

CONTENTS

Illustrations ix

Introduction	1
1 Peasant Europe Goes to War	10
2 Secret Armies	41
3 Revenge	77
4 Peasant Republics	113
5 The Slovácko Brigade	150
6 The Band of Mountain Birds	177
7 The Apogee of Peasantism	201
8 Outcast Patriots	237
9 The Green Resistance	264
10 Epilogue	300

Acknowledgments 309

Abbreviations 311

Notes 313

Bibliography 345

Index 367

Introduction

“IN OPTING FOR WAR, we came to understand who we were. Only in armed conflict could we affirm ourselves and force the enemy to understand us and grant us recognition.”¹ The words of dissident Yugoslav Communist Milovan Djilas about the Partisan struggle in his country during the Second World War could well describe the path taken by peasants in central and eastern Europe in the first half of the twentieth century. They opted for war most spectacularly toward the end of the First World War, when hundreds of thousands of peasant soldiers deserted from the armies of Austria-Hungary and Russia—both Tsarist and revolutionary, eventually forming their own “green” forces. From their forested and hilly redoubts, the green armies fought against vastly expanded states, which seemed to them intent on ruining their families’ livelihoods and destroying the village communities from which they hailed. Rural deserters along with their confederates in countless villages from the Alps to the Urals contributed to the internal collapse of the Habsburg and Romanov Empires. In Russia, they fought the Bolsheviks to a stalemate that lasted almost a decade. In east central Europe, their actions provided a script for rural resistance through the next war.

The green forces were in fact shock troops in a much broader, multifront war waged by villagers to affirm themselves and to determine their own future. This book is about east central European peasants’ decades-long campaign in its various forms, not all of them armed, but nearly all of them forgotten or pushed to the margins of historical consciousness. Yet Europe’s last peasant war shaped the most calamitous era in the continent’s modern history. It conditioned the outcome of the First World War, left its imprint on the strained geopolitics of the 1920s and 1930s, and influenced the course of the Second World War. It allowed peasants to understand who they were, inaugurating a golden age of agrarian political movements. It forced some of those who

wished for the peasantry's disappearance to understand them, though this ultimately made it possible to neutralize the threat they posed.

The threat was real, for at the end of the First World War the actions of peasants across much of central and eastern Europe amounted to a genuine rural revolution. It was unrecognizable as such in the eyes of anxious and bemused urban observers, for whom such a revolution was a contradiction in terms. Indeed, in some places the peasant revolution of the years 1917–21 merged with simultaneous national and pacifist revolutions, rendering it difficult to distinguish in the welter of upheaval.² It was nevertheless distinct in its aim to recast village society, above all through the seizure and fair redistribution of large, usually noble-owned estates. In addition to breaking the power of the landed elite, peasant radicals sought to eliminate the influence of their perceived lackeys, many of whom resided in towns: officials, gendarmes, merchants, and moneylenders. Once liberated from oppressors and parasites, villagers would set about implementing democratic rule and laying the foundations of a cooperative economy. In numerous instances they did just that, establishing village republics. To the extent that peasant activists during and after the revolutionary period envisioned solutions for the state or nation as a whole—and they often did when they established their own authorities or joined political parties—they demanded decentralized government with considerable local autonomy. This was a direct challenge to the industrializing, warmongering states of the period. But the rebels did not only seek to escape from the state's expanding reach. Through military self-organization, grassroots experiments in self-government, and the parliamentary agrarianism that flourished in the 1920s, they aimed to remake states in their own image.³ This level of ambition, and particularly the means used to realize it, marked an innovation in the long history of peasant revolts.

The revolutionaries themselves were heterogeneous, often lacking awareness of their shared purposes across boundaries of time and place. Villagers had little knowledge of events beyond their local area, let alone beyond the borders of the empire, nation-state, or ethnic-linguistic zone they inhabited. Agrarian politicians, many of whom espoused far-reaching visions of societal change, were more conscious of similar parties and movements abroad. Their wider horizons inspired them in the interwar years to build international agrarian organizations devoted to political and economic reform. But they too were constrained by the national parliamentary systems that they committed themselves to working within. Nor were various modes of action mutually intelligible—armed insurgents and elected parliamentarians dismissed each

other, and still do. Nonetheless, in the first half of the twentieth century, a shared peasant program and outlook gave common direction to a strikingly diverse cast of characters in central and eastern Europe. They ranged from Polish populist tribunes to renegades from the Soviet Red Army to Slovak and Slovene enthusiasts for cooperatives to Croatian bandits. And the presence or legacy of peasant deserters ran like a slender red (or green) thread through the countries of the region.

A sense of what and whom they were against united the rural activists of the period at least as much what they were for.⁴ They opposed cities as places that both exploited them and excluded them. Although a great many peasants regularly visited relatives in cities or worked seasonally in them, the First World War deepened long-standing urban-rural divides. Warring states introduced draconian new laws to secure food products in the countryside for urban consumers, especially for workers in wartime industry. At the same time, the Central Powers of Austria-Hungary and Germany failed to meet the urban population's needs, causing city dwellers to blame their privations on greedy hoarders in the countryside, whose fields they sometimes plundered. Villagers felt squeezed from two directions. Their perception of cultural and geographical distance from increasingly assertive industrial-urban centers became more acute, defining them as a social class.

As with other forms of identity, social class is perhaps best understood as something that “happens” in oppositional relationships, which themselves change in character and intensity over time, rather than as something that reliably “is.”⁵ The circumstances of the First World War caused a peasant class to come into sharper relief. Not that social-economic definitions of class are irrelevant. Alongside a sense of hostility toward, and distance from, urban centers, economic activity defines peasants: as small-scale agricultural producers who are engaged primarily in family-based subsistence farming on land they control, if not own outright, but who also sell as much possible on the market.⁶ By 1914, European peasants found themselves surrounded by other peasants as never before. Industrialization had in many places compounded their social isolation by eliminating the occupational diversity that had characterized the premodern European countryside. Rural crafts and cottage industries were decimated by competition from cheap, machine-produced goods, rendering rural areas more homogeneously agricultural by the end of the nineteenth century.⁷ Yet perceptions of difference likely gave more cohesion to the sundry peasant initiatives of the first half of the twentieth century, both within individual movements and between them. The idea of a peasant class premised on

opposition to the world of cities was able to bridge substantial socioeconomic divides between various categories of villagers; for instance, between poor and wealthy peasants, between cultivators and pastoralists, between those who had acquired their own land generations ago and those who acquired it only recently, and even between landless laborers, village craftsmen, and peasant farmers. It also connected people engaged in very different forms of agriculture, depending on climate, soils, access to capital and technology, and culture. Ultimately, however, the socioeconomic and relational definitions of the peasant class were difficult to separate.⁸ The experience of toil in fields, highland pastures, and forests made a sense of distance from, and opposition to, cities possible in the first place. Perceptions of exploitation of the countryside by cities imbued the facts of rural labor with meaning.

Contrary to popular wisdom and much scholarship on class struggles in history, it was not the landless poor who figured most prominently in the radical movements of the countryside. More significant were smallholding peasants who tilled their own fields but whose existence was becoming increasingly precarious. In the late 1960s, the anthropologist Eric Wolf identified such peasants as the key actors in the “peasant wars” that defined the twentieth century, since they were most vulnerable to the upheavals associated with the worldwide spread of market capitalism.⁹ They had the most to lose as new market pressures led to the consolidation of small holdings into large commercial farms, to the increased indebtedness of penurious cultivators, and to the evaporation of older communal forms of solidarity and mutual aid. Crucially, though, they possessed just enough resources (land above all) to give them “tactical mobility” when they chose to rebel against the existing political and economic order.¹⁰ Harboring fundamentally conservative instincts, smallholders made unlikely revolutionaries because they rose in defense of older understandings of community. Propertyless agricultural laborers, though hardly absent from rural insurrections, seldom have led them because of their greater dependence on landlords.

Wolf did not address Europe west of Russia in his landmark study. Nor did the experience of war itself play any appreciable role in his analysis of peasant revolutionism in Mexico, Russia, China, Vietnam, Algeria, and Cuba. The peasant war charted in the pages below erupted as a direct consequence of the strain of the Great War and featured village conscripts as its principal combatants. Its center was in east central Europe; more precisely, in the lands that made up the Habsburg Empire and its so-called “successor states”: Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia foremost, as well as, to a lesser degree,

Hungary and Romania. These territories experienced a ferment of rural violence and activism throughout the “age of catastrophe.”¹¹ Whereas peasant movements likely gripped the territories of the former Russian Empire more dramatically between 1917 and 1921, they were later broken by Stalin’s campaign of forced collectivization in the late 1920s. In Bulgaria too, peasant power reached its vertiginous apex in the years 1919–23, but then disintegrated in the wake of a bloody coup. In the former Habsburg dominions, by contrast, agrarian activism and violent risings persisted beyond the end of the Second World War. And while large portions of post-1918 Poland and Yugoslavia included territories that lay outside the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, peasant politics were most developed within its erstwhile borders.

It was this part of the European continent that was also the most volatile. Both world wars started in east central Europe—the first with an assassination in Habsburg-ruled Bosnia-Herzegovina and the second with Hitler’s invasion of Poland. The First World War did not end in the region until the early 1920s, following a period of chaotic, sometimes extreme violence that sowed the seeds of the next conflict.¹² Despite their achievements, the states that emerged after the dust had settled were riven by internal ethnic, religious, and class divisions and threatened from without by the territorial revisionism of their neighbors. The instability of the successor states heightened perceptions of their apparent malleability, especially in the completely new creations of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia but also in resurrected Poland. This belief would be brutally acted upon at the end of the 1930s by Hitler and Stalin.

Muscular peasant movements were both consequence and cause of the region’s combustibility in the first half of the twentieth century. They emerged in part from frustration with the weaknesses of central and east European empires, later nation-states. At the same time, they further eroded the legitimacy of those states. Peasant violence in the wake of the First World War had especially serious ramifications. Efforts by new governments in multiethnic Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia to discipline the unruly countryside of Slovakia and Croatia, respectively, produced centralizing impulses that fatally undermined both states. Peasant violence against Jews in reunited Poland played an important role in the genesis of minority treaties that the western victors imposed amid great resentment on the Habsburg successor states and other postimperial countries. The minority treaties compromised the faith of east central European governments in the nascent international order, further isolating them. But revolution in the countryside also flowed into political parties, which worked concertedly to put the new states of east central Europe on

more stable footing. Energized by the apparent failings of governments during the Great War, interwar agrarianism—or “peasantism”—offered a bold vision of modernity rooted in village communities. They combined commitments to representative democracy with demands for land reform and blueprints for a cooperative society in which farmers would pool their resources to obtain credit, to cultivate their land with advanced technology, and to sell their products at fair prices.¹³ This was not just an east central European phenomenon, even if it attained its greatest influence there; in the post–World War One era, agrarian parties arose across Europe and in North America.

The apparent failure of east central European agrarians to safeguard democracy and rural livelihoods during the Great Depression drove many peasants to embrace antidemocratic solutions, such as fascism or communism. Some welcomed the demise of the successor states in the fires of Nazi invasion and occupation. But many quickly found Hitler’s New Order intolerable, leading them to join or support various resistance groups. Peasants’ willingness to fight against occupiers and their collaborators proved decisive in Yugoslavia as well as, to a lesser degree, in Poland—two key battlefields of the Second World War. Communists were forced to make concessions to their peasant allies in the anti-Nazi resistance, particularly in the immediate aftermath of the war when they spearheaded sweeping land reform in east central Europe. Such tactical expediencies were discarded when Stalin’s lieutenants had secured power in the countries that now lay behind the “Iron Curtain.” In the final phase of the peasant war that this book reconstructs, villagers resisted the collectivization of agriculture, registering some notable successes, even if they could not halt the forced industrialization and urbanization campaigns that transformed eastern Europe from the 1950s onward.

Considering the monumental stakes of European peasant movements in the previous century, it is striking that they have been the subject of so little scholarship. Since the end of state socialism, pathbreaking histories have reinterpreted the cataclysmic years 1914–50 and their legacy, highlighting, for instance, the contest between ideologies of the European Enlightenment (liberalism and communism) and their opposite (fascism); the formative impact on Europe’s trajectory of fascism and authoritarianism more broadly; and the rising global hegemony of the United States as a catalyst for the aggression of insurgent powers such as Nazi Germany.¹⁴ Meanwhile, the significant part played by peasants in the epochal changes of the period has largely remained in the shadows. Peasants’ demographic weight alone warrants attention to their

ambitions; until the middle of the last century, half of Europe's overall population lived in rural areas, with a much greater proportion in the continent's eastern and southern reaches.¹⁵

The perennial problem of sources goes some way toward explaining this neglect: peasants have left little in the way of written records. Well into the modern era, most of them were still illiterate. Their actions and voices must be excavated from official records, whose authors were seldom interested in villagers' own views. The historian must often rely on conjecture, even for the history of modern Europe, where state institutions have produced reams of official records. A dearth of sources on the countryside has focused historians' attention even more on urban areas, where, especially in the modern era, intellectual life has flourished. The past of individual villages or mostly rural regions has by default become the preserve of nonhistorians—chroniclers, parish priests, and, more recently, local enthusiasts whose primary aim is to show that their places of origin are not as uninteresting as they may at first sight appear. While such research is often impressively meticulous, works of local history tend to reinforce impressions of a parochial countryside, even as global, comparative, and transnational historical approaches have flourished in the academy.

A more serious issue is the assumption—widespread in Europe since the middle of the nineteenth century among both scholars and the educated public—that history simply does not happen in the countryside. “World-history is town-history,” lamented the German historian Oswald Spengler just after the First World War, expressing his pessimistic view that all civilizations reach their apex in large cities before their inevitable decline.¹⁶ In the modern era, cities are seen as the sole drivers and sites of change. The rural world commonly figures in the historical imagination as a static realm “unchanged” or “untouched” by modernity; peasant lives are thought to have unfolded in the same way as they did for centuries. Such notions are hardwired into much Marxist and Western liberal thought, which tends to dismiss peasants as relics of the past. They also underpin ostensibly rural-friendly conservatism, which makes a virtue out of constancy. Conservatives and many nationalists cast a benevolent if paternalistic gaze at the countryside, desiring in it a deep reservoir of piety, deference, and national authenticity. That such prized attributes rarely conformed to expectations—for example, with the nineteenth-century efflorescence of unruly popular devotional practices or the persistence of indifference to national categories of identification—did little to unseat stereotypes.¹⁷ In the much less urban Global South, suppositions about the unchanging

character of the countryside have underwritten wholesale dismissal of non-Western history and justified European imperialism on the grounds that the great masses of African and Asian villagers somehow stood outside of historical time.¹⁸

While Marxists and conservatives tried to channel peasant energies into their own projects of proletarian revolution or nostalgic ruralism, liberals and Marxists both plotted the peasantry's eventual disappearance through means like free trade, industrialization, and urbanization. All of them viewed peasant political ambitions as confused, immature, parochial, and unmodern; cause either for alarm or celebration, depending on their outlook. Barrington Moore Jr., one of the last century's most influential political sociologists, challenged orthodox theories of development by proposing in 1966 that peasant revolutions from France to China had both inaugurated and accelerated modernization processes.¹⁹ But he balked at the notion that peasants could do more than simply demolish premodern systems of rule: "The peasants have provided the dynamite to bring down the old building. To the subsequent work of reconstruction they have brought nothing; instead they have been . . . its first victims."²⁰ The notion of a peasant revolution yielding new blueprints for society was, and remains, an epistemological challenge; it is "unthinkable," just as the Caribbean slave revolution launched at the end of the eighteenth century had been.²¹ For their part, villagers have embraced dominant ideologies in heterodox ways, assimilating them to their own agendas or else selectively appropriating parts of diverse, mutually opposed positions. Though far from passive, their existence on a political spectrum defined without their input has been nomadic.²²

Twentieth-century European peasant mobilizations are among the biggest casualties of historians' implicit urban bias. In the era of world wars, peasant revolution was especially unthinkable, not only because it was not *of* the city but because it was openly or tacitly *against* the city. Even in their most moderate organizations like the Czech Agrarian Party (later the Republican Party of Farmers and Peasants), peasantists sang paeans to rural life, implying that urban society was somehow inferior. But in general, they were not implacably opposed to the existence of cities. In notable instances, rural activists sought alliances with some categories of urban dwellers. They directed their greatest hostility toward cities as seats of "high modernist" states that projected coercive, exploitative, and standardizing power onto a putatively backward and antimodern countryside.²³ In their eyes, cities had transformed into something more fearsome than merely the age-old abode of tax collectors and

absentee landlords. Today, peasants have largely disappeared from Europe, as have the kind of states that prevailed a hundred years ago. Nonetheless, the early twenty-first century has witnessed a resurgence in antiurban movements, this time against metropolitan centers whose primary purpose, in the eyes of their detractors, appears to be safeguarding the flow of globalized capital. Seen in this light, the task of reconstructing Europe's last peasant war is imperative to understanding the continent's more recent history.

INDEX

Page numbers in *italics* refer to figures and tables.

- absolutism, term, 161
- Academic Association of Village Youth, Poland, 249
- Agić, Dragutin, 69–70
- agrarian democracy, 240; Marx and Engels, 205
- agrarianism, 202–3, 222, 287–88; cooperatives, 224–25; economic policy in post-1918, 223–24; education, 225–26; empowering peasant majority, 222–26; historical freak phenomenon, 203; interwar, 6; parliamentary, 2
- Agrarian League: Czechoslovakia, 216, 219; Germany, 28, 207
- Agrarian Party, Czech/Czechoslovak, 8, 147–48, 163, 208
- agrarian politicians, east Central Europe, 285–91
- agrarian politics, Europe and beyond, 211–19
- agrarian reform, 144–49
- agricultural economy, wartime and, 23–28. *See also* economy, wartime
- Agricultural Museum in Prague, 166
- Agricultural Society of Lesser Poland, 250
- Akćo, Jurij, 35
- Aleksandar (King, Regent), 104, 111, 137, 246, 258–59
- Algeria, 4
- American Independence Day, 291
- American People's Party (Populists), 211
- Americas, cheap grain imports from, 206–7
- anti-Semitic letters, 68, 69
- anti-Semitism: intensification of, 27, 51; Jews as *Kettenhändler*, 27; peasant politics and, 232, 254, 256, 257; in peasant violence, 79, 175, 305
- antiurbanism, 9, 28, 215, 221, 231, 254, 256, 292, 305, 307
- Antonov, Alexandr, 74–75
- April Laws of 1848, 206
- army, collective identity, 15
- army activity, agriculture economy and, 23–28
- Association of Czech Agriculturalists of the Kingdom of Bohemia, 208
- “Aster Revolution”: Hungarian, 113; October 31, 128
- Augustin, Vinko, 89
- Austria-Hungary: agriculture production control and prices, 28; declaration of war on Serbia, 12, 14; Entente side of war, 15; general mobilization of village men, 12; military service, 19; peasant politics, 5, 216; peasant soldiers from, 1; starving behind British sea blockade, 11
- Austrian Christian Social Party, 207
- Austrian National Bank, 242
- Austrian Social Democracy, Communism and, 275
- Austro-Hungarian armed forces, state budget, 19. *See also* Habsburg army

- Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war, 47–48, 50–52
- Austro-Hungarian regiments: Ninety-First Infantry Regiment, 64; Ninety-Sixth Infantry Regiment, 56, 66; Seventy-Eighth Infantry Regiment, 86; Seventy-Ninth Infantry Regiment, 56; Twenty-Eighth Hovéd Regiment, 187; Twenty-Sixth Croatian Home Guard, 56, 66
- autarky: Germany and, 244; idea of, 242–43
- authoritarian regimes, rise of, 245–61
- Babel, Isaac, *Red Cavalry*, 99
- Bača, Ján, 50
- Balatinac, Stjepan, 194
- Balkan Wars (1912–13), 21, 106, 182, 185
- Balkovec, Peter, 138
- Banac, Ivo, 105–6
- Bandera, Stepan, 272
- Bandit Nikola Šuhaj (Olbracht), 172
- banditry, 126, 178, 199, 290, 308; in the south Slav kingdom, 182–98
- bandits, peasant society, 179–82
- Band of Mountain Birds: Božidar “Božo” Matijević founder of, 184–86; Čaruga, 187–96, 198; popular song about, 194–95; revolutionary bandit gang, 177–78
- Banovina, Drava, 247
- Barek, Commander, 65
- Bařina, Jan, 24–25, 163
- Bartoř, Felix, 174
- Basic Law on Cooperatives (1949), Yugoslavia, 296
- Bavarian Free State, 114
- Bavarian Peasants’ League, 208
- Bavarian Soviet Republic, 114
- Belgrade Armistice, 132
- belligerent societies (1917–18), remobilization of, 43
- Belorussian Academy of Sciences, 235
- Belorussian Workers’ and Peasants’ Hramada, 257
- Bendek, Ivan, 89
- Beneř, Edvard: Czechoslovakia in exile, 286; Maffie organization, 71; Masaryk and, 166, 227; on minority treaty, 110;
- Berend, Ivan, 242
- Berger, Imbro, 94
- Berger, Vojtěch, 47, 64
- Bergholz, Max, 92
- Bethlen, István, 218, 255
- Bethlen system, 255
- Bićanić, Rudolf, 245
- Biennio Rosso* (1918–20), 221
- Bimka, Marcel, 65
- Bing, Adolf, 91
- Bismarck, Otto von, 207
- Bizzell, William, 201, 211
- “Black Hand” terrorist organization, 14
- Blaho, Pavel, 108, 109
- Blinda, Tadas, 181
- blue money, 134
- Bochniak, Jan, 121, 124
- Bogdanović, Ivan, 118
- Bogner, István, 89
- Bohemia, 16, 17, 23, 27, 51, 52, 60, 66, 71, 111, 146, 173, 206, 208, 219, 264, 276
- Bohemian Lands, 107–9, 172; transportation network of, 27; urban unrest, 26
- Bokovoy, Melissa, 296
- Bolsheviks (1917), 99, 131; deserters as, 168; Lenin and, 73, 114; Russian Empire, 72
- Bolshevism, 48, 64, 109, 127, 144, 189; term, 161; threat of, 160
- Bonaparte, Louis-Napoleon, French Second Empire, 206
- Borko, Ferdinand, 35
- Borowiec, Stanisław, 125
- Bosnia-Herzegovina: annexation of, 58; assassination in, 5; deserters in, 57; Habsburg monarchy and, 14–15; land reforms in, 103, 147; peasant politics in, 218; Second World War in, 261, 282–85; violence in, 87
- Bošnjak, Mirko, 187
- Bošnjak family, 187–88

- Böszörmenyi, Zoltán, 256
Božić, Jovan, 196
Božić, Milan, 297
Brest-Litovsk Treaty, 98
Britain, military spending, 19
British naval blockade, 11, 23
Brkljačić, Karlo, 259
Brlas, Stevan, 90–91, 92
Brna, Juraj, 50
Brno National Committee, 154
Bruckmüller, Ernst, 207
Bryan, William Jennings, 211
Buchlov Forest, 55, 58, 59, 62, 63, 70, 173
Bukharin, Nikolai, 233
Bulgaria, 5, 75, 212–13, 214, 227, 287, 301, 335n34
Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU), 208, 212, 227, 287, 304
Bulletin (Peasant Union), 228, 292, 293, 303

Cabo, Miguel, 207–8
cadre system, restoration of in
 Czechoslovakia, 162
cantonal system, Prussia, 18
capitalism, spread of, 80–81
Caporetto, 28
Caprivi, Chancellor Leo von, 207
Čabrajec, Nikola, 139
Caribbean slave revolution, 8
Carniola, 16, 17, 22, 32, 58, 87, 138, 206, 207, 240, 264, 265, 277
Carnival, 95
Carol II, Romania, 257
Čaruga (movie), 198–99
Čaruga: celebrity status of, 177–79; crimes of, 189–93, 333n51; death of, 177; father Prokopije, 187; as folk hero, 191, 304; photograph after arrest, 196, 197; photograph with members of Band of Mountain Birds in custody, 198; popular song about, 194–95; Red Božo's Mountain Birds, 187–96, 198
Catholic Center Party, Germany, 207–8, 221

Catholic Church, 108
Catholicism, 108
Catholic Party, Belgium, 207
Čavić, Dimitar, 66
Cayrol, Major, 161
Čech, Bohuslav, 54
Čederla, Gejza, 159
Central Powers, 3
Central Union of Village Youth, Poland, 230
Černý, Vavro, 109, 164–65
chain traders (*Kettenhändler*), 27, 81
Chayanov, Alexander, 219, 240
Chesterton, G. K., 201, 202
Chicherin, Georgy, 234
China, 4, 8, 235, 293, 306
Christianity, 69, 308; scripts of collective violence and, 92
church bells, 30–31
Cinkuši, *Zeleni kader* (album), 305
civilian life, military taking over, 22–23
class, definition of, 3, 313n5
class war, phrase of collectivization, 295
Codreanu, Corneliu Zelea, 245, 257–58
Cold War, 288, 306
Cole, Laurence, 15
collective identity, army, 15
collectivization: industrialization and, 300; land reform and, 294–98; postwar “revolution,” 299; Soviet-style, 285; urban life and, 302
Cominform, 296
communism, 6; collectivist approaches to land ownership, 304; fall of, 302, 307; in France, 255; heterodox understandings of, 288; interwar growth, 6, 262; post-1945 in rural areas, 289; “war communism,” 39
Communist International (Comintern), 232–33; peasantist phase, 235
Communist Manifesto (Marx and Engels), 204
Communist Party, Poland, 120
Congress of Soviets, 72

- Conrad von Hötzendorf, Franz (General), 14, 19, 21, 38; dismissal, 38; military expenditure, 19; responsibility for Austria-Hungary's campaigns, 21; on restoring great-power status, 14
- conservatism, rural-friendly, 7
- conservative modernization, Bruckmüller on, 207
- conservatives, on countryside, 7, 203
- Constituent Assembly, French Second Republic, 205
- cooperatives, agrarianism, 224–25
- Cooperative Union, Slovene, 207
- Council of the League of Nations, 110
- countryside, suppositions about unchanging character of, 7–8
- Čović, Ale, 297
- Creditanstalt, 240
- Croatian God Mars, The* (Krlježa), 10, 13, 19–20, 49; illustrations from, 13, 49
- Croatian Home Guard, 11, 56
- Croatian Peasant Defense, 260–62
- Croatian Peasant Party, 140, 141, 143, 228, 234, 258–59, 285; Maček, 291; Maček following Radić, 246; Radić and, 179
- Croatian People's Peasant Party, 202
- Croatian Republican Peasant Party (HRSS), 144, 213
- crown of Saint Stephen, 113, 135
- Cuba, 4, 306
- Čučković, Stojan, 182
- cultural backwardness, 111
- Ćuran, Sulejman, 55
- Cvetković, Dragiša, 260–61
- Czech nationalism, 168
- Czechoslovak Communist Party, 257
- Czechoslovakia, 4, 5, 101; agrarians and political system of, 216; Depression and, 256–57; early recognition of, 75; Land Control Act, 147; peasants' petition to Ministries of the Interior and Agriculture, 241–42; requisitions in, 163–66; Social Democrats and National Socialists, 216
- Czechoslovak Legions, 106, 155, 157, 167, 170, 173, 174
- Czecho-Slovak nationality, 160
- Czechoslovak People's Party, 163–64, 219
- Czechoslovak regiments: Artillery Regiment Twenty-Five, 161; Infantry Regiment Four, 161
- Dąbal, Tomasz: founder of Krestintern, 232–33, 235; founder of Tarnobrzeg Republic, 120–22, 125, 232; peasant radical, 127
- Dalmatia, 16, 22, 46, 53, 57, 66, 103–4, 260
- D'Annunzio, Gabriele, 141
- Danubian Club, 287
- Darré, Walter, 243
- Daskalov, Raiko, 212, 227–28
- Daszyński, Ignacy, 124
- decentralization, concept, 161
- Decree on Land, Bolsheviks, 99
- democracy, term, 161
- deserters: Green Cadres of, 52; violence of returning soldiers and, 92–98. *See also* Green Cadres
- desertion: Green Cadres, 53–55; military service, 43–56; Russia and Austria-Hungary after hungry winter, 43. *See also* Green Cadres
- Devrnja, Mile, 296–97
- Dimitrov, Georgi M., 291–92
- Djilas, Milovan, 1
- Djordjević, Milan, 230
- Dmowski, Roman, 109, 110
- Dobrodzicki, Jerzy, 86
- Dobrogeanu-Gherea, Constantin, 211
- Dolański, Seweryn, 127
- Doležal, Robert, 189
- Domjanić, Franjo, 142–43
- Doudlebský, Josef Liška, *The Green Guard* (play), 170–71, 172
- Dovbuš, Oleksa, 172, 180
- Dragija, Pavao, 143
- Drezgić, Marko, 192–94
- Drezgić, Nikola, 192–94

- Dulanský, Ján, 182
Dutch Peasants' League, 220
dwarfholders, 145, 210
- east central Europe, Nazi occupation of, 265–66
East European Discussion Group, London, 286
Ecker, Lev, 158, 170
economy, rural: farmer and labor shortages in wartime, 26–27; farmers and traders in rural society, 27–28; landowners, population and farm size, 80; land redistribution, 149; purchasing power of peasantry, 223. *See also* Great Depression
economy, wartime: backpack provisioning, 27; farmers and wartime labor shortages, 26–27; urban inhabitants resenting peasants as hoarders and profiteers, 25–26
education, reforms for farms, 300–301
Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (Marx), 204
Eisner, Kurt, 114
Eltz family estates, 103
emancipation legislation, 206
Engelman, Emanuel, 89
enlightened despotism, 81
Enlightenment, 6, 114
Erceg, Božo, 138
Erdei, Ferenc, 245
Erdélyi, Károly, 78–79, 88, 102
Erzberger, Matthias, 109
Europe, east central, between wars, 214
European countries, militarization in, 15, 17–18
- Fabian Society, Britain, 286
Farmers' Leagues, Sweden, 220
farming, mechanization, 301
Farm Labor Party, United States, 220, 234
farms: education and reforms, 300–301; population and size of, 80
fascism, 6, 240; France, 255; Romania, 257–58
February Revolution, Russia 43, 98
federalism, 161, 218, 234
Federation in Central Europe (Hodža), 286
Federterra, Italy, 221
Ferančík, Jozef: criticizing literary establishment, 303; deserter movement activity, 70; on deserters camping 67; “In the Green Cadre” (poem), 67; Nuhál and, 181; “Parcellization” (poem), 149; “Revolution and Plundering in 1918” (poem), 93; Slovak group by, 60, 62–63
Ferdinand (King), Bulgaria, 75
Ferdinand, Franz (Archduke), 12, 14
feudalism, end of, 80–81
Fiedler, Jiří, 227
Filakovac, Vladimír, 177
Finnish Agrarian League, 228
First World War: agrarian political movements, 202–203, 211; European literary works depicting, 10–11; expansion of state, 38; peasant class, 3; peasant class circumstances, 3; peasant soldiers, 1–2; peasant violence in wake of, 5; revolutionary ferment late in, 72; social revolution, 201; urban-rural divide, 3, 81
Florjančič, Ivan, 119
Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), United Nations, 227
food shortages, wartime and, 23–26
“Forest Brothers” in Baltic countries, 299
France: calling in loans, 241; fascism and communism, 255; military spending, 19
Franck, Stjepan, 90
Francová, Anna, 64
Frank, Josip, 104
Franz Joseph I (emperor-king), 11, 88, 206; July 28 proclamation by, 14
freedom, meaning of during 1918 state collapse, 101
French Second Republic, Constituent Assembly of, 205

- Gądek, Józek, 128
- Galicia, 16, 17, 21–24, 30, 45, 55, 58, 66, 75, 77, 79–82, 86, 95, 100, 120, 123, 124, 128, 146, 179, 206, 208, 216–17, 237, 249, 253, 263, 265, 272
- Gardista* (newspaper), 12
- Gąsiorowski, Stanisław, 123
- Gašo, Pavao, 188–89
- Gavenda, František, 154, 158
- Gavrilović, Milan, 291
- Gazeta Polska* (newspaper), 253
- Géja, Géza, 245
- General Plan for the East (Generalplan Ost), 271–72
- George, David Lloyd, 110
- Georgian Menshevik Social Democrats, 116
- German Social Democracy, 205
- Germany: militarization in, 15; military spending, 19; starving behind British sea blockade, 11. *See also* Imperial Germany
- Gjurenec, Stjepan, 97
- Gjures, Nikola, 90, 92
- Glas slobode* (Voice of freedom) (newspaper), 185
- Global North, agribusinesses in, 306
- Global South, 7, 305–6
- Globocnik, Odilo, 272
- Glowacki, Bartosz, monument of, 122, 125
- Gnilšek, Kata, 76
- Gogić, Nikola, 182
- Goldschmidt, Adolf, 189
- Gomułka, Władysław, 298–99, 303
- Gorlice-Tarnów campaign, 21
- Gradinac-Mataija, Vinko, 94
- grain imports, flood of cheap, from Americas, 206–7
- Gramsci, Antonio, 308
- Great Depression, 146, 236, 237; agricultural slump preceding, 240–45; Czechoslovakia, 256; debt burdens, 241; east central Europe, 253–55; Hungary, 255–56; idea of autarky, 242–43; loans and collapse of banks, 241; peasants embracing antidemocratic solutions, 6; price scissors, 241; Stryczek on, 249
- “Great Fear,” summer 1789, 205
- Great War, 203, 226; peasantism during, 6; peasant war as consequence of, 4. *See also* First World War
- Green Brigades, 53, 56. *See also* Green Cadres
- Green Cadre, The* (Pavel), 172
- Green Cadre, The* (Zorec), 105
- Green Cadres; circular ordering soldiers to return home, 84; controversy over meaning of, 54–55; in Czechoslovakia, 159–60, 168–69; deserters, 52–55; extent and nature of, 56–71; “free life,” military authorities on, as essence of Green Cadre, 66–67; hailed as revolutionaries, 56; legacy of during World War Two, 273–76; manifestation of “Czech spirit,” 167; manor house at Šaulovec after, 90, 91; nationalist hopes for, 71–75; origins of term, 56; recruiting peasants, 265; slogan “Shave him,” 53; stronghold in Buchlov Forest (Moravia), 59; threat to public order, 82–92; Topčić’s, 283; *zeleni kadar*, 57–58, 283; *zeleni kader*, 66, 72; *zelený kádr*, 58; *zielona kadra*, 58, 60; Zlobec on, 41–43
- Green Cross, Poland, 271, 271
- Green Guard(s) 56, 152. *See also* Green Cadres
- Green Guard, The* (Doudlebský), 170–71
- Green Guard, The* (Mareš), 63–64, 163, 173–74
- Green International, 227–29, 292, 302–3, 307; Dąbal launching, 232; mission of, 229; Radić and, 234
- Green International* (periodical), 228
- Green Reserves, 56. *See also* Green Cadres
- Green Rising, The* (Bizzell), 201
- “Green Shirts,” 250
- Gregurević, Ivo, 199
- Grgić, Mato, 97
- Grossraumwirtschaft* policies, Nazi regime, 242

- Grosz, Julius, 157
- Gruda* (The clod) (newspaper), 247
- Gubec, Matija: Croat-Slovene peasant uprising, 246; songs invoking memory of, 247
- Gurian Republic, 116
- Gusti, Dimitrie, 245
- Gutmann, Vilim, 89
- Gutmann family/company, 88–89, 189
- Guzej/Guzaj, Franc, 180
- Habsburg army: assistance units storming houses, 46; collective identity, 15; deployment against suspect peoples, 22–23; desertion from, 43–56; executions of priests, 23; melting down church bells from towns, 30–31; menacing lives and property on home soil, 31–32; organization of, 18–19; replacement regiments, 48–49; replacement reserve (*Ersatzreserve*), 18; soldiers and civilians in Galician village, 46; takeover of civilian life, 22–23; universal male military service, 17–18
- Habsburg dynasty, 81
- Habsburg Empire, 1, 113; delusions of military commanders, 21
- Habsburg hereditary lands, 27, 57–58
- Habsburg military, desertion and severity of, 44
- Habsburg monarchy (1914), 16; Bosnia-Herzegovina, 14; central regions of, 17; military service of soldiers, 20
- Habsburg rural society, letter from Slovene peasant, 32–34, 34
- Hácha, Emil, 287
- Hafner, Ljudevit, 94
- Hagen, William W., 92
- Hańba, folk-punk group, 305
- Herceg, Rudolf, 202
- Himmler, Heinrich, 271–72
- Hirschfeld family, 96–97; Abraham, 97; Adolf and Joanna, 96–97; Serena, 96–97
- historical records, peasants lacking, 6–7
- Hitler, Adolf, 273; agrarian “living space” for German nation, 264; Bosnia and Herzegovina, 261; invasion of Poland, 5; Nazi Germany, 243–44; Nazi ideology, 264; New Order, 6; phrase “Make this land German again!,” 277; resistance movements against, 264–65; Topčić’s lobbying, 284
- Hlinka Guard, 12
- Hluchý, Cyril: allegiance to fascism, 175, 176; on his service to Czechoslovak Republic, 150; parade uniform, 159; photograph of, 154; recruiting volunteer force, 153; on Slovácko Brigade, 150–52, 169
- hoarding trips (*Hamsterfahrten*), 26
- Hobsbawm, Eric, 178, 302
- Hodža, Milan: agrarian democracy, 201; *Federation in Central Europe*, 286; optimism of, 202; prime minister, 216; on Slaviness and agrarianism, 230; on Stalin’s forced collectivization, 235–36; on Stjepan Radić’s leadership, 215
- Hohenzollern Empire, 113. *See also* Germany; Imperial Germany
- Home Army, Poland, 268–70, 272–73, 289
- Home Guard(s), Slovenia, 277–78, 282, 284, 285
- Hood, Robin, 177. *See also* Čaruga
- Horthy, Miklós, 135, 217
- Horvat, Antun, 91
- Horvat, Josip, 119
- Hotel Savoy* (Roth), 48
- Houdek, Fedor, 224–25
- Hrvatski list* (Croatian pages) (newspaper), 177
- Hudec, Štefan, 169
- Hungarian Red Army, 133; invasion of Slovakia, 161
- Hungarian Smallholders Party, 288, 291
- Hungarian Social Democratic Party, 210
- Hungarian Soviet Republic, 132, 135
- Hungary, 5; state of emergency, 22

- hunger riots (1917), 26
hungry winter (1916–17), desertion in
 Russia and Austria-Hungary, 43
Hutsul National Council, 128, 128–29
Hutsul Republic, 129
- Ignar, Stefan, 303
Illyés, Gyula, *People of the Puszta*, 245
Independent Agrarian Party, Slovenia, 218
Independent People's Party, Poland, 303
Independent Smallholders Party, Hungary,
 255, 287
Independent Socialist Party, Hungary,
 210
Independent State of Croatia, 265
industrial warfare, mobilization, 20–21
Institute for Rural Culture, Poland, 245
Institute of Social Economy, Poland, 237
Inter-Allied Control Commission on
 Disarmament, 213
Interim Decree on land question, Kingdom
 of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, 147
International Agrarian Bureau, 227. *See also*
 Green International
International Agrarian Conference,
 Chatham House (London), 286
International Commission of Agriculture,
 226, 228
International Federation of Agricultural
 Cooperatives, 227
International Institute of Agriculture,
 Rome, 226–27
International Peasant Union, 291–92, 303
International Workingmen's Association,
 205
interwar authoritarianism, 229, 235–36,
 245, 262, 307
Ion (Rebreanu), 245
Irish War of Independence (1919–21), 220
“Iron Curtain,” 6, 291
Iron Guard, Legion of the Archangel
 Michael, 257, 258
Italian Communist Party, 288
Italian Socialist Party, 221
Italy: Abyssinia, 264; entry (1915) on side
 of Entente, 15, 21–22; fascism, 221–222;
 military spending, 19; peasant republics,
 288
- Jackson, George, 235
Jagiellonian University, Poland, 120
Jančík, František, 168
Jandásek, Ladislav, 157, 169
Jánošík, Juraj, 169, 172, 179–81
Janžič, Jožef, 35
Japan, 233, 264, 293
Jászi, Oszkár, 129, 132
Jedinstvo (Unity) (newspaper), 139
Jelínek, Felix, 154
Jews: associated with communism, 99,
 267; associated with urban areas, 232,
 257; deaths in 1918–20, 100; farmland
 ownership, 81; forming guard units, 87,
 107; ostracization of, 112; peasants rioting
 against, 86–88; rising anti-Semitism
 against Jewish shopkeepers, 27; as rural
 revolutionaries, 118; settlement in
 Croatia-Slavonia, 81; settlement in
 Galicia, 81
Jindra, Hubert, 50, 51
“Judas Fest,” 95
Jünger, Ernst, 10
Jurčić, Josip, 180
Juriga, Ferdiš, 107
- Kant, Immanuel, 114
Karadorđević, Petar (King), 14, 136
Karchmarchyk, Iaroslav, 130
Kardelj, Edvard, 298
Karl I (Emperor-King), 11, 22, 75, 77, 118;
 October 16 proposal to federalize empire,
 75; precautions for rain journey, 76; Zita
 (Queen-Empress) and, 67–68
Károlyi, Mihály, 132, 133–34, 218, 286
Kautsky, Karl, 205
Kazimour, Josef, 166
Kelih, Jože, 274
Kettenhändler (chain traders), 27

- Khliborob* (The farmer) (newspaper), 209
Kingdom of Hungary, gendarmes and deserters in, 45
Kingdom of Yugoslavia, destruction of, 276–77
Kirigin, Ivan, 140
Klobučar, Franjo, 102–3
Klochurak, Stepan, 128, 129
Klofáč, Václav, 158, 161, 162
Kobe, Ivan, 137
Koc, Adam, 253
Kohn, Bernard, 89
Komańcza Republic, 129
komitas, 68, 69, 89, 90, 92, 93, 181. *See also*
 Green Cadres
Korejs, Karel, 160
Kormanuš, Duro, 117
Korošec, Anton, 104, 248, 280
Kos, Franjo, 142
Kořak, Kreřimir, 86
Kovačević, Ivan, 36
Kovačić, Dragutin, 142
Král, Metoděj, 168
Krajec, Ivan, 278
Kral, Janez: anonymous 1917 letter, 34; on “robber government,” 32–33, 35; Slovene peasant, 32–34, 34
Kralj, Branko, 100
Kraus, Lavoslav, 185, 186, 195, 199
Kreft, Vladimir, 247–48
Krempa, Franciszek, 127
Krestianskii international (journal), 235
Krestintern: biennial international conferences, 233–34; decline and dissolution, 235; founding conference, 233. *See also* Dąbal, Tomasz
Kriescher, Ferdinand, 159
Kristek, Stjepan, 191
Krlleža, Miroslav: communism, 12, 38; *The Croatian God Mars*, 10; on Green Cadres, 105; illustration by Ivo Režek, 13, 49; on peasant infantrymen, 11; on peasant conscripts in the city, 19–20
kulaks, definition of, 295
Kun, Béla, 48, 132, 145, 217
Kuncewicz, Jerzy, 292
Kuraš, József, 290
Kuritz, Martin, 191
Kušan, Ivan, 199
Lads of the Green Cadre, The (Bartoš), 174
La Follette, Robert, 220
Lakuš, Filip, 140
Lalić, Ljubica, 65
Lalić, Stevo, 65
Land Control Act, Czechoslovakia, 147
“land to combatants” slogan, Italy, 28
Landwehr (home defense force), 18
Lansing, Robert, 115
Lasocki, Zygmunt, 124, 125–26
Laur, Ernst, 228
Law on Cooperatives (1946), Yugoslavia, 296
Law on Property Relations and Reorganization of Peasant Work Cooperatives (March 1953), Yugoslavia, 298
League of Nations, 109, 110, 228
Lefner, Franz, 62
Legion of the Archangel Michael:
 Codreanu on, 245; Iron Guard, 257
Lemko Rusyn Republic, 130
Lenin, Vladimir: Bolshevik Revolution, 114;
 Decree on Land, 72, 127; soldiers discussing, in illustration, 49
Leon, Ivan, 90
liberalism, 6, 222, 224, 244
Liberation Front, Slovenia, 274–75
Little Versailles treaty, 109, 110
Living Whip, The (Urban), 10, 11, 30, 34, 37, 79
Ljotić, Dimitrije, 263, 278
Lovšin, Franjo, 136–37
Ludendorff, Erich, 43
Lutak, Jakob, 90, 92
Maček, Vladimir (Vladko): Croatian Peasant Party, 246; international agrarian organization, 291; Peasant Party, 259–61
Mackensen, August von, 155
Madgearu, Virgil, 219

- Maffie organization, 71
- Magyar soldiers, complaints against, 46–47
- Maister, Rudolf, 151
- Makhno, Nestor, 74, 75, 98–100
- Male, Pavel, 273, 274
- Malypetr, Jan, 216
- Maniu, Iuliu, 219, 257
- Marchut, Wojciech, 127
- Mareš, Michal: Bohemian Green Cadre, 85;
The Green Guard, 63–64, 163, 173–74
- Marković, Božin, 184
- Markovo Republic, 116
- Marx, Karl, *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 204
- Marxian socialism, 205
- Marxism, 288
- Marxism-Leninism, 302
- Masaryk, Tomáš G.: Beneš and, 166, 227;
leadership of Czechoslovakia, 166; Maffie organization, 71; Seton-Watson and, 174
- Mastný, Josef, 276
- Matijević, Božidar “Božo,” 184–91;
tombstone of, 190
- Matota, Jozo, 191
- May Day 1919, 168
- Mečíř, Karel, 228, 230
- Medaković, Bogdan, 83
- Međimurje, 17, 100, 118, 131–32
- Medvecký, Karol A., 101–2
- Méline, Jules, 226
- Merkel, Gejza, 189
- Mexico, 4, 233
- Mezőfi, Vilmos, 210
- Michalache, Ion, 219, 257
- Middle Ages, 82
- Mihailović, Dragoljub “Dražica,” 275, 277
- Mihalović, Antun, 259–60
- Mijatović, Rade, 182
- Mijić, Nikola, 193
- Mikołajczyk, Stanisław: International Agrarian Conference, 286; International Peasant Union, 291; People’s Party, 269–70; Temporary Government of National Unity, 289
- militarization, European societies and peasantry, 15;
- military service: European countries, 17–18
- militia (*Landsturm*), 18
- Miljković, Husnija “Huska,” 284, 297
- Milojević, Predrag, 177
- Milović, Dimitar, 194
- Minger, Rudolf, 220–21
- Mitrany, David, 224, 288
- Mladi (the Young), Croatia, 208–9
- Mlakar, Janez, 36
- Mlakar, Marija, 36–37
- modernity: agrarian view of, 202, 203, 225, 300, 304; countryside unchanged or untouched by, 7
- Molotov-Rippentrop Pact, 267
- monarchism, term, 161
- Moore, Barrington, Jr., 8
- Moraczewski, Jędrzej, 124
- moral economy, 92–93, 98
- moral idealism, Czechoslovak nation’s, 161
- Moravia, 16, 17, 54, 58, 59, 64, 65, 82, 146, 152–53, 164, 165–66, 175, 179, 206, 219, 263, 264, 275
- Moravian Agrarian Party, 208
- Morelon, Claire, 30
- Muna, Alois, 48
- Munich Agreement (1938), 170, 175
- Munich Conference (1938), 201
- Munižaba, Mile, 183
- Mura Republic, 131, 135
- Museum of the History of the Polish Populist Movement, 304
- Nagy, Ferenc, 287, 291
- Namyslov, Karel, 168
- Napoleonic Wars, 18
- Naprzód* (Forward) (newspaper), 124
- National Association of People’s Colleges, Hungary, 288
- National Council of the State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs, 82–83, 102, 103–4, 202

- National Democrats, Czechoslovakia, 216
- National Fascist Community,
Czechoslovakia, 175
- National Freethinking Party (Young
Czechs), 208
- National Guards: Croatia 1918, 185; Croatia
1920, 139–40
- National Independence and 48-er
Smallholder Party, Hungary, 218
- nationalists: on countryside, 7; Spain, 255
- National Land Distribution Committee,
Hungary, 134
- National Liberation Army: in Croatia, 285
- National Liberation Front, Slovenia, 263
- National Liberation Struggle, Yugoslavia,
298. *See also* People's Liberation
Movement
- National Peasant Party, Hungary, 256, 287,
289
- National Peasant Party, Romania 219, 228,
235, 245, 254, 257
- National People's Liberation Army, Greece,
288
- national revolutions, 77, 144; Green Cadres'
role in, 42, 72
- national self-determination: agrarian
agenda and, 131–35; Wilsonian, 130
- National Socialism, Germany, 255
- National Socialist Party of Work (Scythe
Cross movement), Hungary, 256
- National Socialists, Czechoslovakia, 216
- Nazi Germany, 6; self-sufficiency and
rearmament efforts, 243–44
- Nazi occupation, east central Europe,
265–66
- Nazism: defeating, 299; Germany, 221
- Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact, 275. *See
also* Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact
- Nedić, Milan, 263, 277
- neo-serfdom, peasants as victims of, 211.
See also Dobrogeanu-Gherea, Constantin
- Neuilly, Treaty of, 212
- Neutral Croat Peasant Republic, 136, 144.
See also Croatian Peasant Party
- New Economic Policy (NEP), 74, 111,
233
- Noha, Colonel of the Green Cadre* (Rosùlek),
171
- Non-Partisan League, United States, 220
- North Dakota, Farm Labor Party, 220
- Novosel, Ivan, 141
- Novotný, František, 102
- Novotný, Hynek, 169
- Nuhál, Augustín: Ferančík and, 181; helping
families at home, 66; leading Green
Cadre group, 60, 62, 84
- Obál, Béla, 132
- Obradović, Stevan “Stevo,” 183
- October Revolution (1917), 47
- Okoń, Eugeniusz: anti-Jewish positions,
128, 232; peasant radical and leader of
Tarnobrzeg Republic, 120, 122, 125–27;
toppling boundary between Galicia and
Russian Poland, 122, 123
- Olbracht, Ivan, *The Bandit Nikola Šuhaj*,
172
- Olewiński, Piotr, 230
- Olip, Tomaž, 274–75
- Ondráš (1680–1715), 180
- Ondryška, Martin, 170
- Operation Barbarossa, 267
- Orange Guard, Bulgaria, 212
- Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, 265,
272
- Orkan, Władysław, 249
- Orthodox Church, 148; Bulgaria, 212
- Otkup* system, Yugoslavia, 296, 298
- Paderewski, Ignacy, 109, 110
- Paris peace conference, 104, 115, 130
- Party of Pure Right, Croatia, 104
- Party of Traders and Businessmen,
Czechoslovakia, 241
- Pašić, Nikola, 104, 144, 218
- Pavel, Josef, 172, 61
- Pavelić, Ante, 259, 261, 282
- Pawlas, Karol, 121, 124, 125

- peasant(s): activism and organization, 226–32; attempting to restore a “moral economy,” 92–93; definition of, 3–4; grievances of, 79–82; lacking historical records of action, 6–7; republics, 115, 115–16, 116–28; resentment from inhabitants of cities, 25–26; rioting against Jews, 87–88; violence in Ukraine, 98–100; wartime economy and, 38–40; wartime requisitions in Czechoslovak Republic, 163–66
- Peasant Battalions, Poland, 268, 269, 270, 271–73, 287, 289, 290
- peasant class, idea of, 3–4
- Peasant International in Action, The* (Kuncewicz), 292
- peasantism, 6, 203. *See also* agrarianism
- Peasant Mandate on Land, Bolshevik, 72
- peasant mobilizations, twentieth-century European, 8–9
- Peasant Organization, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 218
- Peasant Party, Poland, 229, 249
- Peasant Party, Romania, 219, 257
- peasant revolution, 2, 4, 8, 144, 262, 302, 305, 307, 308
- Peasants, The* (Reymont), 245
- peasant soldiers: after 1945, 293; between wars, 134, 145, 151, 175; in Bulgaria, 75, 212; First World War, 1–2, 11, 12, 13, 20, 28, 37, 181, 229; in Russia, 43, 73; Second World War, 1
- Peasant Strike (1937), Poland, 252–53, 253, 254, 255, 303
- Peasant Union, 292, 293
- peasant uprisings and movements, political content, 203–11
- Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (Wolf), 4, 305
- People’s Army, Poland, 289; Communist-sponsored, 272–73
- People’s Colleges, Hungary, 288
- people’s democracies: collectivization in, 295; Communist-steered, 266
- People’s Federation of Jews for Slovakia, 112
- People’s Liberation Movement, 284–85; Bosnian Muslim villagers supporting Communist-led, 283
- People’s Militia, Yugoslavia, 284–85
- People’s Party, Poland, 120, 145, 208, 216, 229, 239–40, 249, 250, 268–69, 287, 289, 290, 304; Left/Lewica faction, 126, 127, 216–17, 249, 289; Piast faction, 126, 216–17, 227, 229, 230, 248, 249
- People’s Party, Czechoslovakia, 241
- People’s Poland (*Polska Ludowa*), 217, 238, 290
- People’s Union of Women, Poland, 270–71
- People’s University, Poland, 290. *See also* Village University
- perjanci*, 65
- Petar II (King), 297
- Petrijevci Republic, 117, 118
- Petriv, Vsevolod, 117
- Piast* (newspaper), 124
- Pilsudski, Józef, 77, 120, 124, 230, 251
- Pińczów Republic, 273
- Pirnar, Jože, 119
- Pirnar, Tone, 119
- Pivko, Ljudevit, 71
- Planšćak, Stjepan, 191
- plum brandy (*slivovice*), 25
- Podhale, 17, 60, 290
- pogroms, 79, 86, 96, 99, 109, 110, 128. *See also* anti-Semitism; Jews
- Pohorje Battalion, 280
- Pokorný, František, 54
- Poláček, Karel, 171
- Poland, 4, 5; anti-Jewish violence, 101; German occupation of, 266–73; Great Peasant Strike (1937), 252–53, 253, 254, 255, 303; Hitler’s invasion of, 5; peasants fighting against occupiers, 6; peasant violence against Jews, 5; peasant youth movement, 248–53; “Recovered Territories,” 293
- Polish Liquidation Commission, 121, 123, 125, 126
- Polish Populist Academic Youth, 249

- Polish Regency Council, 77
Polish Workers' Party, 289, 304
Poltzer, Nathan, 94
Pollak, Albert, 69
Poniatowski, Juliusz, 253
Populists, Russia, 209
Predojević, Tanasije, 69
Prekmurje, 17, 131–32, 134–35, 277
Prepeluh, Albin, 236
Pribičević, Svetozar, 104
Přibyslavský, Josef, 63–64
Princip, Gavriilo, 14, 15
Progressive Peasant Party, Poland, 127
Prokúpek, Václav, 244, 302
Provincial Military Command, Moravia, 155, 157, 160–62
Prpić, Pavao (“Veliki”), 198
Prušnik “Gasper,” Karel, 274, 275
Pucelj, Ivan, 246
Puntar-Štacnar, Ivan, 240, 280–82
- Quran, 283
- Radić, Antun, 208, 209, 213, 231
Radić, Stjepan: attending Lake Bled assembly, 230; Croatian Peasant Party, 104, 111, 136, 140, 143–44, 179, 226, 234, 246, 308; Croatian People's Peasant Party, 202, 208; Croatian Republican Peasant Party (HRSS), 213; death of, 235; education, 213, 215; on gentleman and common people, 225; inspiration for rebels, 137, 141, 183, 184; Krestintern and, 234; photograph of, 210; Russian inspiration of, 209; sentiments of, 231–32, 308
Radical Party, Serbia, 144, 218
Radio Free Europe, 290
Raiffeisen, Friedrich Wilhelm, 224
Rajk, László, 288
Rákóczi, Ferenc, 179–80
Rataj, Maciej, 269
Ratković, Rade, 192
reaping and harvesting competitions, Slovenia, 247–48
- Rebić, Mijo, 189
Rebreanu, Liviu, *Ion*, 245
recruitment, military in European countries, 17–8
Red Army, Soviet, 3, 48, 73, 100, 145, 232, 238, 251, 266, 267, 287, 289, 293; offensives, 74
Red Cavalry (Babel), 99
Red Guards, 48, 52, 56
Red Peasant International. *See* Krestintern regionalism, 162, 308
Reich Food Estate, Nazi, 243
Reorganized Social Democratic Party, Hungary, 210
Repak, Mijahlo, 66
republic, self-determination, 115; term, 114, 161
republican enthusiasm, 113–16; interest in American model, 118
republicanism, 113, 202
Republican Party: Czechoslovakia, 8, 148, 215, 216, 219, 241, 257; Švehla's, 219; Slovakia, 254
republics, peasants, 115, 116–38. *See also* Gurian Republic; Hutsul Republic; Komańcza Republic; Lemko Rusyn Republic; Markovo Republic; Mura Republic; Petrijevci Republic; Tarnobrzeg Republic
requisitions: in Austria-Hungary, 25, 30–31, 38, 81, 93; by Communists, 290; in Czechoslovakia, 109, 156, 163–65; Green Cadres halting, 70; peasants resisting, 35; in Russia and Ukraine, 29, 73, 74, 99, 117
returnees: education of, 48–49; in fiction, 171; as peasant revolutionaries, 117; from Russian internment, 48, 50–53, 56, 64, 76
Revolt of the Cottages (Rozner), 37, 170, 172–73
Reymont, Władysław, *The Peasants*, 245
Režek, Ivo: illustration of Croatian peasant soldier, 13; soldiers discussing Lenin illustration, 49
Ribar, Ivan, 185, 186
Robin Hood. *See* Čaruga

- robot*, 80, 206
Roja, Boleslaw, 124, 125
rokovnjači, 180, 181
Romania, 5; fascism, 257–58; land reform, 146–47
Romanov Empire, 1, 113. *See also* Russia; Russian Empire
Ronge, Maximilian, 44–45, 54
Rošický, Jaroslav, 71
Rosendorfský, Vilém, 167
Rosůlek, Jan Václav, 172, 276; *Noha, Colonel of the Green Cadre*, 171
Rósza, Sándor, 180, 181
Roth, Joseph, *Hotel Savoy*, 48
Rozner, Vojtěch, *Revolt of the Cottages*, 37, 170, 172–73
ruralization of cities, 301
Ruše Company, 279
Russia, 4; Austria-Hungary and, 21; Entente side of war, 15; military spending, 19; peasant soldiers from, 1
Russian Civil War, 39, 78, 100; peasant forces during, 74–75
Russian Empire, 80, 98, 116, 145; peasant movements in former, 5
Russian Narodniks, 209
Russian Revolution (1905), 29, 116, 210–11
Russophilism among Ruthenes, 128, 130
Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party, 209
Rydz-Šmigly, Edward, 124

Sabljak, Antun, 138
Saint George's Day, 297
Saint Stephen, crown of, 113, 135
Šajn, Stevo, 190–91
Sanacija system, 251
Šarh, Alfonz: as a Partisan, 278–80 family of, 279, 279–80; helping families at home, 66; joining Rudolf Maister, 150–51; leading Pohorje deserters, 60, 63; political oscillations of, 263; soldiers searching for, 181; streets named for, 303
Šaulovec manor house, 90, 91
Scheiner, Josef, 157
Schlesinger, Max, 93
Schlossberger, Nathan, 188
Schön, Antun, 93–94
Schön, Martin, 93–94
Schuschnigg, Kurt, 274
Schwarzenberg family, 103
Scott, James, 32, 313n3
Scythe Cross movement, National Socialist Party of Work, Hungary, 256
Second World War: peasant role in, 1, 264–65
Sedláček, František, 64, 66, 155, 162
Seifert, Doctor, 165–66
self-determination, 135–44; Kant's philosophy, 114; sudden possibility of, 102; Wilsonian national, 130
self-government, grassroots experiments, 2
Serb Agricultural Cooperative, 69
Serbia: Austria-Hungary and, 21; Austria-Hungary's declaration of war on, 12, 14
serfdom, 80
Serge, Victor, 73
Serinek, Josef, 60–63, 276
Seton-Watson, Robert William, 174
Seventeenth Infantry Regiment, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, 192
Sicha, Richard, 71, 171–72
Sikorski, Władyslaw, 272, 268–69
Sinn Fein, 219–20
Sixtus (Prince), 68
Sixtus Affair, 68
Skočić, Katarina, 94
Skoropadsky, Pavlo, 98
Slave Law, Hungarian parliament, 210
Slavic Federation of Village Youth, 230
Slavonia, 52, 57, 65, 69–70, 88, 103–4, 118, 177, 187, 263; Croatia-, 16, 17, 26, 45, 55, 56, 82, 106, 111, 115, 147
Slavonian Robin Hood. *See* Čaruga
slivovice-distilling equipment, seizure of, 25
Słomka, Jan: complaining about Hungarian troops, 32; on departure of men for war, 15; District Committee of Self-Defense, 121; ejection from office, 122; on Jews, 50–51; Golden Order of Merit, 236; on

- Habsburg troops and food shortages, 24;
on soldiers' coming-of-age experience, 20
- Slovácko, 17, 58, 71, 103, 150, 157, 160, 175
- Slovácko Brigade, 58; establishment of, 58,
151, 155, 161, 305; Hluchý and, 150–52, 154,
161; legacy of, 151, 169; literary works on,
173–74; military operations of, 156, 160,
162, 168; parade uniform, 158, 159; peasant
deserters and, 174–76; photograph of
oath-taking recruits (1918), 156; unruly
soldiers, 262
- Slovácko Regiment, 151, 155, 161
- Slovakia, 58, 67, 81, 82, 84, 100, 101, 102,
106–9, 111–12, 130, 148, 153, 164, 168–69,
179, 239, 254, 257
- Slovak Literary Foundation, 303
- Slovak National Council, 106
- Slovak People's Party, 101, 107, 108, 109, 256;
Urban and, 12
- Slovak Revolution, The* (Medvecký), 101,
102
- Slovene Home Guards, 265
- Slovene Peasant Party, 218, 236, 246
- Slovene People's Party, 218, 248, 278
- Slovenes, term, 132
- Slovene Union of Associations of Peasant
Youths and Maidens, 230
- Slovene Union of Peasant Youths and
Maidens, 246–47, 263
- Slovenia, 41, 115, 119, 143, 182, 230, 246, 248,
274, 277–82
- Slovenian lands, 35, 85
- Smirvov, Alexandr Petrovich, 233
- Smolčić, Božica “Manda,” 194
- Social Democrats, 216; Czechoslovakia, 147,
241; Germany, 221
- socialism, term, 161
- Socialist Revolutionary Party, Russia, 209
- Sokol, Anka, 76
- Solarz, Ignacy, 249, 291
- Soviet internationalism, 233
- Soviet Union, 267; Cold War with United
States, 306; Polish territories taken
by Stalin, 267; self-sufficiency and
rearmament efforts, 243–44. *See also*
Bolshevik; Red Army
- Spengler, Oswald, 7
- Špillar, Oton, 97–98, 142
- Spina, Franz, 219
- Šrámek, Jan, 219
- Šrobár, Vavro, 108, 182
- Stalin, Josef, 5, 234, 293, 295, 302; 1935 Model
Charter, 294
- Stamboliiski, Aleksandar: exaltation of
village life, 225; murder of in 1923, 232,
235; peasant strongman, 75, 208; Populist
vision, 209, 231; reform program, 212–13
- Stanisavljević, Andrija, 187–88
- Stanisavljević, Jovan: Bošnjak and, 187;
death of, 177–79; nicknamed Čaruga, 177;
prosecutors assembling evidence, 195–96,
198; real name of Čaruga, 194. *See also*
Čaruga
- Stapiński, Jan, 216
- State Land Office, Czechoslovakia, 165
- State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs (SHS),
104
- Stojadinović, Milan, 246
- Stolypin, Pyotr, 29
- Stryczek, Jan: circumventing controlled
economy, 268; on Soviet soldiers, 289;
German occupation of village, 266; on
“people's state and party,” 290–91;
tensions between rival organizations,
270; Wici and, 248–50, 252
- Styria, 16, 17, 22, 30, 35, 51, 58, 87, 180, 206, 207,
264, 277–78
- successor states, 4, 5, 6, 100, 115, 144, 178, 203
- Sudol, Jan, 127
- Šuliček, Josip, 97
- Švábenský, Josef, 169
- Švehla, Antonín: agrarian idea, 226; Czech
Agrarian Party, 215; Green International,
227, 228, 230; leadership of, 208; prime
minister, 216
- Swept Away Village, The* (Dezső Szabó),
244
- Swiss Farmers' League, 228

- Swiss Party of Farmers, Traders, and Independents, 220
- Syrmia, 17, 47, 57, 68, 70, 75, 317n17
- Szabó, Dezső, 244, 245
- Szabó, István, 218, 255
- Szabó, Zoltán, 245
- tactical mobility, peasants with, 4
- Tadejević, Zvonimir, 142
- Tarnobrzeg Republic, 128; Dąbal and Okoń, 232; Dąbal as founder, 120–22; leadership of, 125; supporters, 124
- Tarnowski, Zdzisław, 121
- Temporary National Representation, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, 136
- Terpylo, Danilyo, 99
- Thugutt, Stanisław, 124, 126, 217
- Tikas, Karlo, 90–91
- Tintor, Simo, 193
- Tiso, Father Jozef, 12
- Tito, Josip Broz: Communist, 48, 287, 296; Partisans, 265, 277, 282, 298; People's/National Liberation Struggle, 287–88; Tito-Stalin split (1948), 294
- Tkalčić, Marko, 89
- Tkalec, Vilmoš, 131–35
- Todorović, Vašo, 189
- Tomaschoff, Áron, 112
- Tomšič, Stanko, 231
- Topčić, Nešad, 283–84, 283
- Transylvania, 16, 82, 114, 146–47, 149, 214, 245, 258
- Transylvanian National Party, 219, 257
- Triple Alliance (1882), 21
- Trumbić, Ante, 72
- Tsarist Empire, 117. *See also* Imperial Russia; Romanov Empire; Russia; Russian Empire
- Tsarist Russia, urban-rural relations, 29
- Tusar, Vlastimil, 164
- Udmanić, Joco, 180
- Udržal, František, 216
- Uhorčík, Tomáš, 180
- Ukraine: “green forces” and, 99–100; Jewish population, 100, 112; peasant republics, 115, 117; warlords in 74, 99, 100
- Ukrainian Insurgent Army, 272
- Ukrainian Peasants’ and Workers Socialist Union, 257
- Ukrainian People’s Republic, 98, 99, 113
- Úlehla, Vladimír, 153
- Union of Agriculturists, Serbian, 218, 227, 291
- Union of Armed Struggle, Poland, 269, 270. *See also* Home Army
- Union of Peasants, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 218
- Union of Village Youth of the Polish Republic, 230
- Union of Youth in Lesser Poland, 230
- United Nations, Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), 227
- United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Peasants and Other People Working in Rural Areas, 307
- United States: Cold War with Soviet Union, 306; collapse of banks, 241; failure of banking systems, 240; global hegemony of, 264; rural politics in, 211, 220
- University of Oklahoma, 201
- University of Vienna, 120
- University of Zagreb, 213, 215
- Uprka, Joža, 158
- Urban, Milo: *The Living Whip*, 10, 11, 30, 34, 37, 40, 79; Slovak People’s Party and, 12
- Ustasha Militia, 277
- Ustasha movement: Croatia, 283; Pavelić, 259, 282; Peasant Defense and, 261; relations with peasants, 285
- Várkonyi, István, 210
- Verdnik-Tomaž, Matija, 274
- Vidovdan Constitution, 144
- Vigec, Slavko, 280
- Village Committees of the Poor, Russia, 73

- Village Guards, Slovenia, 277–78, 282
- Village University, Orkan's, 249
- violence: against estate owners, 43, 90, 91, 118, 159–60, 205, 305; against Jews, 5, 86–87, 101, 109–10, 128; against officials, 2, 30, 36, 70, 79, 81–83, 87, 97–98, 118, 122, 139, 160, 186; against shopkeepers, 68, 69, 81, 86–87, 91, 94, 188–89; peasant, 5, 79, 82, 87, 98, 185, 263; riots, 26, 87, 126; scripts/patterns/logics of, 69, 78–79, 82, 95–97
- Vodnik, Valentin, 137
- von Hindenburg, Paul, 43
- von Straussenberg, Arz, 22
- Vrkljan, Mato, 94, 95
- Vugrinović, Ivan, 183–84
- war novels, profusion of, 10
- War Performance Law (1912), Austria-Hungary, 22
- War Surveillance Office, Austria-Hungary, 22, 38
- wartime, agricultural economy and, 23–28
- wartime economy, peasants and, 38–40. *See also* economy, wartime
- wartime exigencies, social radicalization, 219–26
- Weiss, Albert, 68, 69
- Wends*, term, 132
- West, Rebecca, 215
- Westphalian Agricultural Chamber, 221
- Westphalian Peasant Association, 221
- West Ukrainian People's Republic, 129
- white money, 134
- Wiącek, Wojciech, 121
- Wici: agrarian youth movement, 238; fate of, 289–90; ideology in Cracow Theses, 250; Stryczek and, 248–50, 252
- Wilson, Woodrow: Fourteen Points, 75; as inspiration to peasants, 118–19; self determination, 114–15, 130
- Witos, Wincenty: disappointment in, 238–39; Piast party and, 121, 216, 217, 249, 250; propaganda campaign, 251–52; Stryczek and, 248
- Wolf, Eric, 4, 305
- world wars. *See* First World War; Second World War
- Wyzwolenie (Liberation) faction of People's Party, Poland, 216–17, 229, 249
- Yugoslav Communist Party, 234, 283, 298
- Yugoslavia, 4, 5, 101; land reform, 146–47; peasants fighting against occupiers, 6; peasants in, 298–99
- Yugoslav Muslim Organization, 283
- Yugoslav Radical Peasant Democracy, 246
- Yugoslav Radical Union, 247
- Yugoslav Revolutionary Committee, 72
- Yugoslavs, 75
- Zaoral, Rudolf, 153
- Zeleni kader* (Green cadre) (album), Cinkuši (folk-rock group), 305
- Zelený kádr* (Pavel), 61
- Zidarić, Josip, 105
- Zielona kadra* (1927 novella), 60
- Zilzer, Benjamin, 96
- Zinoviev, Grigory, 233
- Zita (Queen-Empress), 67–68
- “Zita Army,” 69
- Živić, Stjepan, 93–94
- Živković, Petar, 246
- Zlobec, Andrej: on Green Cadres, 41–42; green forces as armies-in-waiting, 76; joining Rudolf Maister, 150–51; on new independent armies, 63
- Zoch, Samuel, 108
- Zog (King) of Albania, 184
- Zorec, Ivan, 105
- Županc, Ivan, 274
- Zweig, Stefan, 10