month by genders as well as total drops and drops caused by continuous transfer of Germans to Germany in the relevant month, also by genders.²⁸

Profession groups (by work performed)	Number at the beginning of month	Decrease					Number at the end of month	
		Total		from that amount, due to displacement				
	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women
Agricultural professions, animal breeders, gardeners	85.908	155.163	8.721	14.722	6.575	10.889	81.139	149.164
Forester, hunter and fisher professions	15.326	13.422	909	1.231	578	707	15.122	13.079
Miners and related professions	19.423	490	1.262	62	566	22	19.051	495
Stone processing workers, ceramicists, glassmakers	10.972	6.998	657	581	411	300	10.745	6.861
Metal processing workers and related professions	24.277	7.390	2.363	550	1.498	276	22.859	6.958
Makers of musical instruments and toys	2.226	486	429	24	429	24	1.326	482

²⁸ VAČMKOS, f. SOÚRO 1945–1950, Card File No. 15, inv. unit 21/7, Number of employed persons (Germans and Hungarians) subject to work obligation according to Decree No. 71/1945 Coll., table annex to document of Ministry of Social Care with original ref. ??–1836–6/8–46 from 6 August 1946, Subject: “Statistics of persons subject to work obligation according to Decree No. 71/1945 Coll.”.

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Chemical workers	845	349	53	27	33	25	814	335
Rubber processing workers and related professions	257	139	24	10	13	4	242	130
Textile workers	14.643	29.377	834	2.500	581	2.022	14.424	29.064
Paper processing workers	3.174	2.554	159	203	106	118	3.073	2.429
Leather processing workers and related professions	1.233	455	86	41	71	29	1.181	419
Wood processing workers and related professions	9.442	1.343	1.005	97	770	60	8.736	1.279
Workers for foodstuffs and eatables	5.349	2.475	580	308	448	167	4.971	2.306
Clothing industry workers	5.848	18.244	762	1.367	627	1.014	5.262	17.479
Hairdressers and other professions for body care	1.045	1.727	170	184	145	147	912	1.604
Building workers	13.469	784	1.277	211	831	97	13.031	617
Graphical professions	1.056	303	55	24	36	14	1.032	292
Cleaning and disinfection workers	614	917	87	200	29	17	538	793
Theatre and film workers	17	10	1	–	–	–	16	10
Restaurant employees	1.209	6.377	233	742	150	446	1.015	5.889
Transport workers	10.111	1.906	670	183	531	145	9.735	1.776

Domestic workers and related professions	1.108	34.407	175	4.861	150	3.426	954	30.886
Casual workers of all kind	63.000	69.993	7.120	7.615	4.677	4.813	60.749	68.028
Machinists and boiler operators, except for mining and shipping industry	1.738	31	83	4	51	4	1.731	27
Commercial, office and administrative professions	6.176	8.774	1.075	1.373	925	1.206	5.281	7.572
Technicians	1.246	92	163	15	147	15	1.105	83
Other professions in higher services	1.185	1.805	262	205	221	166	960	1.657
TOTAL	300.897	366.011	29.215	37.340	20.599	26.153	286.504	349.714
	666.908		66.555		46.752		636.2181*	

The mandatory placement of persons of Hungarian nationality in Czech agriculture as agricultural workers was implemented based on the Decree of the President of the Republic No. 88/1945 Coll. from 1 October 1945 on general work obligation. According to the provisions of the Decree, all men in Czechoslovakia, aged from 16 to 55 years, and women aged from 18 to 45 years, could be allocated to perform works whose urgent execution was required by important public interests. Unlike Decree No. 71/1945 Coll., the Decree on general work obligation specified that when allocating persons for work, their personal, economic and social situation was to be considered. The professional qualification and past job of the allocated persons was to be considered as well. It was also specified that women were to be allocated only to works usually performed by women. It was further specified that married persons were to be allocated only in case of lack of

* The total increase in new persons of German and Hungarian nationality who were employed based on the Decree of the President of the Republic No. 71/1945 Coll. on work obligation of persons who had lost Czechoslovak citizenship amounted to 35,065 in June.

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adequate single persons. People could be allocated to work according to Decree No. 88/1945 Coll. for a maximal period of one year. The period could be extended only for urgent reasons, by six months at the maximum.²⁹

Similarly to the latter specific practical provisions of the Decree, also further partial provisions of that legislative document were much more “elaborate” and consistent, which shows that they applied first of all to persons with Czechoslovak citizenship. While Decree No. 71/1945 Coll. had only 11 articles, Decree No. 88/1945 Coll. had 27 articles in total. So Decree No. 88/1945 Coll. was, legally, much more comprehensive, as it applied particularly to persons with all civil rights. There was also essential difference in the stated lower age limit. While persons without Czechoslovak citizenship were subject, according to Decree No. 71/1945 Coll., to work obligation from 14 or 15 years of age, respectively, persons covered by general work duty were subject to it from 16 or 18 years of age, respectively. There was also marked difference in the maximal age limit that was five years lower both for men and for women in case of general work obligation.³⁰

Although the placement of workers of Hungarian nationality in Czech lands for agricultural works took place based on the Decree of the President of the Republic on general work obligation, persons of Hungarian nationality were treated as persons who had lost Czechoslovak citizenship. The first wave of forced

²⁹ CoAaD, Vol. 1945, Is. 40, issued on 17 October 1945, Doc. No. 88, Decree of the President of the Republic from 1 October 1945 on general work obligation, Part I, § 1, § 3 para. 1 and 2 and § 4 para. 2, pp. 157 and 158.

³⁰ Cf *ibidem*, pp. 157–161 and CoAaD, Vol. 1945, Is. 32, issued on 27 September 1945, *quot.* Decree of the President of the Republic No. 71/1945 Coll., pp. 121–122. The following persons were exempt from general work obligation: military persons in active duty, persons whose staying in the existing activity or in the existing job was indispensable from the perspective of public interest, university students who were continuing their studies or preparing for exams and pupils of public secondary and professional schools or persons in regular apprenticeship, respectively. Further, the provisions of general work obligation did not apply to women from the beginning of the third month of pregnancy, as well as to women caring at least for one child under 15 years and to women caring themselves for household and caring for one member of such household. It was explicitly defined that general work obligation did not apply to members of foreign representative bodies and members of their families. Cf. CoAaD, Vol. 1945, Is. 40, issued on 17 October 1945, *quot.* Decree of the President of the Republic No. 88/1945 Coll., § 2, p. 157.

appointment of persons of Hungarian nationality in agriculture in the Czech and Moravian-Silesian lands took place from October 1945 to mid-February 1946. Such persons were placed to Prague, Kolín, Pardubice, Jičín, Plzeň, Benešov, Tábor, Milevsko, České Budějovice, Ostrava and Zlín and came exclusively from Western Slovakian districts. But their obligatory work appointment in the western half of the Republic was limited to only three month then. In 1946, the government first tried to recruit the Slovak Hungarians for agricultural works in Bohemia based on voluntary recruitment; but there was only marginal interest of members of the Slovak Hungarian minority to work in the Czech lands. During summer 1946, a plan of mandatory placement of Hungarian labour from Slovakia to agriculture in Bohemia was gradually elaborated. Gradually, all municipalities from which all persons of Hungarian nationality could be placed to obligatory works in Bohemia were specified. In contradiction with the Decree of the President of the Republic No. 88/1945 Coll., in case of persons of Hungarian nationality, obligatory relocation for forced works to the Czech lands was planned not only for the relevant individuals but for all members of their families. The then Prime Minister, communist Klement Gottwald, expected that up to 150 thousand Slovakian Hungarians would be obligatorily relocated to Bohemia within general work obligation.³¹

The first transport of persons of Hungarian nationality from Slovakia to Bohemia within their obligatory work appointment in Czech agriculture was dispatched on 19 November 1946 and the last, on 27 February 1947. Transports of Hungarians to Bohemia within the implemented general work obligation in the interest of the needs of the state took place virtually under the same conditions as transports of Germans to Germany, in self-contained goods trains. While the main wave of organized displacement of Germans that was implemented mostly in 1946 was terminated in November, the transports of Hungarians for forced works to Bohemia, organized under strict supervision of Czech and Slovak police, were performed during winter months; in winter 1946/47, in the period from December to February, the lowest temperatures of the decade were measured in Czechoslovakia. During the day, the temperatures

³¹ VADKERTY, pp. 4–5.

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rose to mere minus 10–12 degrees and at night, the temperatures dropped to minus 20–26 degrees. Thus the transports of the Slovakian Hungarians and their families to Bohemia, which took place under very inhumane conditions, were multiplied by long lasting adverse weather.³²

In total, up to almost 44 thousand persons of Hungarian nationality were transported for obligatory works in Bohemia within the general work obligation; overwhelming majority of them was deported to the western half of the Republic based on official decision. Only less than 2 and a half thousand members of the Hungarian minority went to Bohemia voluntarily within recruitment of labour from Slovakia. The persons forcedly appointed to work in Bohemia were deported from 17 majority-Hungarian-speaking districts from the whole territory of Southern Slovakia, lining the border to Hungary, or from 394 municipalities in total. More than 5 and a half thousand from the above stated number of Hungarians deported from Slovakia to Bohemia were children. Such persons were bound to a specific place of work appointment and their freedom of movement was markedly restricted. Although, according to the Decree of the President of the Republic No. 88/1945 Coll. on general work obligation, the maximal period of work appointment was set at one year, persons of Hungarian nation appointed to Bohemia as agricultural workers could return to Slovakia only in spring 1949, usually under relatively dramatic conditions, as their property had usually been assigned to Slovak immigrants within the effort of the state to increase the proportion of Slovak speaking population in majority-Hungarian-speaking regions of Southern Slovakia. Additional settlement of Slovaks in Hungarian regions of Southern Slovakia had been connected with the obligatory placement of Hungarians to Bohemia within the first obligatory employment of Hungarians from Slovakia in Bohemia in the period from October 1945 to January 1946 already.³³

To complete the picture, let's add that the Czechoslovak government tried to solve the post-war lack of workers not only by introduction of work obligation

³² Ibidem, p. 5.

³³ Ibidem, pp. 4, 6–7.

for persons deprived of Czechoslovak citizenship, by general work obligation for all persons regardless of nationality and by the plan of re-emigration of Czechs and Slovaks from abroad, particularly from Hungary, Romania and the Soviet Union. The lack of labour was to be compensated also by recruitment of workers from abroad. On 1 January 1946 already, when the first wave of forced work appointment of persons of Hungarian nationality in Bohemia was under way, the Czechoslovak government decided that the Ministry of Labour Protection and Social Care should initiate negotiations of placement of large number of workers from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Italy in the Czech labour market. Based on the decision, negotiations with the Italian Embassy in Prague were initiated virtually at once. But the negotiations between Prague and Rome about appointment of Italian workers in the Czechoslovak labour market finally came to a deadlock. Based on a deal with the commercial secretary of the Italian legation in Prague, the Czechoslovak side promised to submit a draft of bilateral agreement as base for further negotiations. But during the negotiations on the conditions of recruitment of Italian workers for the Czechoslovak labour market, Czechoslovakia permanently faced difficulties, so that by the end of summer, the negotiations with Italy were stopped.³⁴

³⁴ At the top level, Italy collaborated in the negotiations on appointment of Italian workers in the Czechoslovak labour market; in summer 1946, the director of the Provincial Labour Office of Udine (Ufficio Provinciale del Lavoro) expressed interest in placing Italian workers to Czechoslovakia and on 30 July, he arrived to the Czechoslovak Embassy in Rome asking that the relevant Czechoslovak circles should be informed that the Ladino District had about 55 thousand unemployed persons who could go to work to Czechoslovakia. The interest of the director of the Provincial Labour office of Udine to place the Ladino unemployed persons in Czechoslovakia was enormous as he submitted even a rough draft of work contract for Italian workers to be recruited in Udine for Czechoslovakia. Although the subject draft of working conditions of employment of Italian workers in Czechoslovakia was found, except for minor deviations, identical to the claims following from employment of Czechoslovak employees and recommended, under the condition of execution of minor changes, as base for elaboration of a specific contract, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs finally decided, with regard to general disinterest of Rome in sending Italian workers to Czechoslovakia, not to respond to that specific proposal of employment of Italian unemployed persons from Northern Italy. Compare VA ČMKOS, f. SOÚRO 1945–1950, Card File No. 13, inv. unit 14/8/3a), Italští dělníci, doc. of Ministry of Foreign Affairs with original ref. 6.357/V–2/46 from 1 February 1946, Subject: “Contract with Italy of recruitment of labour for Czechoslovak Republic, draft”, information of Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Central Trade Union Council; doc. of

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The referred legislation documents from 1945 and 1946 and the selected archive sources from the General Archive of the Czech Moravian Confederation of Trade Unions illustrate the burdensome impacts of application of the principle of collective guilt at national base even in the labour-law area. It is obvious that the above stated provisions aggravated further the already dramatic social situation of persons of German or Hungarian nationality who became virtually deprived due to loss of all their civil rights, and often the displacement – in case of the German minority – across the state border constituted the only hope of their full reintegration into the society both from civil and from labour-law perspective, although the Germans had to leave virtually all their property in Czechoslovakia. Additionally, the influx of forcibly displaced Germans to Germany did not cause any big difficulties even in the German labour market, rather the contrary. For example in the second quarter of 1946, the increase of the number of persons employed in Germany was due to the influx of displaced Germans and due to the return of prisoners of war. While in the French and Soviet occupation zone where the number of displaced persons did not rise in the second quarter of 1946, the number of employed persons increased by 3.2–3.8%, in the occupation zone of the United States of America and of Great Britain where considerable number of displaced persons arrived, the employment rate increased by 9.1%. Nevertheless, the unemployment dropped markedly in Germany in the four great power occupation zones in the second quarter of 1946, and the number of persons employed by 30 June amounted to 23.8 million, while the number of unemployed

Ministry of Foreign Affairs with original ref. 151.201/V–2A–46 from 29 August 1946, Subject: “Recruitment of Italian workers for work in Czechoslovakia”, the information of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was sent out to ten recipients in total, i.e. to institutions including selected ministries, to the Czech National Bank, to the Settlement Office, to the Central Trade Union Council and to the State Planning Office; doc. of Central Social-Political Commission of the Central Trade Union Council with original ref. V/1–121.372/46–Fk/v from 17 October 1946, Subject: “Recruitment of Italian workers for work in Czechoslovakia”, the information of the Central Social-Political Commission of the Central Trade Union Council was addressed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. See in re also the document of the Ministry of Social Care with original ref. IV–2352/14–10/9–46 from 1 November 1946, Subject: “Recruitment of Italian workers for work in Czechoslovakia”, comments of the Ministry of Social Care to the draft work contract for Italian workers from the surrounding of Udine; the document was addressed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and, in copy, to other nine recipients, or institutions, including Central Trade Union Council.

persons to 1.4 million. So the total number of unemployed persons all over Germany amounted to less than 6%.³⁵

Thus the referred measures had greater impact on the Czechoslovak Hungarians. Their destiny had not been decided in 1945 and 1946 yet, while most Germans affected by the restricting measures were gradually displaced in 1945 and particularly in 1946, so that they had to cope with the burden of the labour-law restrictions only temporarily. Almost fifty thousand persons of Hungarian nationality were forced to leave their properties in Southern Slovakia and to undergo mass transports in freight trains to places several hundred or up to thousand kilometres away, designed for their obligatory work appointment, with almost no labour-law protection. The destiny of forcibly appointed agricultural workers affected not only persons who had made their living by agriculture in their original place of residence, but also for example the members of intelligentsia. The persons of Hungarian nation, including their families, forcibly transported from Slovakia to Bohemia, left behind about up to 6 and a half thousand empty houses and more than 14 thousand cadastral morgens of empty land that were to be occupied by re-emigrants of Slovak nationality. The total value of the property amounted to almost 236 million crowns. Nevertheless, the application of national selection within the implemented general work obligation beyond the framework of legislative provisions and the transports to forced work, performed on their base on whole families deprived of their property, did not last long, thanks to the negative international response to those practice of the Czechoslovak government. In case of persons of Hungarian nationality, it was only a temporary period, although even such period did considerable wrong to the affected persons and their families. The forcibly transported persons and their families even received partial financial compensation from the state. From approximately 9 and a half thousand families who had been forcibly

³⁵ VA ČMKOS, f. SOÚRO 1945–1950, Card File No. 13, inv. unit 14/8/3 b), Jugoslávští dělníci, Doc. of Ministry of Social Care with original ref. I–4386/29 from 18 November 1946, Subject: “Labour, trade unions and working conditions in Germany”, the document was addressed to the Central Trade Union Council with request to handle the information confidentially.

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transported to Bohemia, something more than 7 thousand families received partial compensation, being paid almost 32 million crowns in total.³⁶

Abstract

The goal of the study is to summarize shortly the complicated situation of persons of German and Hungarian nationality in Czechoslovakia after World War II on the background of their legislatively set general work obligation. An overwhelming majority of Czechoslovak Germans and Hungarians lost their citizenship due to government measures, losing all their civil, property, social and national rights by it. The study summarizes the basic legislative measures of the Czechoslovak government from 1945 and 1946 concerning persons without citizenship, in this case members of the German and Hungarian minorities who were markedly restricted also in labour-law area. It outlines the issue of forced work obligation of such persons, paying attention particularly to the mass transfer of Hungarians from Slovakia to Bohemia in the capacity as farm workers. The source base of the study consists of legislative documents from the Collection of Acts and Decrees and selected documents from the General Archive of the Czech and Moravian Confederation Trade Unions. The restrictive measures in labour-law area had stronger impact on the Czechoslovak Hungarians whose destiny had not been decided in 1945 and 1946 yet, while most Germans concerned by the restrictive measures in labour-law area were gradually displaced in 1945 and particularly in 1946, so that the Germans had to deal with the burden of the labour-law restriction and forced labour according to the needs of the state only temporarily. In connection with the transfer of the Germans, Czechoslovakia had to deal with growing absence of labour in the labour market, trying to solve it also by acquiring labour from abroad, for example by unsuccessful recruitment of Italian workers.

Keywords

Czechoslovakia; Hungarians; Germans; Decrees of the President of the Republic; Laws; Forced Work Obligation; Labour Market

³⁶ VADKERTY, pp. 6–7.

The Police, then Interior Review for the Forming of the Science of Law Enforcement; from its Beginning to the Change of the Political System

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Introduction

The periodical having been published since 1953 has accumulated valuable heritage in the follow-up of the daily practice of law enforcement, in forensic research, in the presentation of the results of jurisprudence and criminology meanwhile becoming not only a good magazine but also a real intellectual workshop.¹

Its legal predecessor, the Police Review was first published in January 1953. The Review, during its existence of more than half a century – adapting itself to the current state, government (or party, in certain times), interior and social expectations – effectively helped the professional training of the employees of the Ministry of Interior, the tracing, publication and perfection of the best domestic and international practices. It served well as a forum to meet, discuss and analyse domestic and international interior ministry, law enforcement and practical problems and experiences. Meanwhile it also strengthened the relationship and cooperation between the Hungarian law enforcement bodies.

As professor László Korinek, the editor in chief of the Interior Review noted in connection with the promising future of the reopened BM

¹ S. PINTÉR, *Hatvanéves lett a Belügyi Szemle*, in: *Belügyi Szemle*, No. 1, 2013, p. 5.

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Law Enforcement Leadership Training and Research Institute: *“Beyond the traditions of the first research institute it can build upon the knowledge accumulated during the 58 years of the Interior; then Police and from this year again Interior Review magazine; the forum that has always published the latest information beside enabling the collision of different opinions.”*²

As a kind of recognition of the decades’ of development of law enforcement the Law Enforcement Committee was formed in the XI. Economic and Jurisprudence Department of the Hungarian Academy of Science in 2007.³

The other, training and education branch of the science of law enforcement, the determining institute of the Hungarian law enforcement higher education, the Police College, which was autonomous for 41 years, became the Law Enforcement Faculty of the National University of Public Service, founded on 1st of January, 2012.⁴

The Police Review, its Beginning and How it Became the Central Review of the Ministry of Interior

We can look back on the materials published in the Police Review from January 1953 based on the notions of the more or less clean content of the science of law enforcement because compared to the history of a long hundred years of public administration, research on law enforcement *“Gained civil rights in the 1960s in the USA and Canada, and in the 1980s first in the UK and then in the most developed countries of the European continent. The urging need for law enforcement hit the young democracies in the Middle and Eastern Europe without much preparation together with other compelling factors at the moment of the change of their political system.”*⁵

² L. KORINEK, *Rendészet a tudásalapú kockázati társadalomban*, in: Belügyi Szemle, No. 1, 2011, p. 20.

³ G. VIRÁNYI, *A rendészettudományról – határrendészeti elfogultsággal*, in: G. GAÁL – Z. HAUTZINGER (Eds.), *Rendészettudományi gondolatok, (Írások a Magyar Rendészettudományi Társaság megalapításának egy évtizedes jubileuma alkalmából)*, Budapest 2014, p. 71.

⁴ G. VIRÁNYI, *Aktualizált gondolatok a rendészettudományhoz*, in: *A rendészettudomány határárkövei (Tanulmányok a Pécsi Határőr Tudományos Közlemények első évtizedéből)*, Pécs 2012, p. 23.

⁵ G. FINSZTER, *A közigazgatási és a rendvédelmi kutatások helye és perspektívája*, in:

As the effect of the extremely tense cold war politics which evolved by the beginning of the 1950s, in the domestic public life on the state level, the development and concentration of the power structures continued in the Ministry of Interior and the Police, similar to other armed bodies, like the Hungarian People's Army: "...the Council of Ministers published its decision on 5th November 1952, according to which the personal command system will be introduced again."⁶

The editorial board of the 98-page Police Review, first published in 1953, described the planned tasks of the magazine in the foreword of the first issue as follows: "*it should summarize all the experiences of the practice of police work. It is not a small task and a new task as well with which our police have not regularly dealt with and the absence of which can mostly be felt. [...] the experiences of the police work, the experience of the individuals, which did not become common knowledge and thus couldn't make work easier [...] One of the most important tasks of the Police Review is to satisfy the need of those wishing to learn and at the same time fight those looking down on theoretical knowledge and learning itself...*"⁷

The content of the freshly published magazine, the editor in chief of which being captain Pál Déri for decades, shows the most important fields of the police work of the time.

The magazine opens with an article by Colonel László Sebestyén, chairman of the editorial board entitled "Let us raise the level of management" and then it provided details about the cooperation of the criminal and guard service and the importance of criminalistics. Imre Kertész, who was also deputy editor in chief for a long time, wrote his first article about the planning of investigation as a necessary condition for success.⁸ This is how the magazine touched on the most important fields of public order, public safety and the organisational operation.

Belügyi Szemle, No. 1, 1998, pp. 34–39.

⁶ M. M. SZABÓ, *A magyar katonai felsőoktatás története 1947–1956*, Budapest 2004, p. 145.

⁷ EDITORIAL BOARD, *Előszó*, in: Rendőrségi Szemle, No. 1, 1953, p. 3.

⁸ Ibidem, *A tartalomról*, p. 1.

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After this the Review became more and more part of the activities of the organisation. According to the evaluation of its first year the magazine *“Was right to show [...] the frequent failures which can be experienced at the dispraise of the scientific and technical methods of law enforcement at some bodies”*.⁹

The atmosphere and secrecy is well reflected by the fact that the Review bearing “Service use only!” said *“...the magazine can be carried to one’s flat in order to study it but attention must be paid so that it does not get into the hands of those not concerned. The magazine must only be stored in an office room”*.¹⁰

As can be read, the Police Review, priced 5 forints, *“Became organic part of the police work undetected and without transition and also became the source of forensic and police analysis and studies”*. Its merits: it is close to the practical life, written by those who read it. The magazine is readable, its articles are interesting, colourful, they entertain but teach at the same time. The issues are versatile, the overall content is manifold. But according to the author, the ratio of the individual articles is not in proportion of the weight of the problems they bring up. He thinks there are not enough articles dealing with crimes against social property. He also says that the range of the authors is narrow and the foreign relations of the magazine are not deep enough, there are not enough articles of foreign reference.¹¹

The background of the Foundation of the Interior Review

This also was remedied by the top secret (!) order of the Ministry of Interior in 1962 (of the merging of the magazines of the interior and the foundation of the Interior Review). According to it *“In the future the higher level execution of the political-professional tasks of the Ministry of Interior have to be facilitated more”*. So, relying on the help of famous practical and theoretical professionals, a unified Interior Review was created by abolishing the former Police, Prison,

⁹ K. KUTIKA, *Egy éves a Rendőrségi Szemle*, in: *Rendőrségi Szemle*, No. 1, 1954, p. 4.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 96.

¹¹ I. HORVÁTH, *5 éves a Rendőrségi Szemle*, in: *Rendőrségi Szemle*, No. 1, 1958, p. 3.

PE and Sport Reviews – as they explained it at the time “*for the scientific level analysis and explanation of theoretical, political and professional issues*”.¹²

In the history of the era in Hungary, an important element of the consolidation of the domestic political situation after the 1956 revolution was that at the beginning of the 1960s János Kádár, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party, the newly organized state party of the Hungarian Workers’ Party after the beating down of the revolution, announced his principle “*he who is not against us is with us*”, allowing a more uninterrupted life for the “silent majority” (the non-active opposition).¹³

In this atmosphere of consolidation at the beginning of the 1960s there were intensive philosophical, literary, historical, religious and other debates.¹⁴

New magazines were published, the “Új Írás” in 1961 and the “Kritika” in 1963; critical life became more diverse.¹⁵

It is probable that the new Interior Review with its new content was meant to have a role as standard among the magazines. Because parallel to these processes, the reorganisation of the Ministry of Interior according to the new situation was put on the agenda as well. “*The new Interior Ministry structure, formed at the beginning of the 60s (the earlier system of departments were replaced by a system of main divisions, divisions, separate departments, departments and sub-departments) did not leave untouched the organisations responsible for informing either.*”¹⁶

Based on this, in April 1962 the Interior Ministry College discussed the situation of the professional level of the Interior Ministry’s magazines, concluding that the high-level execution of the tasks of the Interior Ministry have to be facilitated more with the help from the press.¹⁷

¹² Interior Ministry order no. 0023. (1962. 07.18.), http://www.abparancsok.hu/sites/default/files/parancsok/10_21_23_1962.pdf, [2014–08–14].

¹³ M. M. SZABÓ, *A Zrínyi Miklós Katonai Akadémia története 1961–1969*, Budapest 2008, p. 12.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 15.

¹⁵ J. GERGELY – L. IZSÁK, *A huszadik század története*, Budapest 2000, p. 440.

¹⁶ R. MÜLLER, *Belügyi Információs jelentések, 1964–1990*, in: G. GYARMATI (Ed.), *Az átmenet évkönyve 2003*, Budapest 2004, p. 148.

¹⁷ J. DEÁK, *Az állambiztonsági propaganda, annak kialakulása és fejlődése – nemzetbiztonság*

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According to the warnings written for the first two issues of the Interior Review in January 1963, the magazine does a good job if bravely fights the old views, the old practices and the incorrect methods and commits itself for the introduction of the up-to-date methods, based on scientific results and modern technical equipment widely in the field of the work of the Ministry. At the same time the magazine was required to be not only a professional magazine publishing training materials but also a forum for discussing theoretical and practical issues concerning interior work.¹⁸

It was a determining, quality step in the development of the scientific life when on 8th May 1970. The Interior Ministry College decided on the foundation of the Police College and the central organisation and control of the interior scientific work.¹⁹

As a tool for this, the Minister of the Interior designated the “Scientific Life” column of the Interior Review (as it was already used as a forum of scientific information). Starting with the 1977 January issue, the content and the extent of the “Scientific Life” column was expanded under the care of the Science Department of the Ministry of Interior. *“This is where we publish the articles and announcements that were written based on the organized research by the Ministry, scientific applications or other (e.g. voluntary) scientific work, if they can expect wider interest or debate provided that they do not contain any state or service secrets [...] The most attention is paid to the aim that the high-quality studies facilitate – directly if possible – the interior work.”*²⁰

In the Review an “Information” or “Foreign Observer” column was created for the review and publication of the Hungarian translation of the previously missed foreign-related articles. Its aim was to inform the leaders

és civil kapcsolatok, in: Társadalom és honvédelem, a Nemzeti Közzolgálati Egyetem tudományos folyóirata, No. 3–4, 2013, p. 410.

¹⁸ J. PAP, *A Belügyi Szemle elé*, in: Belügyi Szemle, No. 1, 1963, p. 12.

¹⁹ J. BODA, *A tudomány, az állambiztonság és a nemzetbiztonság szolgálatában*, in: G. GAÁL – Z. HAUTZINGER (Eds.), *Rendészettudományi gondolatok, (Írások a Magyar Rendészettudományi Társaság megalapításának egy évtizedes jubileuma alkalmából)*, Budapest 2014, p. 104.

²⁰ L. SZALMA, *A Tudományos élet rovat új célkitűzései*, in: Belügyi Szemle, No. 1, 1977, p. 48.

of the Ministry of Interior and the permanent authors of the Review by publishing significant articles in the foreign press for those “*trying to realise the increasing scientific needs in their theoretical or practical work*”.²¹

Theoretical Articles and Articles analysing the Practice of Enforcement for the Scientific Professional Work

The numerous articles published on almost 70,000 pages during the first four decades of the Review’s existence, considering the length limits of this article, should be reviewed based on the two, more or less clear approaches of the development of law enforcement:

1. “*It is the task of law enforcement to explore the right, the organisation and the operation of law enforcement by an interdisciplinary approach...*”²²

2. “*...members of law enforcement interpret it as a targeted sum of state, local governmental, social, business and citizen activities in connection with public order and public safety.*”²³

The intentions of professional and civil organisations of law enforcement in the past decades arrived to an important point in 2012 when the Hungarian Accreditation Committee “*recognized law enforcement as a branch of science but at the same time found it necessary to elaborate on its formal and content requirements*”.²⁴

The Police Review always tried to cover the entire scope of police work. Studying the issues of the Review it can be concluded that its articles served the training and scientific-level work as the leaders of the Ministry

²¹ INTERIOR REVIEW PROSPECTUS, *Kiadja a BM Tanulmányi és kiképzési Csoportfőnöksége*, No. 1–2, 1963, Előszó, p. 3.

²² KORINEK, p. 18.

²³ F. JANZA, *A Magyar Rendészettudományi Társaság megalakulásának előzményei, a Társaság szervezeti és működési céljai*, in: *Határrendészeti Tanulmányok*, No. 2, 2004, p. 11. Z. HAUTZINGER, *Rendészettudomány és rendőri kutatás*, in: *Belügyi Szemle*, No. 1, 2011, p. 33.

²⁴ J. SALLAI, *A rendészet fogalmának kialakulása és történetének áttekintése*, in: G. GAÁL – Z. HAUTZINGER (Eds.), *Rendészettudományi gondolatok, (Írások a Magyar Rendészettudományi Társaság megalapításának egy évtizedes jubileuma alkalmából)*, Budapest 2014, p. 55.

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of Interior clearly saw that the publication of the experiences of the newly created organisation would facilitate the successful operation of the whole police body. *“Their extensive publication will allow more and more people to gain up-to-date practical and professional knowledge.”*²⁵

Even the first article of the topic of crime, law enforcement and criminalistics states: *“the criminal service can not successfully fight crime by itself if it does not heavily rely on the guard duty and those responsible for an area. This fight can not be successful if the police stations do not become active parts of the law enforcement work.”*²⁶

It is interesting to compare today's law enforcement technical equipment and the forward-looking article of the research engineers of the Telecommunications Research Institute in the closing issue of the first year of the Review. The article²⁷ recommended the potentials of the Doppler-principle for speed measurement, the electromagnetic sound recording, the infrared light against forgery, spectral analysis to determine material composition, the electronic facsimile machine (TV), the burglar alarm, radio-telephone, the light telephone and the X-ray radiation.

In the Review the column dealing with the issues of criminalistics had a prominent role from the point of view of scientific professional work. The articles presenting the modus operandi of crimes, the results and problems of the branch of science studying the methods used in their investigation as well as the research of the best domestic and foreign professionals greatly facilitated the practical work. Dealing with the science of criminalistics in the review was a significant step in the acceleration of the general development of police work. The quality articles allowed the practical application of the new results in police work. They meant a step forward in the forming of new methods in crime prevention.

²⁵ I. KOVÁCS, *A Belügyminisztérium központi sajtójának első évei*, in: Belügyi Szemle, No. 1, 1980, p. 62.

²⁶ G. RUDAS, *A bűnügyi és az őrszolgálat együttműködésének néhány kérdéséről*, in: Rendőrségi Szemle, No. 1, 1953, p. 25.

²⁷ G. RÁTKAI, *Fizika a kriminalisztika szolgálatában*, in: Rendőrségi Szemle, No. 12, 1953, pp. 12–22.

The articles of the Review covered almost all areas of criminal work showing, in connection of the protection of “social property” (which served as the basis of the political system), the problems leading to the committing of crimes and the measures that the competent leader of the field should have done in order to prevent the given crime from happening.

The public policy protection column, based on its nature, in the first period was seeking to collect previous experiences and publish them in order to raise the level of work. It provided the police officers working in the field with professional advice, which helped them make their links closer with the people and official bodies in their area.

The magazine regarded the clarification of the legal issues linked to professional work as one of its important tasks. It published useful studies, for example it showed some issues regarding the differentiation between civil procedure and prosecution in the field of public order and safety. The magazine took significant steps in order to build a direct, cooperative relation with its readers. Public discussions were organised to inform the readers about their job, editing concepts and ideas. *“The readers taking part in the discussions, beside the praising words, expressed their wish that the editors of the Review ask for as many articles as possible from the field of practice.”*²⁸

The Interior Review – according to the task system of the Interior Ministry then – had two constant, emphasized columns for state security issues, named “State Security Articles” and “From the History of Secret Wars”.²⁹

The magazine, in its theoretical articles – just like its predecessor – paid special attention to the theoretical and practical problems of criminal tactics, criminal methodology, public order and safety, traffic and administration, criminology, criminal psychology, law, organisational theory and training-education as well as certain special fields like the border police and fire regulators.

²⁸ KOVÁCS, p. 63.

²⁹ J. DEÁK, Az állambiztonsági propagandától a nemzetbiztonságig – a Belügyi Szemlében megjelentek tükrében Rendvédelem, a Belügyminisztérium Oktatási, Képzési és Tudományszervezési Főigazgatóság online folyóirata, 2013/3 szám 20, <http://www.rvki.hu/images/downloads/rentudfoly/2013.%20vi%203.%20szm.pdf>, [2014–07–17].

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The Outlining of the Theory of Law Enforcement

In the Review the amount and quality of the articles studying the theory and practice of law enforcement on a scientific level went according to the requirements of the orders of the Ministry aimed at intensifying the professional-scientific activities. Soon analyses of the interior studies on the professional experiences were published. For example, there was a study on the approved 5-year research plans of the interior research centres.

Because crime is a complex social phenomenon, one element of complexity is interdisciplinarity. The researchers found 19 knowledge areas in the criminal topics of the plans. Political science was found in 43% of the plans but there were others in decreasing ratio: sociology, psychology, criminology, management theory, criminalistics, pedagogy, philosophy, criminal law, engineering, systems theory, information theory and physical sciences, the ratio of which is only 10%. Statistics, prediction, military science, science organisation, government-jurisprudence is represented in even smaller ratio. 60% of the topics were partly based on knowledge that could not yet be classified.

Taking a different approach, the interdisciplinarity of the criminal topics is the following: 1.3% of them cover 1 knowledge area, 16% cover 2.22% cover 3.30% cover 4.13% cover 5 and 10% cover 6.³⁰

The scientific research within the Ministry of Interior had its traditions and results in the fields of technology, natural science, medical research etc. However, research in the field of social sciences remained in the background until the early 70s, which later proved to be one of the negative features of the entire scientific life in Hungary. The leaders of the Ministry of Interior took steps in order to find out the reasons behind this relative failure in time and urged the development of the research of social sciences.

A ministerial order in 1973 for example emphasized the duty of the interior research centres to provide the appropriate place and room for the social scientific research that directly facilitate service tasks. The results of the

³⁰ P. VÉGVÁRI, *A belügyi tudományos kutatás néhány elméleti kérdése*, in: *Belügyi Szemle*, No. 12, 1976, pp. 38–44.

research were reflected from 1978, half time of the planned research length. Many conferences and talks were held among the research centres to discuss certain topics and exchange their experiences in social science.³¹

The Interior Review, during its activities, tried to facilitate the constitutionalism of the interior work, publishing views that were different or opposite the official one. Such was the article of István Szikinger, published in the 7th issue in 1986, in which *“the author rejected the opposition of efficiency to legality, practically supporting the justification of the demand for the principle of necessity and proportionality requiring welfare rights”*.³²

Many publications, among them of the field of social science and of the complexity of the interior activities and the interdisciplinarity of its research lead to the notional questions of the science of law enforcement, according to which the law enforcement bodies should first seek to clarify the notions in the field. *“I consider law enforcement all the activities aimed at the continuous maintaining of the constitutional, law-based inner order of the country. It is obvious that the maintaining of public order and safety does not mean the work of the police or other law enforcement body alone. Regarding the Interior Ministry bodies, the control and coordination activities of the border guard, the national fire brigade, the civil defence and the administration are also meant here.”*³³

The Promotion of the Scientific Research of the Ministry of Interior

Beside the above mentioned fields the Review promoted the best theory and practice in its more general columns as well. Such were the service experiences, old murder cases from the experiences of experts, the history of the police

³¹ L. SZALMA, *Az állam- és közbiztonságról szóló vita tanulságai*, in: Belügyi Szemle, No. 1, 1980, p. 52.

³² L. KORINEK, *Rendszerváltás a belügyben*, in: G. GAÁL – Z. HAUZINGER (Eds.), *Rendészettudományi gondolatok, (Írások a Magyar Rendészettudományi Társaság megalapításának egy évtizedes jubileuma alkalmából)*, Budapest 2014, p. 43.

³³ S. OPÁL, *A rendvédelem néhány tudományelméleti és fogalmi kérdése*, in: Belügyi Szemle, No. 6, 1992, pp. 47–49.

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force. To widen the professional theoretical knowledge, it extensively made use of the proven methods of the press like information, news, interview, press review, reflexion, book review, forum, application etc.

The editors of the Review, regarding the methodological aims of the “Scientific Life” column, tried to consider the usefulness of the articles of the column as much as possible.

Because it was necessary and important to inform about the results of the interior scientific activities but some of this information proved to be extremely inefficient, just like the otherwise recognizable attempts or the peripheral topics that raised little interest. They tried however to provide the most ground to service experience, investigation descriptions and the introduction of new solutions if they provided useful information. To assess their practical value “*to include social control, the Reflexion column was created*”.³⁴

Partly because of the efficiency of the Scientific Life column of the Internal Review, the scientific student circles of the Interior Ministry gained a more and more important position. They can be regarded as the first step in the education towards scientific work and the pre-workshops of the scientific activities of the future, helping the forming of a scientific point of view and serving as a basis for researchers.³⁵

But the scientific activity is strongly affected by social conditions. That is, the level of performance of an organisation or research group does not solely depend on the available financial and technical resources. The social conditions, affecting the performance, on the other hand, do not have a “fatalistic” effect. The positive or negative effects of all factors depend on the conditions and processes that are typical at a workplace. The unfolding of the positive effects specifically requires leadership. The researches on the effectiveness of the research work may indirectly contribute to the increase of the efficiency but the effect of the processes taking place in the leadership directly is decisive.

³⁴ L. NYERGES, *Olvasói vélemények a folyóirat cikkeiről*, in: Belügyi Szemle, No. 10, 1981, p. 40.

³⁵ J. KOVÁCS, *Az oktatás és a tudomány egysége*, in: Belügyi Szemle, No. 10, 1981, p. 41.

“It is confirmed by studies that the effectiveness of the leadership of the researchers depends primarily on how much the leader considers his/her methods and strategies a problem to be continuously rethought and how much he/she measures his/her leading activities to the processes arising among the researchers because of those activities.”³⁶

Summary

The Interior Review, during its evaluated fur decades – flexibly adjusting to the then current political and social requirements –, effectively facilitated the professional training of the employees of the Hungarian Ministry of Interior bodies, the tracing, perfection and publication of the best domestic and international practices by the discussions it initiated. It served as a useful forum to meet, discuss and analyse domestic and foreign interior, law enforcement-theoretical and practical problems and experiences. In the meantime it facilitated the cooperation and work relations of the Hungarian law enforcement bodies.

The Review and its professional-scientific activity played an important role in the forming and deepening of the interior activities subject to the modern rule of law.

By its published professional-theoretical articles the Review significantly contributed to the forming and promoting of the set of notions of law enforcement even up to the change of the political system.

The authors, recognised in Hungary and by the international professional public, promoted the birth of the science of law enforcement as a new discipline.

Besides, its responsible activities played an important role in the promotion of the constitutionalism, giving ground to views that were different from or even openly opposite the official one.

³⁶ J. ANDICS, *A kutatómunka hatékonyságának néhány társadalmi feltételéről*, in: Belügyi Szemle, No. 2, 1981, p. 50.

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Abstract

The Interior Review, as a professional-scientific forum, from its beginning to the change of the political system, facilitated the professional training of the employees of the Hungarian Ministry of Interior bodies, the tracing, professional processing, publication and perfection of the best domestic and international practices and experiences and thus the forming and development of the science of law enforcement. The Review and its professional-scientific activity played an important role in the forming and deepening of the interior activities subject to the modern rule of law.

Keywords

Police review; Interior Review; Public Policy; Public Safety; State Security; Rule of Law; Law Enforcement Theory; Science of Law Enforcement

discussion

Parliamentary Democracy of the Republic of Bulgaria as an Important Factor of Community Development

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Introduction

Since the 19th c. Bulgarians, immediately after the country's liberation from Turkish oppression, have created an important institution of community's political system, the body of legislative power, namely the parliament and started implementation and accumulation of their own experience in parliamentary democracy. But it was little, as the practice of parliamentary democracy in the country soon was broken off. The observation of parliamentary activity in Bulgaria has been carrying out since 1879, when the adoption of the Tarnovo Constitution laid the foundation of the statehood: Bulgaria was announced the constitutional monarchy with the representation of people. This type of political system had been preserved up to 1946.

It must be admitted, that in the political history of Bulgaria in the 19th–20th c. the traditions of non-democratic governing prevailed. Though, the democratic ideas were typical of the society since the national liberation movement of the 2nd part of the 19th century, but the mass consciousness of Bulgarians did not single out republican or monarchical ideas. The fact of the state creation was more important for them.¹ The last democratic parliamentary elections were held on June 21, 1931. The military takeover of May 19, 1934 canceled all democratic institutions: the constitution was abolished, political

¹ M. SEMOV, *Dobrodeteli na bolharina*, Sofia 1999, p. 121.

parties were forbidden, and the National Assembly or Bulgarian parliament was dissolved. New parliamentary elections were held in 1938.

It should be underlined that the first Constitution of Bulgaria established not parliamentary, but constitutional and monarchical form of government. The institution of monarch was in the centre of the political system and kept this position till the beginning of the WWII. The establishment of parliamentarianism was prevented by such factors as the constitutional instability (the working of the constitution was interrupted), the political instability (state takeovers), the lack of legal competence among the community and bureaucracy.²

The Role of the National Assembly in the Development of the Political History in Bulgaria in the 20th Century

In the interwar period authoritarianism as a form of governing was embodied in “personal regimes” of Bulgarian rulers. The constitutional principles were often violated. The opposition between the authorities’ branches led to the negative consequences. Permanent conflicts between legal and executive power, which were backed by various political and party interests, caused parliamentary crisis. As a rule, parliamentary governing is based on the political parties’ interaction, and weakness of the political parties stipulates weakness of the parliament as an institution. This statement can be subsumed under the political history of Bulgaria during the interwar period. Weakness of parliament intensified the role of government executive bodies, contributed to the enlargement and strengthening of the monocratic power of the head of the state. The lack of the powerful parties with huge social support in the interwar period led to the frequent change of the cabinets. Strengthening or weakening of the parliament in the political life of Bulgaria depended on how the relations in the parliament corresponded to the relations in the Bulgarian society.³

² T. ENCHEVA, *Kabinet i siniata nomenklatura pritiskat chervenata vlast*, in: Seha (Sofia), 1997, Vol. 2, No. 47, 4–10 dekmvry, pp.16–17.

³ Ibidem.

The absence of stable parties with the clear programs, factionalism, and groups' feuds complicated the work of the parliament up to 1940. The society needed powerful government cabinets created on the basis of well-established parties, which would ensure stable parliamentary government. But, in political life, the parties, which pursued their own interests at a loss to the social interests, prevailed.

Weak parliamentary opposition, unstable parliamentary majority, small parties coalitions were interested in the way how to strengthen their own position in the parliament. Since 1935 after the resignation of K. Georgiev's government, the monarchical dictatorship of the fascist type established in the country. Under the conditions of fascism escalation in Europe, Bulgarian leading circles declared neutrality, but in fact pursued a fascist policy. After the difficult and non-democratic elections of 1940 the pro-German majority came to power, and B. Filov's cabinet on March 1, 1941 signed the treaty of Bulgarian accession to the fascist "Tripartite Pact". So, Bulgaria became an ally of Germany in the WWII.

The defeat of the Wehrmacht and the entry of the Soviet army into Bulgaria in 1944 changed the course of the Bulgarian history. In October 1944 the Allied Commission (the USSR, the USA, and the UK) and Bulgaria concluded an armistice. The power in the country was passed on to the Fatherland Front. In November 1945 a new composition of parliament was elected and later it recognized all the decrees made by the Fatherland front government as lawful ones. After 1944 the regime of the Soviet type was established in Bulgaria and parliamentarianism achieved its formal façade form. On all levels, power was in the hands of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Everything positive, that was in the experience of the prewar parliamentarianism, became lost for a long time.

On September 15, 1946 as a result of the referendum on the form of the statehood (93 % of Bulgarians voted for the monarchy abolishment), Bulgaria was declared a republic. In October 1946 new parliament was elected. The Fatherland Front, which gained 70 % of votes and was a coalition of democratic parties under the aegis of the Bulgarian Labour Party, dominated in it.

The process of civil society formation in Bulgaria began in the 20th c. But the civil society here was rather weak during the 20th c. In the 1st part of the century it revealed itself in the backwardness of democratic political culture and poor democratic traditions. In the 1st part of the 20th c. Bulgaria and other SEE countries were characterized by the repeated “*alteration of democratic and authoritarian and dictatorial regimes and the existence of great power in the state’s hands for account of widening and deepening of certain civil society’s autonomy*”.⁴ As the development of the civil society and individual self-consciousness are deeply interrelated, it is important to discover the way this interconnection revealed itself in Bulgaria and this will contribute to understanding of modern democratic processes.

Bulgaria, as well as the other SEE countries, since the 14th c. and during the next 4–5 centuries had been developing under other conditions in comparison with the west European Christian world. Everyday vicinity with Muslims changed the communities’ traditions, which had already been laid in the Orthodox World, and which became vital for Bulgarians survival under the conditions of Turkish enslavement. These circumstances prevented the appearance and strengthening of the individualism principle among the Bulgarians. H. Fotev mentions, that “*civil society could not appear without the turn of the deep-rooted conservative life paradigm of the stable traditionalism*”.⁵

The problem of Bulgaria modernization is also interrelated with the traditionalism overcoming and formation of civil society. The scholar believes that the socio-cultural phenomenon of modernization appears when traditionalism is removed as a barrier for the subsequent development of society, and historical memory becomes an instrument, which contributes to the development of society, but does not hamper it. The attempts of the first modernization of Bulgaria are referred to the interwar period; the second wave of modernization took place in the frames of the Soviet type system after the WWII and failed.

⁴ H. FOTEV, *Smysl na politikata*, Sofia 1999, p. 72.

⁵ Ibidem, p. 74.

In the 80s – 90s of the 20th Century the Bulgarian Society Faced the Problem of New Modernization of the Country, the Third in Succession

The peculiarities of Bulgaria democratization are stipulated by the differences of the historical processes in this Balkan country in comparison with western countries. European modernism is closely connected with the appearance of national states that became an absolutely new stage in the statehood development. For the Bulgarians the process of statehood creation was a national idea, which united the society during the struggle against the Turks. Belated formation of the statehood that took place in the late 19th c. left its mark on the Bulgarians' social consciousness, which reveals itself even in the 21st century in the feeling of incompleteness of the national unification of the Bulgarian lands (there are scientific discussions nowadays). The idea of nation-preservation is still dominant in the Bulgarians' mass consciousness, it feeds statehood frame of mind, which have been deeply rooted in the Bulgarian society since the time of socialistic country. Nationalism as a unified ideology was used by T. Zhyvkov's regime in the late 80s (the campaign concerning the alteration of Muslim and Bulgarian names, which drew a wide negative response in the world).

New leading elite in the 90s refused from the tactic of searching for legitimacy in the national ideology. They realized that civil society formation requires the necessity for people to feel themselves citizens. It in essence changes their role in society, as a citizen acquires autonomy, which is impossible in the frames of the family, traditional society, totalitarian and paternalistic country. The process of democracy and parliamentarianism formation in Bulgaria is correlated with strangling the principle of individualism over the last two centuries. To the Bulgarians point of view, individualism is *"the main constructive element of the civil society"*.⁶ Thus, the complicated processes in the political life of Bulgaria are stipulated by the insufficient level of the society development and citizens' self-consciousness.

⁶ Ibidem, p. 72.

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After the WWII the development of Bulgaria according to the Soviet model did not contribute to the civil society formation. In the parliament as well as in the socialistic Bulgarian society, multi-party system was only declared. Nominally the political life of the country was characterized by the existence of such parties as – Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union (BAPU), which was the ally of the communists and the Fatherland Front, as the social movement. But the multi-party system was relative, as the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) held the power. Since the 50s of the 20th century the political opposition in Bulgaria was absent. So, the return to this political institution revealed many problems in the 90s of the 20th c. The multi-party system which was invented, fictitious and just kept up appearances of the BAPU and the Fatherland Front significance, led to the fact that the BCP was at the head of the parliament, politics and all other social structures. The unification of the state and the communist party precluded the autonomy of the individual.

The Post-communist Epoch Confronted Bulgaria with the Problem of Accelerated Modernization and the Necessity of Civil Society Development

It was vital to help out the country of the social and economic crisis. If till 1989 pre-reform social order was based on the absence of civism and political democracy and was carried out in the frames of central planned economy, then democratization at the beginning of reconstructing was understood as formation of civism, political democracy, new institutional norms and markets.⁷ But expectations for rapid changes were illusive; they did not take into consideration their previous experience.

For several times since the late 19th c. Bulgaria has started implementation of radical reforms, which were to have led the country to the cardinal accelerated development. But all the attempts failed. In accordance with a number of Bulgarian researchers' observations, the attempts to overcome the antagonism between the strengthening of social and economic interests, which

⁷ D. MINEV, *PREKHOD – Iliuzii i realnost*, in: *Prekhodyt v Bylhariiia prez pohleda na sotsialnite nauki*, Sofia 1997, p. 66.

characterized the early stages of modernization, and the necessity for various social strata representation in the authorities, which is vital for democracy, failed.⁸

The mission of modern parliamentarianism is to soften social confrontation and to widen civilized forms of various social strata. To some extent it is embodied in the work of the Bulgarian parliament. Only at the end of the 20th c. for the first time in the Bulgarian history, rights of a personality, his/her dignity and safety were proclaimed the highest state value in the new Constitution (July 12, 1991). But there is a long gap between the declaration of aims and tasks, and their practical realization. And even after a quarter of a century many researches still skeptically appraise the approaching to the solution of these tasks. It is necessary to highlight that at the beginning of transformation (1989) civil society in Bulgaria was just reviving. The society was socially homogenous, as the social differentiation had just begun, and the group identification was absent. Many Bulgarian researchers state that revolutionary changes took place in the country where there were no revolutionary conditions, but where the crisis of legitimacy began and which overgrew into the political crisis that formed new rules of the game.

Till the end of the 80s the Bulgarian society was dissatisfied with some members of BCP's political-bureau and government, but not with the regime in general. The Bulgarians quite understood the growth of the economic crisis and inefficiency of the "cosmetic reforms" carried out by T. Zhyvkiv's regime and inability of the leading class to sustain the crisis.⁹ Social and economic transformation as "the revolution from the top" was implemented by the supreme party elite in their own interests. This elite was the only group who had clearly defined group-consciousness, based on the safeguarding their privileged status.¹⁰ Social breakdown took place when the former Bulgarian

⁸ G. DIMITROV – P. CABAKCHIEVA – G. KEOSEV, *Russia and Bulgaria: Farewell Democracy*, Sofia 1996, p. 27.

⁹ R. PEEVA, *Roliata na Bylharskata Kryhla masa v protsesa na perekhod kym demokratsia, Sotsiologicheskie problemy*, Sofia 1999, Br. 1, p. 135.

¹⁰ G. VLADIMIROV – T. TODOROV – J. CATCARSKY, *Bulgaria in the Circle of Anomie*, in:

communist elite exchanged their political power for leading economic positions and privileges that could happen only in a weak society, which hadn't had time to form its group interests. The wave of the meetings in Bulgaria during the first years of transformation showed the desire to change the political system. The establishment of the democratic parliament institution helped to change the unconstructive street confrontation for the struggle of political and social interests in the institutional frames of representative authority.

At first the tasks of transformation were to weaken the absolute control of the BCP, which was in power, and to create the balanced authority made of various social groups.¹¹ The Constitution (1991), which legalized social and economic changes in the country, had been preceded by the talks between the opposition and the BCP during the round table conferences (first part of 1990). 26 oppositional political groups and movements took part in creation of the new rules of political cooperation. During the talks between the BCP's elite (later renamed into the BSP) and the opposition, represented by the Union of Democratic Forces (the UDF), which had got stronger in various discussions, the agreements as to the principles of the subsequent democratic system and security assurance for the BCP's elite were achieved. Many UDF's representatives later on became leading politicians in the country. The draft of the law on the recognition of the multi-party system was made up in spring 1990 at the round table conferences. Political pluralism was consolidated in the Constitution in 1991 and later the laws on political parties and regress of the BCP's property into the state's ownership were approved.

The role of the round table, which was in the origins of the country's democratization, more and more draws the attention of the Bulgarian researchers. Its work was stipulated not only by the BCP's position but also by the increasing social tension and the process of young democratic power formation, which, for a long time, hadn't had an opportunity to be in opposition.

P. ATTESLANDER – B. GRANSOW – J. WESTERN (Eds.), *Comparative Anomie Research: Hidden Barriers – Hidden Potential for Social Development*, Brookfield, 1999, p. 48.

¹¹ D. MINEV – M. ZHELIAZKOVA, *Bylharia: razhdaneto na kapitalisma i na ikonomicheska ratsionalnost, Sotsiologicheskie problemy*, Sofia 2000, Br. 3–4, p. 118.

From its beginning the process of transformation in Bulgaria was moving towards democratization and parliamentarianism, as the system of governing that presupposed the existence of the multi-party system in the society and the opposition to the ruling majority in the legislative body, which creates the foundations of the talks as a subsequent governing tool. Even before the legislating formation of the new regime with the help of the constitution, the round table conference helped to work out the principles of the future democratic system.

Its meeting was presupposed by the political crisis, which occurred after the resignation of A. Lukanov's socialist government in the late 1990. The practice of holding round table conferences as a mechanism of political crisis solving was fixed in the Bulgarian constitution: the Advisory National Security Council, headed by the president of the country, was created. The experience achieved during the negotiations between the political elites was further used in the parliamentary practice.¹² The subsequent development of the democratic processes is stipulated by the so-called "agreement" between the supreme party elite and politicians-democrats. There was a differentiation of labor between them: political language was developed by the intellectuals and structural reforms were carried out by the old political elite, which did not forget about their own interests in the new social and economic conditions. P. Cabakchieva states that the success as to the fundamental ideological issues was achieved during the round table conferences, but the mechanisms of their maintenance were not worked out and this slowed down the pace of the reforms, especially in the economy of Bulgaria.¹³

The broadened composition of the parliament – the Great National Assembly established the parliamentary republic in Bulgaria and according to the constitution of 1991 the parliament is a legislative body, the government is the executive body and the president is the mediator between these political institutions. H. Bliznashki states that the problem of achieving the balance

¹² PEEVA, pp. 142–143.

¹³ DIMITROV – CABAKCHIEVA – KEOSEV, p. 55.

between the separated authorities is a key issue not only for Bulgaria but also for any normal parliamentary system, and the history of parliamentarianism is a search for the magical formula of maintenance of the stable balance between the parliament and the government. The search for this formula is complicated as in practice, the centre of balance in the state politics constantly changes and the close cooperation between all spheres of authority in ensuring the legal regulation of social processes is necessary.¹⁴

Representative Democracy in Bulgaria as a Form of Mediation between the Civil Society and the State

Revealing the thesis given in the subtitle, it is necessary to mention that ideally the national representatives' activity should be aimed at achieving social benefit. But the Bulgarian reality differs from the ideal model. Parliamentary democracy, which revived in the late 20th c., now is in the process of formation, when party structures have not stabilized yet, and the inner-party splits are real both for the historical parties and the leading parties of the transitional period – the UDF and the BSP. It influences the parliamentary activity as the parties do not represent the interests of the wide strata, but *“serve mainly the interests of the elite and a part of middle class, assuring the stability of a new more democratic system for the others”*.¹⁵

The Bulgarian parliament, or the National Assembly, is a single-chamber system, which is elected once in 4 years among 240 deputies, who represent various political parties, which surmount 4% barrier during the elections. The control over the activity of the parliament as a legislative body is taken by the president with the help of veto and the Constitutional Court, which can abolish any adopted law. The parliament plays a key role in formation, structuring and changing of governments, decision making processes as to

¹⁴ H. BLIZNASHKI, *Parlamentanoto upravlenie v Bylhariia*, Sofia 1995, p. 37.

¹⁵ L. MITEVA, *Razvitie partiinykh sistem v stranakh Tsentralno-Vostochnoi Evropy v perekhodnoi period*, in: *Vestnik Moskovskoho universiteta, Seriya 12: Politicheskie nauki*, Moscow 2000, pp. 6, 49.

national referendums, approving state loans, ratification and termination of the most important international agreements, declaring military situation. While forming the government, the parliament chooses the prime minister. The parliamentary majority offers its candidate for the position, and then the head of the government forms the cabinet. As the government must have the vote of confidence from the parliament, it is elected by the parliamentary voting. This circumstance limits the capabilities of the cabinet's head to change the composition of the government.

The parliamentary system of Bulgaria depicts the idea of rational parliamentarianism, when the constitutional system has judicial techniques to keep stability and power of the government when there is no parliamentary majority. The relationship between the government and parliament is revealed in their cooperation in carrying out the functions of each other and controlling each other's work. The Bulgarian parliament controls the government's activity by means of classical techniques of requests and inquiries. But if the time for the deputies' requests and inquiries is limited and the deputies' speeches are restricted to the short statements concerning the certain problem, then there is nothing of that sort as to the ministers' answers. This circumstance let the latter have the advantage in the course of discussion. Such type of parliament's work presupposes transition to the general consideration of a case after the concrete inquiry, including 1/5 of deputies. The parliamentary opposition has a right of discussion the problems concerning the governmental activities, but it is extremely limited by the majority's will, and the position of parliamentary groups is not taken into consideration.

The parliamentary opposition has a right to cause the dissolution of the government by raising the issue of no-confidence to the government. The right to raise the issue of no-confidence can be achieved with the help of 1/5 of deputies, i.e. 48 persons. Qualified majority is necessary for the government to be resigned. In case, when the parliament expresses no-confidence to the prime minister and the cabinet of ministers, the cabinet loses its powers. If the parliament does not support the issue of no-confidence, then voting as

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to this matter can be held only in 6 months. This norm allows defending the government from constant parliamentary attacks. The national assembly can raise the issue of both overall governmental policy and just a concrete case. While voting it is enough for the government to get simple majority, for the decision to be taken for its benefit. Though, according to the Constitution the parliament is the highest power in the country, the executive branch, represented by the government, from time to time becomes the centre of all powers in the country and this, to the point of view of many political scientists, diminishes parliament's responsibilities, but does not change the model of the authorities.¹⁶

The main function of the parliament is a legislative one. Every deputy has a right of legislative initiative. The same right has the ministers' council as a collective body and the president. The activity of every composition of a parliament since 1989 has its own peculiarities, but among them we can single out the work of the 36th National Assembly (1992–1994). Reinforcement of the right powers, liberal politicians from the oppositional UDF activated parliament's work in the sphere of adoption laws, which contributed to the cardinal changes in the life of the Bulgarian society. The results of the elections did not guarantee majority for any political power. The confrontation that took place between the BSP and the UDF during the pre-election battles went on inside the parliament and as a result of this 220 laws and 272 decisions were adopted. Among them one can single out a number of laws which accelerated the changes in the political and economic systems of the country. This composition of the parliament adopted the Law on transformation and privatization of the state and communal enterprises, and a number of restitution laws: the laws on renewal the ownership right in the sphere of trade (shops, workshops, storehouses, tailoring shops), the law, according to which the movable and immovable property of the BCP, the BAPU, the Fatherland Front, the YCL, trade unions etc., which had been received by them after September 9, 1944, was returned to the state ownership.

¹⁶ Ibidem.

In the parliamentary republic of Bulgaria the president's prerogatives are strictly limited. The relations between the Bulgarian parliament and president are based just to guarantee the independence of the legislative body. The date of convocation of the parliament is fixed in the Constitution. The Bulgarian president cannot dissolve the parliament ahead of time. He can use his right of dissolving the National Assembly, which is backed up by the parliament, only in the case when all constitutional opportunities as to the government formation are confined. At the same time according to the constitution, he is obliged to specify the date of the new parliamentary elections. In order to avoid the development of the parliamentary crisis into the general political crisis, the parliament cannot be dissolved during the last 3 months of the presidential powers. Such immunity of the parliament has its negative side, it can cause a situation when the composition and work of the parliament do not satisfy the society, and the effective government cannot be created.¹⁷

The institution of the president is a subject of controversy and doubtful interpretations. The constitutional status of the head of the country presupposes his active role in the political life of the country. Being the highest official, he plays the role of a person who unites everyone, the role of a peculiar republican monarch.¹⁸ Researchers, in their theoretical investigations, sharply criticize this presidential function of a referee due to its ambiguity and indeterminacy. Arbitration function of the president is interpreted in the following ways: 1) the head of the country – the highest instance, who takes final decisions; 2) the head of the country, who maintains neutrality, does not interfere with the political game while its rules are not violated. The last interpretation is close to the idea, which is mentioned in the Constitution of Bulgaria. According to it, there is no way to create the presidential authoritarian regime. On the whole, the efficiency of the president's interference with the politics depends on his authority and action pattern more, than on his constitutional powers.

¹⁷ BLIZNASHKI, p. 76.

¹⁸ Ibidem, 71.

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The institution of the president is assessed by the Bulgarian researchers in different ways: some believe it to be a weak and powerless one, other appraise the president's powers as temperate, which correspond to the president's place in the parliamentary republic. In most cases the president's interference with these or those issues is judicially based, but in general its powers has moral character, which allows the president to give recommendations and make demands on other authoritative bodies, namely to address to the Constitutional court. Active role of the president in the process of politics formation is ensured by the political acts, such as address to the nation and to the parliament.

The relations between the president and the parliament in the Bulgarian parliamentary republic are built just to guarantee the independence of the parliament. The date of convocation of the parliament is fixed in the Constitution. Newly elected parliament is convened by the president not later than in a month after the elections. If it does not happen, then 1/5 of deputies is enough to convene the parliament. According to the Constitution, in case when, the agreement as to the government formation is not reached, the president appoints acting government and dissolves the parliament, fixing the date of the new parliamentary elections.¹⁹ This is the only case which allows the president to dissolve the parliament. Such immunity of the parliament is believed to slow down the recovery from political recession and that is why, it is necessary to mention in the amendments to the Constitution, the procedures, which will give an opportunity to renew the parliament quickly.²⁰

The relations between the president and the government escalated when the odds in the National Assembly were in favor of left or right forces. In 1992 president Zh. Zhelev criticized F. Dimitrov's government. Both political leaders belonged to the Union of Democratic Forces; Zh. Zhelev was the first UDF's head, and F. Dimitrov took up this position later. Being the head of the country, Zh. Zhelev pursued a policy, aimed at maintaining the balance

¹⁹ *Konstitutsiia na Republika Bylhariiia. Prieta ot Velikoto narodno sbranie 12 yuli 1991*, Sofia 2002, p. 40.

²⁰ BLIZNASHKI, p. 76.

between various social groups and achieving the national harmony. The cabinet of right forces due to its extremism created some tension in the country, and therefore caused sharp criticism on the part of extra-parliamentary opposition of trade unions.

In 1995 the confrontation between two authority institutions was extremely escalated, when the socialistic government tried to limit the president's power. Zh. Zhelev offered to amend the Constitution by broadening the power of the president. But he was accused of attempts to create dictatorship, interfere with the work of the parliament and government, and control the work of the Constitutional Court. The struggle in the parliament affected the legislative activity. The president used his right to return laws as requiring improvement. The presidential amendments concerned those laws, which were aimed at establishing a non-communistic country. The parliamentary majority, consisted of the socialists, ignored all Zh. Zhelev's amendments.

After a decade of the right politicians' presidency (Zh. Zhelev, P. Stoianov) since 2001 the socialist H. Pirvanov twice has been elected as president of the country. He came out for stoppage of the struggle between the authoritative institutions and believed that it was possible to achieve stability, if the power was divided between the authoritative bodies, but not in case of their separation or confrontation. In 2011 Rosen Asenov Plevneliev was elected as president. The fifth president of Bulgaria is a politician and entrepreneur. He was a minister of regional development in the centre-right government CEBD (Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria). In economic policy the president stands for the tax lowering, business maintenance and budget gap reduction. Someone believed Plevneliev's victory as a step towards strict economic reforms but it did not happen. The president carries out his responsibilities and does not interfere with the work of the parliament.

Thus, it should be mentioned that stabilization of the state institutions includes statehood strengthening guarantees. The relationship between the government and parliament is revealed in their cooperation in carrying out the functions of each other and controlling each other's work. Mutual threat

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of losing their power by all authoritative bodies is aimed at maintenance of balance between them and at creation of preconditions for constructive cooperation. The Bulgarian parliament controls the government's activity by means of classical techniques of requests and inquiries.

Abstract

The author of the paper analyzes the parliamentary democracy in the Republic of Bulgaria and considers it to be the important factor of community development. The parliamentary system of Bulgaria depicts the idea of rational parliamentarianism, when the constitutional system has judicial techniques to keep stability and power of the government when there is no parliamentary majority. The relationship between the government and parliament is revealed in their cooperation in carrying out the functions of each other and controlling each other's work. The Bulgarian parliament controls the government's activity by means of classical techniques of requests and inquiries.

Keywords

The Republic of Bulgaria; Democratization; Parliament; Opposition; President; Political Authoritative Institutions; Bodies of Powers; Lawmaking; Right of Legislative Initiative

reviews

Michal STEHLÍK – Gerald M. SPRENGNAGEL (Eds.), *Kreiského éra v Rakousku a období normalizace v ČSSR*, Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Filozofická fakulta, 2013, ISBN 978-80-7308-480-6, 245 p.

This is the first publication by The Permanent Conference of Czech and Austrian Historians, which was established in November 2009. It shows both dissimilar and identical features of Austrian and Czechoslovak politics, culture and everyday life during the era of an Austrian chancellor Bruno Kreisky. The duo Miroslav Kunštát and Stefan Michael Newerkla explains to the readers various forms of mutual Austrian-Czechoslovak (later Czech) cooperation on historical projects; the road, which led to establishing the Conference and its recent activities.

The book reviewed could be divided according to its topics to the political and the cultural part. Political issues are presented by authors Adam Dobeš, Jaroslav Pažout, Christoph Boyer, Hanns Haas, Siegfried Mattl, Oliver Rathkolb, Helmut Wohnout. Adam Dobeš deals with the process of Austrian-Czechoslovak restitutions of property which was expropriated by the Act No. 12 of June 21, 1945 and No. 108 of October 28, 1945. Dobeš describes bilateral negotiations starting in the 1950s up to December 1974, when a treaty of certain financial and proprietary issues regulation was signed. Jaroslav Pažout's study describes activities of radical left wing of Czechoslovak politics; Revolutionary Youth Movement and Petr Uhl's work in the environment of Charter 77. Mutual comparison of both neighbouring social states in the 1970s could be found in Christoph Boyer's contribution. He compares Czechoslovak economy during normalization to the Austrian model called "Austrokeynesianismus" and searches for similarities in both economic spheres. Hanns Haas introduces forty-year-long development of "extended Vienna's writing desk", Austrian region of Waldviertel starting in 1945 up to the dusk of the Kreisky's reign. Haas gives enough space to analyse infrastructure, agriculture, fields of industry and tourism and he outlines a way of Waldviertel's searching for regional identity within Austria itself. Siegfried

Matzl's study describes a left wing opposition of Kreisky's government. His research starts in the year 1968 with the development of so called "new left wing". The author focuses on Free Austrian Youth, Association of Democratic Students, a radical movement Spartacus or feminist movement and he tries to explain, why these short-term groupings left the political scene without a proper self-reflection. Oliver Rathkolb summarizes Bruno Kreisky's political career. The author mentions chancellor's steps in foreign politics, when Kreisky was not afraid to criticise results of the Egypt-Israeli meeting in Camp David, and he also describes Kreisky's decisions regarding domestic policy such as education, judiciary, science and even pro-female-policy, which he achieved due to appointing qualified personnel to ministerial and administrative positions for example Christian Brody, Josef Staribacher or Johanna Dohnal. In his study Helmut Wohnout deals with the development of Austrian People's Party in the 1970s. He describes changes on leading position from Karl Schleinzner over Josef Tause to Alois Mock and party's activities in opposition.

Cultural issues are discussed by Martin Franc, Marek Junek, Michael Huber, Evelyn Polz-Heizl, Thomas Samhaber, Gerald M. Sprengnagel, Helena Srubar. Martin Franc discusses an excessive one-sided partiality for certain cultural phenomenon of normalization, more precisely of Kreisky's era. He focuses on the television broadcast, Coca Cola consumption, pop-music scene and the question of apartments and a modern trend of construction of housing estates. Franc points out the lack of trustworthy papers regarding these topics both in Czechoslovak (later Czech) and Austrian states. He also finds growing interest of the topic of consumer culture. The chapter called "Culture between the Charter and Anticharter" by Marek Junek shows difficult positions of artists, who writhed in rough environment of normalization. No matter who they were, actors or musicians, they had to face various forms of controls and regulations, used by the communist government to secure their public appearances. He also slightly touches the issue of underground culture in Czechoslovakia. Austrian pop-music scene of the 1970s, specifically

a phenomenon of so called “austropop”, is described in Michael Huber’s study. He considers this movement as “a symptom of awakening of the Austrian society” and he defines its position in Austrian culture. The study of Evelyne Polz-Heizl also describes Austrian culture during the 1970s. She analyses cultural structures in Austria of that time and focuses especially on a television production of so called “Alpensagen” by Wilhelm Pevny and Peter Turrini, which caused a huge wave of public offence with its distinctive way of retelling Austrian history starting in 1900. Thomas Samhaber deals with cultural initiatives in rural areas during the Kreisky’s reign. Firstly, he outlines an age of adolescence on Austrian countryside and then introduces several cultural clubs and associations and their activities in particular regions. Gerald M. Sprengnagel shows various sides of Austrian young generation of the 1970s and he explains how mainstream culture and nonconformist subcultures were established and how they tried to make their way through. Helena Srubar shows how Czechoslovak culture influenced Austrian and German society and as an example she chose two icons of Czechoslovak television broadcast – Pan Tau and Arabela series. She describes how the authors Vorlíček-Macourek-Polák-Hofman affected the production of children’s series and movies of the 1960s and 70s and says that they were practically responsible for the high quality of these results.

The book reviewed puts light on not very reflected issue of Czechoslovak-Austrian relations in the era of normalization. Rather than specific results, the paper brings a wide spectrum of impulses for further research.

Alena Bulvasová

Wolf D. GRUNER, *Der Wiener Kongress 1814/1815*, Stuttgart: Reclam, 2014, ISBN 978-3-15019-252-8, 261 p.

A foreign historian visiting German bookstores might well be astonished by the popularity of small books on more or less general topics, important events and significant personalities of German as well as European history for which it is difficult to use an expression other than a pocket book. Even more surprising might be their often high quality, which seems to be due to the fact that their authors are usually among the leading experts on the topics they cover. This also is the case of the book reviewed here, a pocket book in the real meaning of the word given its small size, on the Congress of Vienna written by German historian Wolfgang Dietrich Gruner and published by the Reclam publishing house exactly two hundred years after the beginning of this well-known and significant event with considerable influence over the course of modern European history.

Gruner belongs to the older generation of historians for whom knowledge of facts based upon the study of not only scholarly literature but also the vast quantity of primary sources housed in many archives is something natural and not merely a matter of curiosity. This latest monograph is established on the same solid foundations that Gruner has based all his voluminous work on 19th century German and European history to which he has dedicated most of his career. With this in mind, it is no surprise that so small a book should contain such a wealth of content and that the reader will get on 261 pages more than might be expected at first sight, something that cannot be immediately revealed from its text where the references are limited to the absolutely necessary minimum in the text much like the list of archives and secondary sources used for writing it. This was a necessary compromise to save space, but it in no way devalues the high scholarly quality of the work.

The content of the book is dedicated to diplomatic negotiations and factors influencing their course and outcome, while the numerous social events and love stories so typical for the congress but actually not so significant for its

diplomatic agenda have been entirely omitted. The concentration on what was actually important helps to maintain the coherency of the narrative divided into six main chapters (there actually are seven numbered chapters but the first one is an introduction). The first chapter presents the most important factors determining the progress of European society and politics from 1750 to 1830, by which Gruner establishes the historical framework for the congress itself. With the explanation of the complexity of this process it becomes all the more obvious how difficult a task was laid before the participants of the congress. The second chapter prepares the path to the congress with the analysis of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era from 1789 to 1814. The third one introduces the views of the members of the anti-Napoleonic coalition before their meeting in Vienna on how a post-war system ensuring stable and long-lasting peace was to be established. The fourth chapter, by far the longest one, forms the core of the whole book with the explanation of the course of the congress; the fifth one explains its importance for the further development of European affairs. No less interesting is the final, sixth, part of the book dealing with the evaluation of the congress by the contemporaries as well as historians.

What must be assessed in a highly positive way above all is the fact that the text is in no way a mere presentation of facts but a highly analytical piece offering an explanation of the complicated negotiations and their results upon numerous external as well as internal factors. It is true that this approach places considerable demands on the reader – despite the fact that the language used is easily readable and the whole story is well-arranged, something not easy owing to its complexity – but it definitely makes the book a highly valuable and scholarly, mature contribution to the topic that could hardly be achieved without the already mentioned erudition of its author.

The role of every review is not only to commend but also to criticise. In this case one could offer more words of praise but few of reproach. If there is any shortcoming then, probably, it is the predominant concern for Central Europe, namely Germany, and its significance in the negotiations at the

congress, whereas some other affairs and areas would seem to be sidelined, which is an easily understandable feature of the book owing to Gruner's particular focus on German history during his long academic career. It is, however, difficult to label this "German" accent as a real failing because one must entirely agree with the author that German affairs played the crucial and by far the most discussed role at the congress. Accentuating them can thus be regarded as historically well-founded.

In short Gruner's latest book is an excellent contribution to the research work on not only the Congress of Vienna but also early 19th century history in general and a valuable piece for not only scholars but also the general public. Both get more than might appear from the small size of the book that in no way corresponds with the high quality of its content. This monograph definitely merits a prominent place in a book-case and it can be taken for granted that it will not be overshadowed by other books, even those bigger in size, on the same topic.

Miroslav Šedivý

David W. PHILLIPSON, *Foundations of an African Civilisation. Aksum and the Northern Horn, 1000 BC – AD 1300*, Woodbridge: James Currey, 2012, ISBN 978-1-84701-088-9, 294 p.

Ethiopia belongs to very old territories with a tradition of statehood that goes far into Antiquity. For decades or even centuries, Ethiopia has attracted scholars from many regions and continents due to its (alleged or real) exceptionality which was centered on several factors. First, it was one of the first countries that adopted Christianity (in its Orthodox version) already in the 4th century. Second, its ethnic and religious diversity contributed to a specific mixture of cultures that is still tangible until today. Third, Ethiopia was able to maintain its independence (except for a short period of Italian occupation in the 1930s), the fact that contributed to its special position among African and Afro-American community. For the purpose of this review, mainly the first remains relevant as Ethiopia, formerly known as Abyssinia, is a homeland of an ancient Aksum Empire that existed as an important political unit for many centuries until it was diminished during the 7th century.

Already at the end of the 19th century, first major accounts in ancient history of Ethiopia were published and extended in Europe. Numerous books and other materials have been printed since then written by historians as well as archeologists including David W. Phillipson whose recent monograph *Foundations of an African Civilisation. Aksum and the Northern Horn 1000 BC – AD 1300* gives an impressive picture on various aspects of the Aksum Empire. Aksum is one of the oldest empires in Africa that at least in certain periods of time occupied territory not only in the Horn of Africa, but part of the Arab Peninsula as well. Thus it included various cultural and political environments that were unified under one shelter crossing the Red Sea. Aksum, obviously, did not emerge in a vacuum, and at the same time, after its decline, left a strong legacy of statehood, rich culture, and, besides many other things, Christianity. The reviewed book is thus divided into three chapters that deal

with pre-Aksum period, the kingdom of Aksum, and post-Aksum era. The main body, of course, lies in the era of greatness of Aksum kingdom.

The Ethiopian Highlands are one of the places on Earth where first agriculture appeared and where first animals were domesticated. Archeology provides us with numerous evidence of ancient civilization in what is now Ethiopia and Eritrea. Although the book is written as primarily an archeological account, it gives wide range of data useful for historical research as well. Its rich documentation provides one of the best and most complete and complex analysis of the history of Aksum and its aftermath.

History of the kingdom of Aksum shows various changes in power relations ranging from periods of greatness and wealth to periods of decline and misfortune. Phillipson gives us a multiple picture of his research on Aksumite languages and literacy (chapter 5), written sources (chapter 6), expansionist period (chapter 7), kingship and politics (chapter 8), religion (chapter 9), and a wide range of issues dealing with daily life, urbanizations, rituals, such as burials, material culture, or coinage. Probably the most interesting periods of the existence of Aksumite kingdom is the era of adoption of Christianity by the king Ezana in the first half of the 4th century, the second being the last expansionist era at the end of the 6th century that included a significant part of Arab Peninsula.

First intensive expansion started during the second half of the third century when Aksumite economy developed via international trade and expansion to neighboring areas inhabited by the Bega, Noba and other areas. This period is also marked by coinage and Aksumite artifacts can be found in numerous places in the Mediterranean and Asia. Crucial period of the expansion is associated with the king Ezana, son of Ella Amida. There are still, however, certain issues to be discussed. For instance, we do not know exactly where some of the conquered areas lied or what or whom certain names represented. This is an example of Bega, usually associated with Beja or the Blemmyes, but it has to be said that the connection between Beja and the Blemmyes is not clear up to this day.

Nevertheless, the author bases his findings on exhausting primary sources including written and material ones, accompanies his findings with numerous pictures and maps and thus gives a complete analysis and overview of the important period of Horn of Africa's ancient history which, in many senses, is still relevant up to this day. *Foundations of an African Civilisations* is not only a masterpiece of its kind and a rich academic contribution to our knowledge of ancient history of the Horn of Africa, but it can also be recommended as the basic reading for students of anyone interested in archeology, history, and more specifically Horn of Africa culture, traditions, history, and heritage.

Jan Záhořík

