



Institute for International Integration Studies

EURHISTXX

**POST-WAR PERIODS IN 20TH CENTURY
EUROPE: 1919...1945...1989...**



Poster by Freyberg for May Day 1919: Just peace will bring the spring-time of the peoples.

**Conference in Trinity College, Dublin
21-22 October 2005**

**Institute for International Integration Studies (IIIS)
The Sutherland Centre
Level 6, Arts Building
C6.002**

Friday, 21 October 2005

13:30-14:00: Registration

14:00-14:30: Welcome and Introduction. John Horne (Trinity College, Dublin)

14:30-16:00: Military demobilization and the transition to civilian politics.

Chair: James McMillan, Edinburgh

Peter Romijn, Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie,
Amsterdam

*Local government and post-war politics: a case-study of the
Netherlands*

Nicolas Werth, Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent, Paris.

Exiting war: Soviet veterans returning from Europe after 1945

16:00-16:30: Coffee

16:30-18:00: Reconstruction of society and the economic and social legacies of war.

Chair: Henry Rousso, IHTP, Paris

Peter Apor, Central European University, Budapest

Economic reconstruction in post-1945 Hungary: a case-study

Thomas Lindenberger, ZZF, Potsdam

*Correcting history? East Germany's transformation and mixed feelings
about West Germany's post-fascist reconstruction*

18:15: Dinner

Saturday, 22 October 2005

9:00-10:30: Geo-politics and demography.

Chair: Dariusz Stola, ISP PAN, Warsaw

Pieter Lagrou, Université Libre de Bruxelles

Population transfers and ethnic cleansing in post-war periods

Pertti Ahonen, University of Edinburgh

Overcoming legacies of ethnic cleansing in post-World War II Europe

10:30-11:00: Coffee

11:00-12:30: Political and cultural demobilization.

Chair: Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, EHESS, Paris

Martin Conway, Balliol College, Oxford

Political demobilization after 1945: the making of a conservative democracy in Europe

John Horne, Trinity College, Dublin.

Cultural demobilization after the First World War: comparative perspectives

12:30-14:00: Lunch

14:00-15:30: Transversal themes: gender, Europe and the wider world, historians and historiography.

Chair: Mariuccia Salvati, Bologna

Stefan Berger, University of Manchester

Historians and history-writing after the world wars

Laura Downs, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris

The implications of gender for post-war periods and vice-versa

15:30-16:00: Coffee

16:00-18:00: Planning the PWP project: intellectual and financial strategies.

18.00-19.00: EURHISTXX Management Committee Meeting

21:00: Dinner

The conference is organized by EURHISTXX in conjunction with the Institute for International Integration Studies, Trinity College Dublin, which provides funding and administration. The conference organizer and EURHISTXX would like to express their thanks for the support of the Institute for International Integration Studies.

Conference organizers:

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If you would like to attend the conference, please contact **Gail Weadick**. For further details regarding the content and purpose of the conference, please contact **John Horne**.

*For further information on the Institute for International Integration Studies, see www.tcd.ie/iis

EURHISTXX AND THE POST-WARS PROJECT (PWP)

EURHISTXX is a self-constituted consortium of eleven universities and research institutes across Europe, listed below (page 11). The goal of EURHISTXX is to promote research on the history of contemporary Europe by adopting comparative and transnational approaches that favour a genuinely European perspective. Its members believe not only that such an endeavour is imperative for the future of the professional researching and writing of history in Europe but also that it should inform the teaching of history at all levels and is relevant to policy-makers, those in the media and to the wider public. Scholars and interested individuals are welcome to join the consortium

on an individual basis. EURHISTXX is run by a Management Committee composed of one representative from each of the member institutions, and application to join should be made to this committee. More information can be gained from the organization's web-site when this is launched in October 2005. The web-site is being run by the Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung, Potsdam, whose institutional web-site is: zzf-pdm.de.

EURHISTXX hopes to develop several projects in pursuit of its goals, of which the PWP represents the first. Wars have been pivotal to the history of twentieth century Europe. But the ways in which societies have exited those conflicts and constructed peace constitute an important theme in its own right as well as a privileged vantage-point for considering the wars and their legacy. Studying the post-war periods following the two world wars and the Cold War thus seems an ideal means of exploring the history of Europe at the level of the continent as a whole, since it requires comparative and transnational approaches while remaining fully attuned to national and local specificities. It also offers the opportunity to consider the time-frame of contemporary history which, after the end of the Cold War and the exposure of the deep roots of twentieth century history, must now be considered to have begun earlier than 1939 or 1945. Finally, while not driven by contemporary policy needs, the PWP will offer important insights and lessons for current conflict resolution both within Europe and elsewhere in the world.

The research planned by the PWP is grouped in four areas plus three transversal themes which transect the four areas.

Research areas:

1. Military demobilization and the transition to civilian politics.
2. Geo-politics and demography.
3. The reconstruction of society and the economic and social legacies of war.
4. Political and cultural demobilization.

Transversal themes:

1. Europe and the wider world.
2. Gender.
3. Epistemologies and historiography.

1. Military demobilization and the transition to civilian politics.

The transition from military conflict to ordinary politics is vital in two respects. It is the precondition of deeper resolution of the conflict in question, and so the way it is conducted provides important lessons for the fuller process of conflict resolution. Additionally, the transition from war to peace is the moment when the factors which caused the conflict in the first place begin to be addressed. Post-war periods thus present privileged periods for examining the causes of conflict and the measures taken (or which fail to be taken) for their prevention in the future.

Peace-making was common to all three post-war processes but it had very different meanings. In 1919 the Versailles settlement was less the resolution of the war than the culmination of that conflict as the German government and army contested the reality of military defeat and thereby the right of the Allied powers to impose their will on Germany. This stands in marked contrast to the 'total defeat' of 1945, when the victors were able - by occupation, re-education and selective endorsement of some German traditions - to impose their retrospective vision of the conflict on the vanquished in competing Communist and non-Communist variants. Different again was the situation after 1989 when understandings of the Cold War were reversed in former central and eastern European states and aligned with 'western' views. But on this occasion, the 'victors' influence was indirect, being exercised via the gradual incorporation of former Communist states into common security arrangements, NATO and ultimately the EU.

Integral to the inner process of peacemaking in all three cases was the restoration of moral and legal norms or the creation of new ones in order to judge the violence of the war. New crimes, such as that of genocide, national and international trials (Leipzig in 1921, Nuremberg in 1945-6, the Hague since the 1990s), and the redefinition of international law (notably in the 1949 Geneva Conventions) were all indicators of this process. Yet widespread purges of those held responsible for the war and war crimes ran the risk of destabilizing post-war society. Nor was this just a matter for the defeated, since occupation and collaboration made it a vital internal matter for many countries, especially after the Second World War and the Cold War. The mix of retribution, exoneration and deliberate ignorance varied, but the process of settling moral and legal accounts internally and/or externally was intrinsic to the passage from war to peace. Using a sample of countries plus international law and legal proceedings, this theme will be investigated as a central aspect

of how, in order to return to 'normal' civilian politics, societies seek to come to terms with the violence of war.

A final theme will be the perpetuation of militarized violence in post-war politics. This takes the form of continuing war or civil war despite the formal declaration of peace and also that of the corruption of peacetime politics with rhetorical, terrorist or paramilitary violence rooted in the war. The violence of war, in other words, does not automatically cease with the return to civilian politics, and it will be essential to see when, and why, this is so.

The degree of concord or coercion on which a peace-settlement rests, the definition of moral and legal norms to stigmatize the transgressive violence of war, the redefinition of relations between Europe and the European colonial empires and the continuation of militarized violence in peacetime are all aspects of the transition from conflict to peace which remain acutely relevant within contemporary Europe and beyond it.

2. Geo-politics and demography.

Space and population have been two fundamental variables in the reordering of the continent in the wake of the wars of the 20th century. The two world wars in Europe marked the high-point in the realization of nation-states and national identities, and the post-war periods were the moments when that process both assumed its most lasting form and also generated transnational impulses which ultimately eroded Europe as a system of nation-states.

The central research focus in this field will be the process by which borders were shifted to create more homogeneous national populations and populations were moved to create more coherent national borders. Where neither was possible, the issue of minorities arose, whether defined in ethnic, religious, linguistic or other terms. Minorities of various types - and their periodic persecution - are familiar themes in earlier European history. However, the shift to nation-states created powerful new mechanisms for inclusion (such as citizenship) and for exclusion (notably through a privileging of racial or ethnic homogeneity). The two world wars lay at the heart of the exclusionary process, with massacres of civilians, genocide, forced population movements, and large-scale incarceration. Crucially, they also bequeathed a momentum of exclusionary demographic violence to the post-war periods.

Often this reversed the victimization of wartime. The multi-ethnic nation-states in post-1919 central and eastern Europe made minorities of the 'loser' nationalities, but expulsions or attempted rectifications of borders were limited until, with German and Italian expansion, they became a cause of the Second World War. A clear exception after the First World War was the mass reciprocal transfer of Greeks and Turks after the Turkish war of independence, which reversed the post-war settlement that had cast Turkey as a loser. The second post-war period, by contrast, saw a massive shift of borders and populations in central and eastern Europe (as Poland moved 300 kilometres to the west and those defined as Germans were expelled from western Poland and Czechoslovakia). This marked the completion of a phase of brutal rationalization of the relationship between space and peoples initiated by Hitler and Stalin in the 1930s.

The 1990s saw ethnic violence which had been frozen by the Cold War unleashed in the former Yugoslavia, producing a resurgence of practices associated with mid-20th century Europe, whose consequences have not yet been resolved (notably in Kosovo). In other regions of the world where the nation-state remains the dominant mode of political organization, the 'fit' between population and national borders remains a crucial issue for the resolution of war and conflict. It is central to attempted peace processes in the Middle East, the Sudan and Central Africa among others. The comparative investigation of the (often violent) ways in which this issue was resolved after the three wars - or not resolved so that it became a source of future conflict - will be central to the project overall.

3. The reconstruction of society and the economic and social legacies of war.

Material destruction and economic dislocation are central features of war and other conflicts. Yet wars also stimulate new types of economic and social organization. The interaction of both these legacies is a vital ingredient in the transition from war to peace. The physical reconstruction of devastated areas raises important debates over whether past arrangements should be restored or reconstruction undertaken on a new basis. It also encompasses the issue of whether, and on what terms, refugees and deportees have the right to return. The reconstruction of a national economy turns on further fundamental issues of international aid and organization. The debates on

reconstruction and economic revival after the two world wars and the basis on which those processes occurred will be analyzed as a central component of the transition from war to peace, on which many other non-economic possibilities turn. Within that process, it is also essential to consider the role of inter-governmental organisations, such as the League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation, as well as that of non-governmental organisations which transgressed national boundaries and acted as lobby-groups for particular elements of reconstruction.

Economic and social reconstruction was also one of the frameworks on which fundamental differences of ideology and political system were built. This included very different variants of 'welfare', or the satisfaction of demands for social and economic security which were particularly acute after wars which had emphasized a sense of national community of entitlement by different social groups while also rendering life more fragile for all. The 1990s were an exception in this regard, since they witnessed the end of ideological divisions which originated in the First World War. The replacement of the former socialist economies by market systems produced a powerful political realignment of eastern Europe states on 'western' norms - though one that was neither smooth or unilateral.

Reconstruction is therefore a historical subject in many respects as important as the destructive impact of war itself. By comparing the policies of reconstruction carried out after the three conflicts, and with particular attention to the different choices made by different states, the project would make the process of reconstruction a historical subject in its own right.

4. Political and cultural demobilization.

Military and economic demobilization was a relatively rapid process without which a reconstitution of family life and peacetime economic activity could not take place. However, dismantling wartime frames of mind, or 'war cultures' as historians of the Great War have termed them, was a different matter. For peace to be fully realized, such 'cultural demobilization' had to take place. But some might refuse to demobilize or even urge 'cultural remobilization' for a renewal of war (notably the German army and nationalist right in the 1920s). Unlike military and economic demobilization, which were preconditions of peace, cultural and political demobilization determined what kind of peace it would be. To be successful, it needed to invest the sacrifice of

wartime in a post-war project (national independence, a world safe from war) which would validate the sacrifice. It had to dismantle the imagery and passions of wartime and make contact with former enemies. The first post-war period was torn between an effort at cultural demobilization and its rejection by elements which in Germany triumphed in the wake of the Depression. The second post-war period saw a complex interplay of internal cultural demobilization within the hostile systems of eastern and western Europe which was in part achieved by the simultaneous cultural remobilization of each sphere against the other in the Cold War. The 1990s, by contrast, witnessed the rapid dissolution of cultural enmity - indeed prior cultural demobilization contributed to the demise of Communism. Except in the former Yugoslavia, it was the decade in which twentieth century Europe finally demobilized.

The internal processes by which the cultures of wartime were dismantled will be a strong focus of research (building on projects already under way among several partner institutions), and this will yield fundamental insights into contemporary conflict resolution and exits from war. These processes include the ways in which wartime 'sacrifice' (such as that of veterans and widows) is acknowledged; the moral and legal judgements referred to under the first area of research; the invention of rituals and monuments of commemoration; the re-establishment of contact with the former enemy; the reconstruction of the bilateral links and international communities ruptured by the conflict; the rehabilitation of the former enemy, and reconciliation. Particularly important, especially in southern Europe, was the role of preexisting institutions, such as the Catholic Church, that provided channels through which demobilization could occur.

These processes were collective and political, but they were also deeply individual. It is therefore necessary to explore them not merely at the political level, but through exercises in 'micro-history' at the level of communities, neighbourhoods, families and individuals. How the 1990s related to the two earlier post-war periods is intriguing in this regard. The violence unleashed in the former Yugoslavia both supplied new traumatic experiences and reawakened a powerful sense of earlier traumas for Europe as a whole. This relationship between events through time is full of contemporary significance, since resolving a current conflict often means tackling earlier conflicts that lie at its root.

5. Transversal themes.

The four areas described above represent the core research agenda of the project. Taken together, they provide a matrix which will open up post-war periods as an important new field for research within the landscape of twentieth century Europe. However, these fields of research will also be informed by three related themes that will be integrated into the research agendas of the four areas. The first is that of Europe in the context of the larger world. The study of European history, like the formulation of contemporary policies at European level, requires awareness of the permeability of Europe by influences from the world beyond and especially of the fluidity of its borders. The trans-atlantic dimension, from the arrival of American forces in Europe for the first time in 1917 to the pivotal role of the USA in the diplomacy of the peace settlements, is an intrinsic part of the processes under study. So, too, is the presence of Russia astride the eastern frontiers of the continent and with a trajectory of influence that moved from retreat to partial hegemony and back to withdrawal. No less important are the colonies of the western European powers, and especially the complex mechanisms by which the ending of the world wars in Europe (in which colonial forces had participated) heightened the tension between colonizers and colonized, indirectly triggering a new cycle of violence after 1945 and eventual decolonization

The second transversal theme is that of gender. Each of the four research areas is permeated by the fact that the major wars of 20th century Europe have been pivotal moments in both heightening and challenging the gendered roles of women and men. The post-war periods have therefore turned in all their manifestations on a re-negotiation of gender.

The third theme transecting all four research areas is that of the intellectual traditions which have addressed war, conflict and conflict resolution. Intellectual traditions are themselves mobilized for war and other types of conflict and subject to enormous ideological pressure at such periods. Part of the transition from war to peace, therefore, is the disengagement of intellectual disciplines from such instrumentalization and their self-critical application to the reconstruction of the post-war world and to the prevention of future conflicts. This has been true of each of the post-war periods, which were marked by considerable intellectual restructuring and

renewal. EURHISTXX has already established a separate research interest in the historical epistemology of contemporary European history that will reinforce the evaluation of the post-war periods as moments of intellectual renewal and paradigm-shift in the disciplines which we now use to analyze these periods. The point is fundamental for contemporary conflict resolution. The parties involved have to be helped to re-establish and renew the intellectual tools used to achieve reconciliation and reconstruction, a goal which thus becomes part of the process itself.

We have chosen, as the definition of our intellectual strategy, to focus on the three post-war periods following 1918, 1945 and 1989. We recognize, however, that this does not fit well with the chronology of all European states. This applies particularly to countries such as Ireland, Portugal and Spain which did not participate as combatants in one or both of the world wars. By focusing on processes rather than dates, our project will adapt its temporal framework to incorporate the full range of European post-war periods.

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS OF EURHISTXX

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Total: 18 from abroad plus participants from Trinity College Dublin and other Irish institutions.