

# **The White International and Beyond**

## *Transnational Veteran and Paramilitary Networks in Central Europe after 1918*



Central Europe and East Central Europe became a political laboratory for the continent after the end of the First World War. Beyond having suffered from shifting borders, hostile neighbors, restless minorities and oppressive majorities, the fragmentation of economic systems and political-paramilitary violence, the region also saw the most committed attempts to expand the zone of communist revolutions to the west or form progressive-democratic coalitions. At the same time, it was also home to a multitude of right-wing radical movements, leading to the emergence of a gray area between establishment conservatism and fascist movements populated by various organizations, some secret, some less so. Our workshop undertakes a sustained investigation of political imaginaries of various veteran and paramilitary movements in the region after 1918, with a focus on identifying the transnational dimensions within the subject matter on hand. The aim is to analyze the conceptual frameworks and political imaginaries of various radical movements and the processes of how these imaginaries could feed into transnational networks. The presentations and the discussions shed light on how ideas travelled, organizations interacted, groups and individuals negotiated their political priorities and how traditional Westphalian international relations were in a way superseded in the neo-medieval brew of competing platforms and alliances between state and non-state actors in the years following the Great War.

Convenors: Professor Marija Wakounig (Austrian and Central European Center / Institute of East European History, University of Vienna), Professor Christoph Augustynowicz (Institute of East European History, University of Vienna), Dr. Iván Bertényi (Collegium Hungaricum, Vienna), Dr. Martin Rohde (Institute of Eastern European History, University of Vienna), Dr. Gergely Romsics (Institute of East European History, University of Vienna / HUN-REN Institute of History)

**All events of the workshop will be held in English exclusively (no translation provided) and are open to the public.**

**Opening Event (June 13) – Collegium Hungaricum, Hollandstrasse 4, 1020 Wien**

6:00PM Plenary Lecture

John Paul Newman  
(Associate Professor in Twentieth-century European History, Maynooth University)  
**Strange Bedfellows?**  
The Habsburg Legacy and the White International in Central Europe

7:00PM Reception at the Collegium Hungaricum

**Panel Presentations (June 14) – Seminarraum des Instituts für Osteuropäische Geschichte, Universitätscampus, 1090 Wien, Spitalgasse 2/Hof 3/Eingang 3.2**

9:00 AM On-site Breakfast (Refreshments will remain available during breaks between the panels)

9:30 AM Veterans and the War(s) at Home

Tamás Révész(HUN-REN Institute of History): Brutalization and the Limits of Brutalization: The Memory of the post-WWI Borderland Wars in Austria and Hungary

Constantin Iordachi (Central European University): War Veterans and Political Radicalism in Interwar Romania

Martina Salvante (University of Nottingham): Battlegrounds of the Aftermath: Political Violence, Welfare, and Italy's Disabled Veterans, 1919–1922

11:30 AM Paramilitary Imaginaries and Networks

Jacek Jędrusiak (University of Wrocław): The Image of a Changing World: Reports of the Stosstruppen Liaison Officer of the Baltic Landwehr from 1919

Ákos Bartha (HUN- REN Institute of History): Counter-revolutionary Conspiracy and Information Warfare: The International Scandals of the Eckhardt Brothers in 1920

Béla Bodó (Bonn University): Hyperreality in Intelligence Reports: Militia Violence in Hungary, 1919-1921.

1:30 PM On-site Lunch

2:30PM Memory and Constructions of Identity in the Wake of the Great War and the Small Wars

Martin Rohde (University of Vienna): „We Live in Highly Historical Times”: Memoirs as a Source of Cohesion amongst Western Ukrainian Veterans, 1919–1939

Lucija Balikić (Central European University): From Narrating War Trauma to Raising War Preparedness: Post-imperial Perspectives of Yugoslav Sokol Thinkers in the Interwar Period

Gergely Romsics (University of Vienna/HUN-REN Institute of History): The Red Menace: The memory of 1919 as a driver of transnational paramilitary conspiracies

4:30PM Closing Discussion

**Mit freundlicher Unterstützung der Historisch-Kulturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Wien.**  
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**Institute of East European History, University of Vienna**

**Austrian and Central European Center, University of Vienna / Federal Ministry Women, Science and Research**  
**Collegium Hungaricum, Vienna**



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