

***The Monarchist Counter-revolution in  
Central and Eastern Europe, 1918-1920.  
A Comparative Analysis***

**in the European part of the former Russian Empire and Hungary**

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# **This study is based on Main Principles of Historicism**

## **(According to Leopold von Ranke's and John Tosh's views)**

- Autonomy of the Past (*"The Past is a foreign country"* - Leslie Poles Hartley)
- We must place everything we know about the Past in its contemporary context
- Historical events and phenomena should not be studied isolated (A comparative analysis - Matthew Lange and Miroslav Hroch)

*The main task of the research is to compare the cases of the monarchist counter-revolution as a historic phenomenon*

- the emergence (*the cause, the origins*)
- the development
- the military and political potential
- the results (*the consequences*)

# The novelty of this research

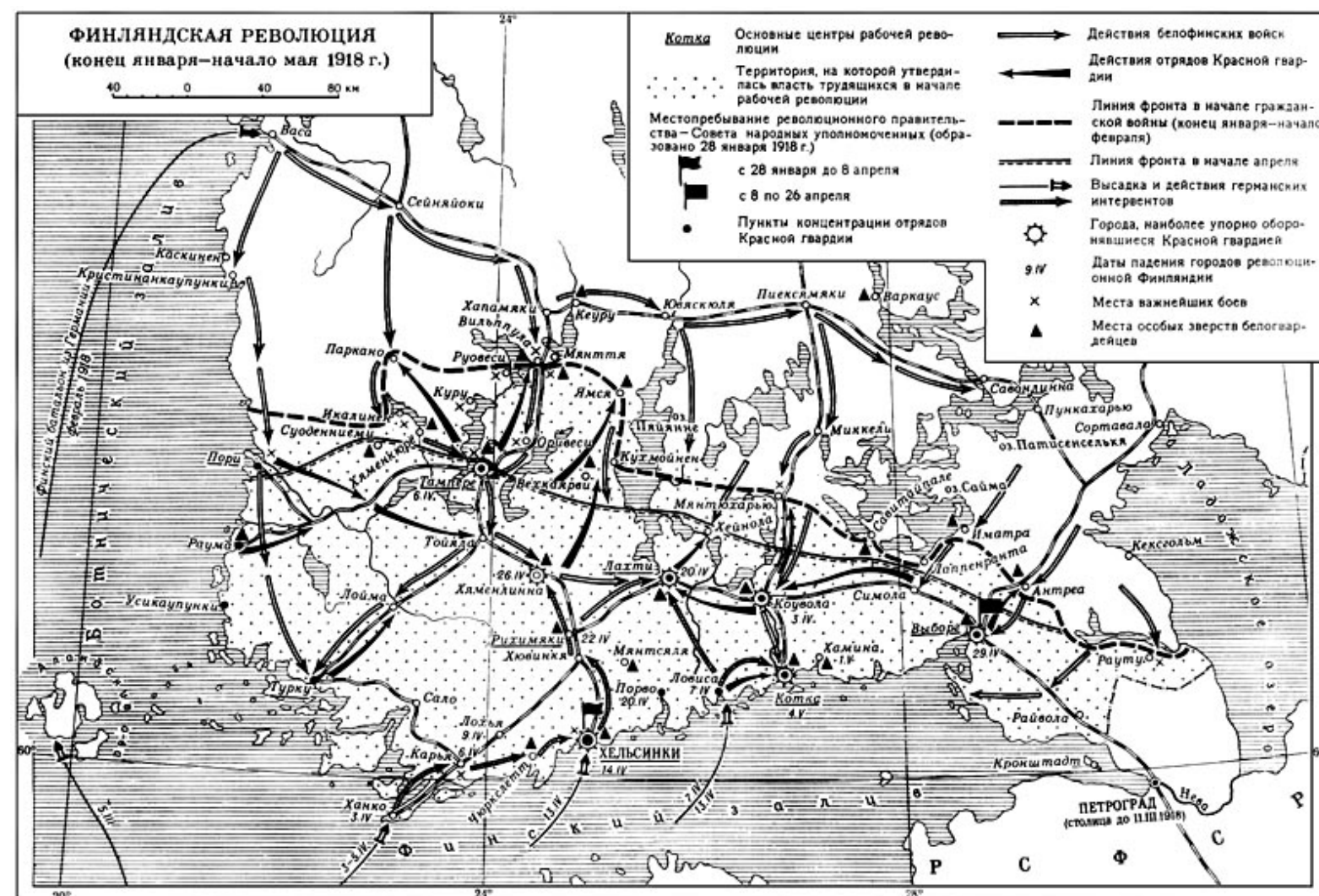
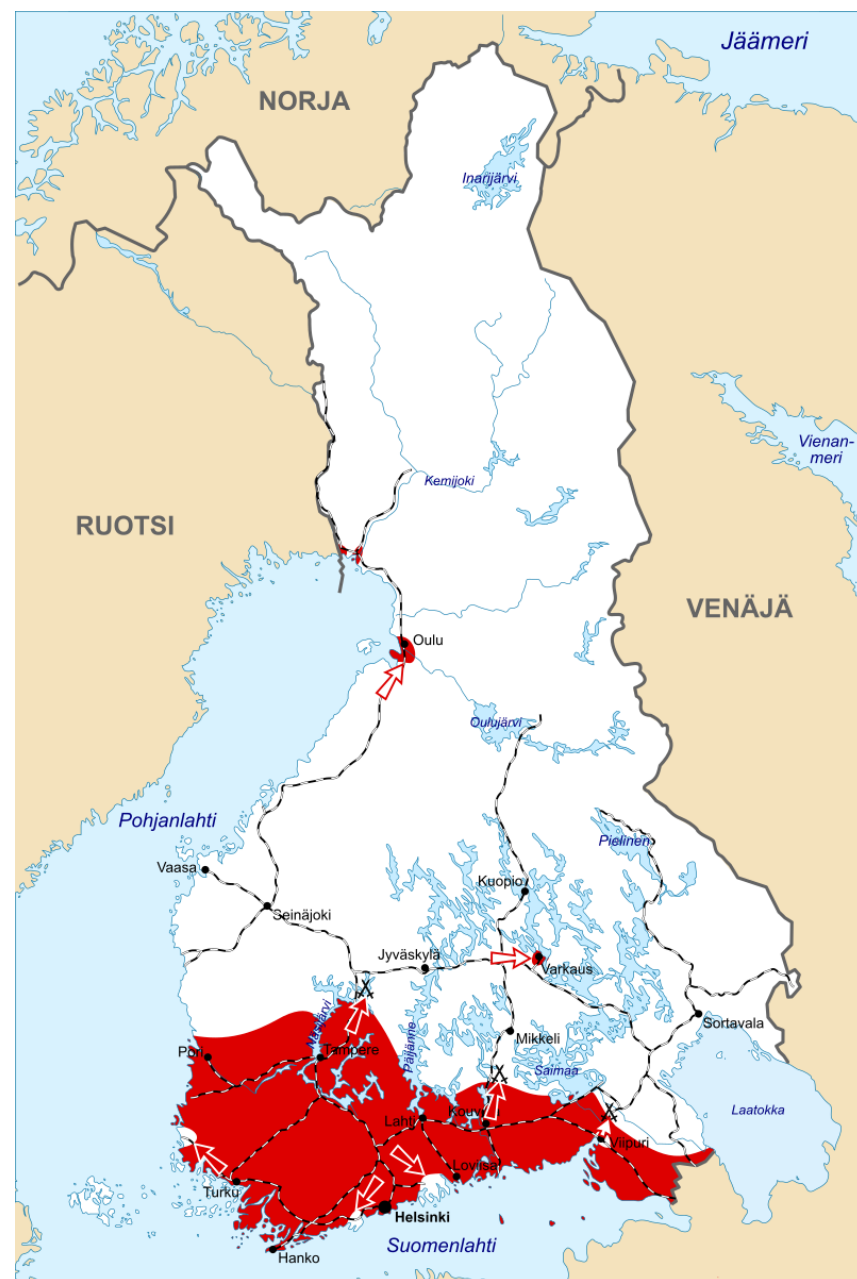
- a comprehensive comparative-historical analysis of the process of the monarchist counter-revolution in Central and Eastern Europe, rather than the study of each case separately
- a comprehensive comparative-historical analysis of internal and external factors influencing the process of counter-revolution in each particular case, and in the region as a whole
- a classification of types of the monarchist counter-revolution
- a comparative analysis of political and ideological approaches and foreign policy orientations of the different types of counter-revolution

# The main factors of the emergence of the monarchist counter-revolution

- the dominance of *the monarchical traditions* or *royalist ideas* in political culture (Finland, Russia, Hungary)
- the availability of some *charismatic political* and *military leaders* affected by royalist ideals (Pehr Evind Svinhufvud, Lieutenant-General Baron Carl Gustaf Mannerheim, Lieutenant-General Pavlo Skoropadsky, Major-General Pyotr Krasnov, Vice-Admiral Miklós Horthy, Vice-Admiral Alexander Kolchak, etc.)
- *international military and diplomatic aid* from neighbouring monarchies (i.e. the *foreign military intervention*), for instance, Germany and Sweden intervened in Finland, Germany and Austria-Hungary liquidated the Bolshevik regime and transformed the political regime in Ukraine. Germany supported the Russian monarchist forces under the conditions of their recognition of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty. The Romanian intervention eliminated the Soviet power in Hungary.

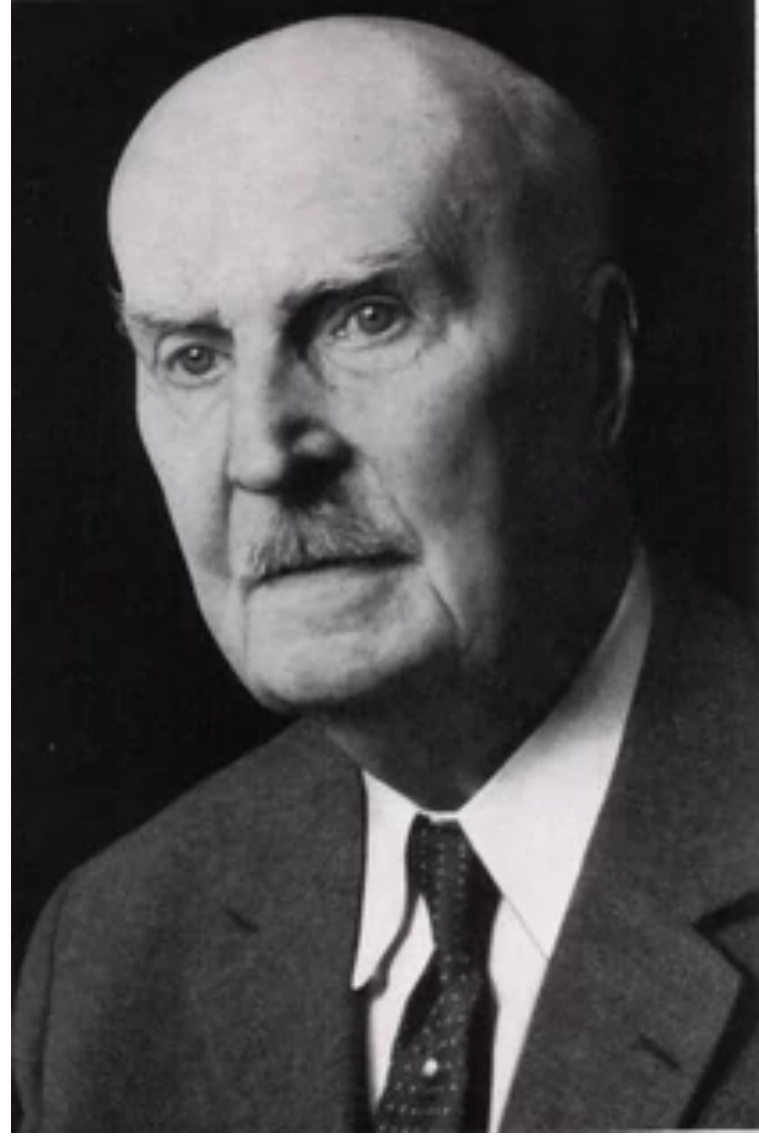
# The classification of the monarchist counter-revolution

- *the classical dynastic royalism* (General Nikolai Yudenich, Lieutenant-General Eugene Miller, Duke Nikolai von Leuchtenberg, Prince Anatol von Lieven, Prince Pavel Bermond-Avalov, etc.)
- *the national royalism* (Regent Archduke Joseph August, Regent Vice-Admiral Miklós Horthy, Regent Pehr Evind Svinhufvud)
- *the “export-monarchism”* (Regent Baron Karl Gustav Emil Mannerheim, Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky, Ataman Pyotr Krasnov, Graf Wilhelm von Mirbach-Harff, Generalfeldmarschall Hermann von Eichhorn, General of the Infantry Erich Ludendorff, Major-General Graf Rüdiger von der Goltz, General Hermann von Kühl, etc.)





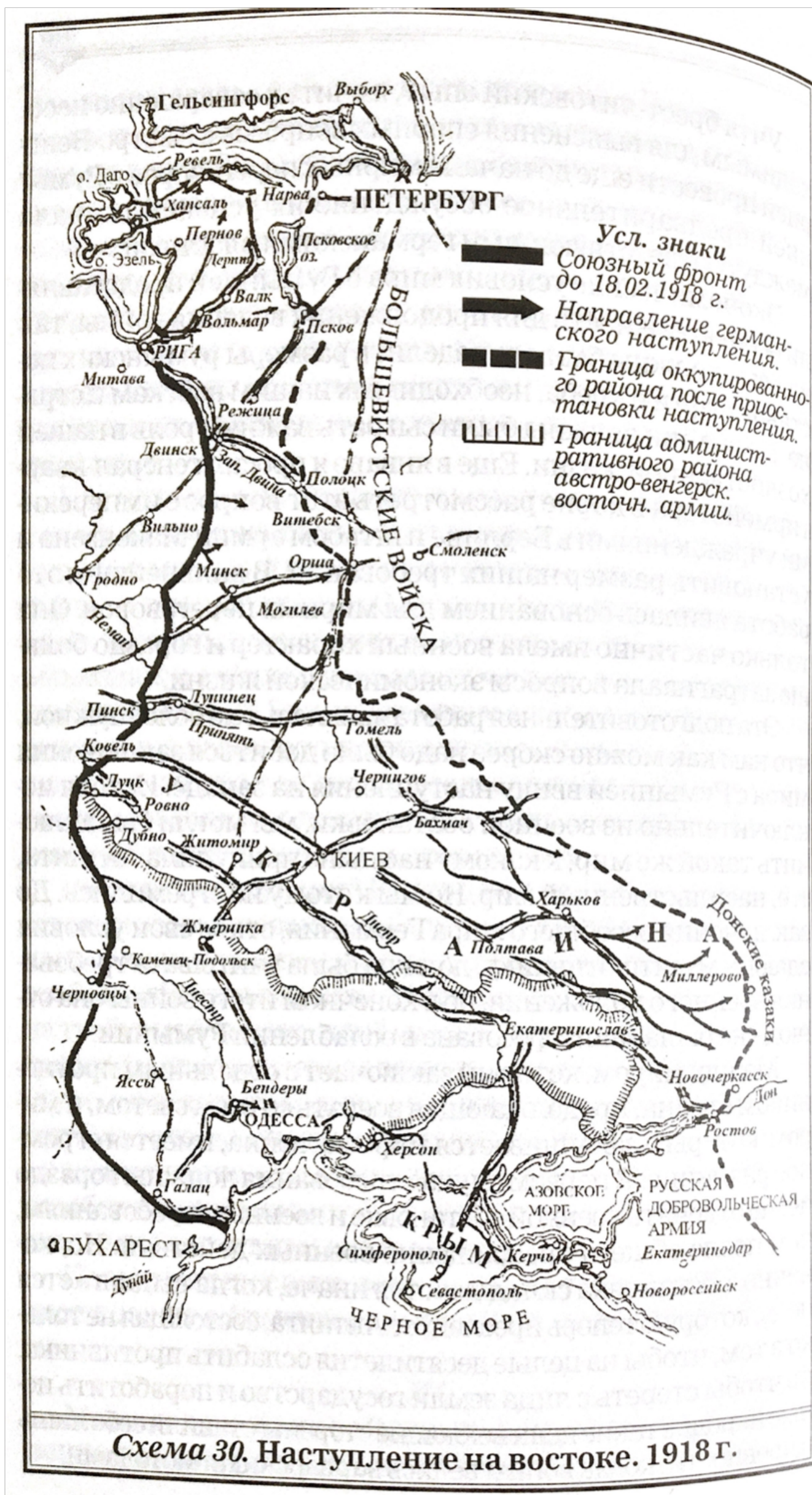








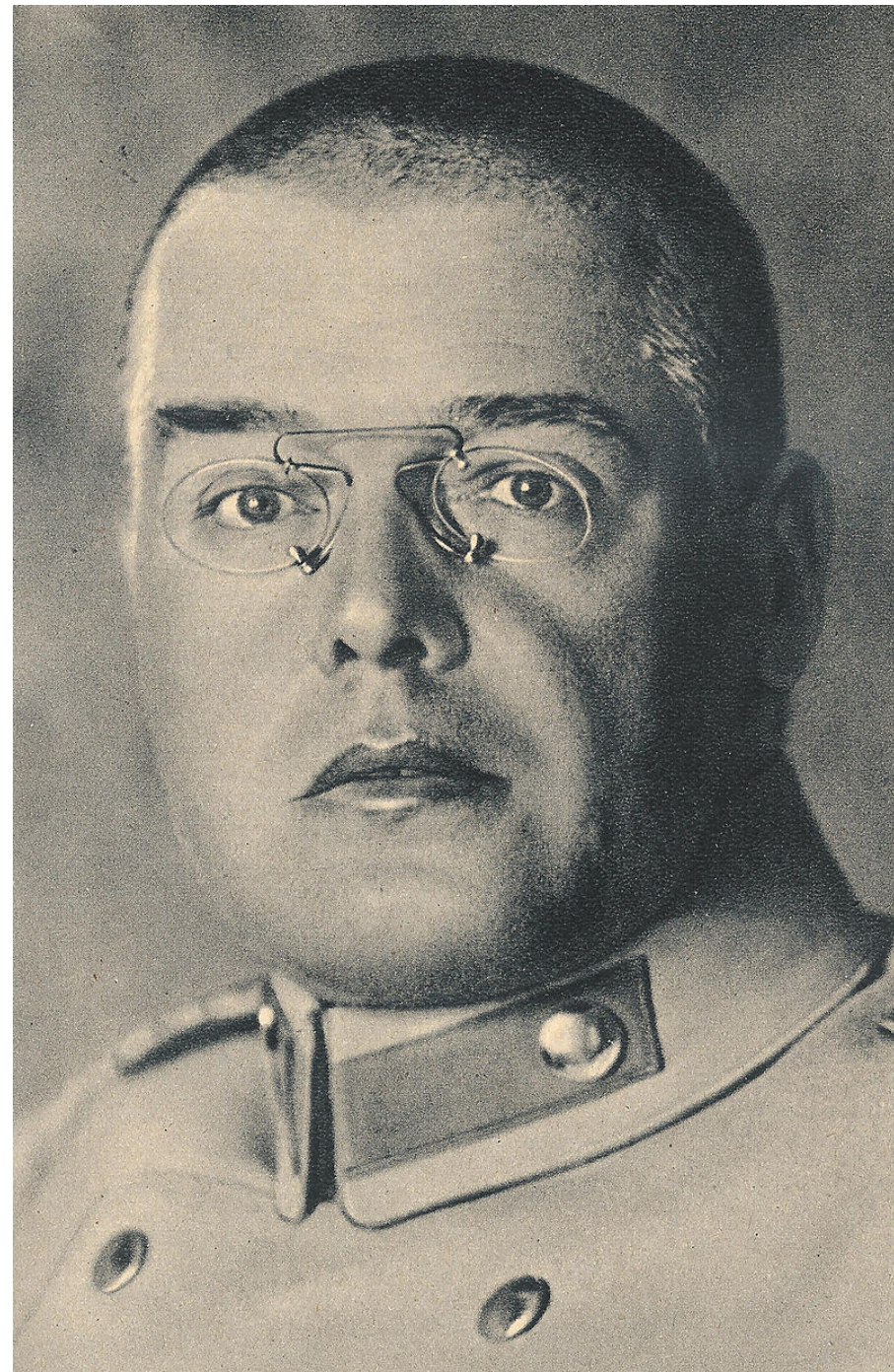




*“...both Finland and Ukraine... and the Cossack lands... were the territories on which counter-revolutionary forces could be formed and grown. They were the basis of the Russian counter-revolution. However, it is impossible to demand that the counter-revolutionary basis has to become the counter-revolutionary driving force.”*



**“1918: the Essays on the Russian Civil War”**





Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-2007-0327-504  
Foto: o. Ang. | 1817 ca.







Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-2007-0327-504  
Foto: o. Ang. | 1917 ca.



“...we must overthrow the Bolshevik not starting to use the German troops not provoking a new war on the East... We can do it by means of the Russians. .. The offensive on Moscow and Petrograd must be started simultaneously from the South-East and Finland... We take any chances and will liberate Russia and first of all ourselves from the Bolshevik disease.”

**Berliner Tageblatt, 2 November, 1918**

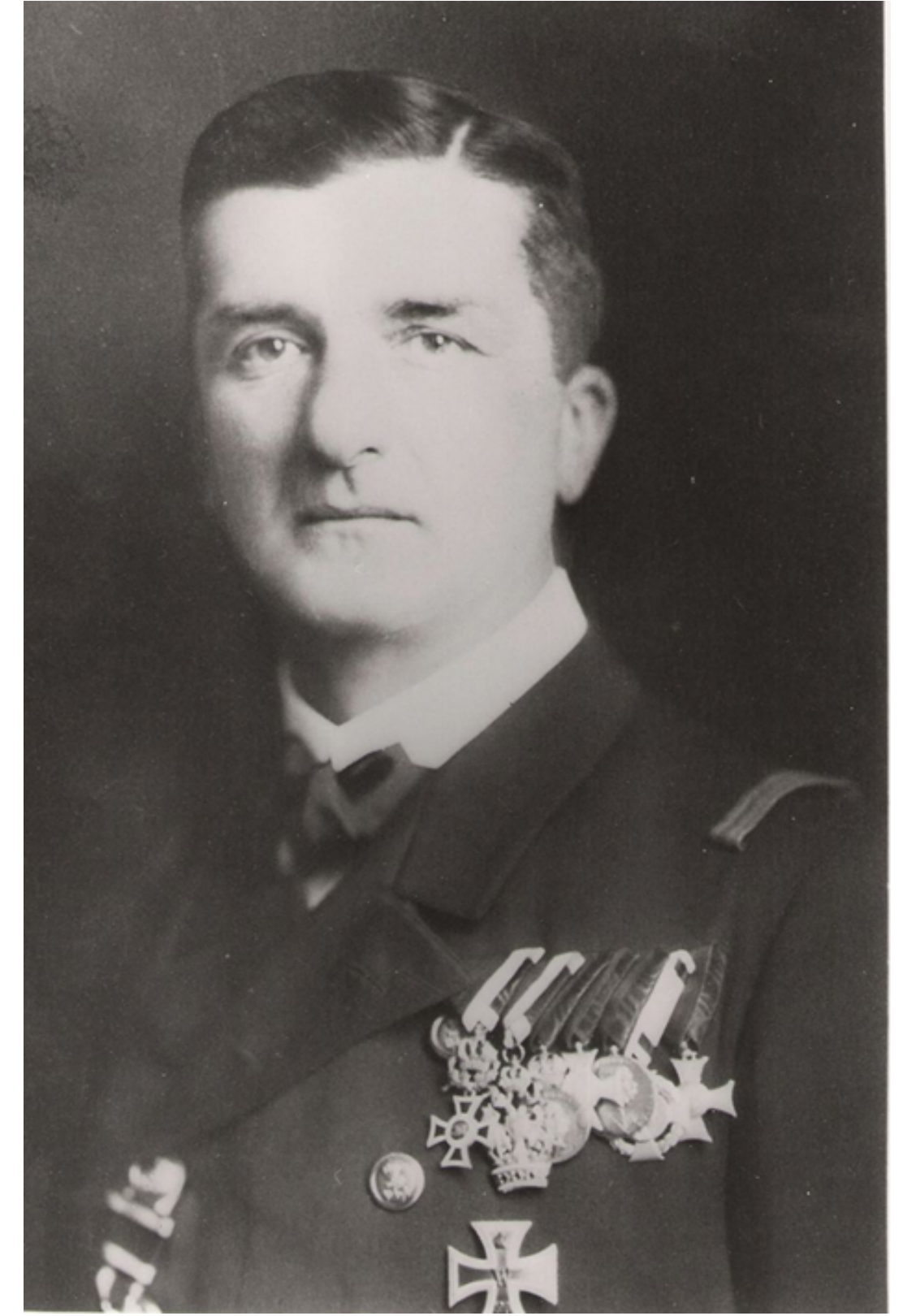




*“11 November 1918 turned out to be a mourning day of the Russian counter-revolution.”*



**“1918: the Essays on the Russian Civil War”**

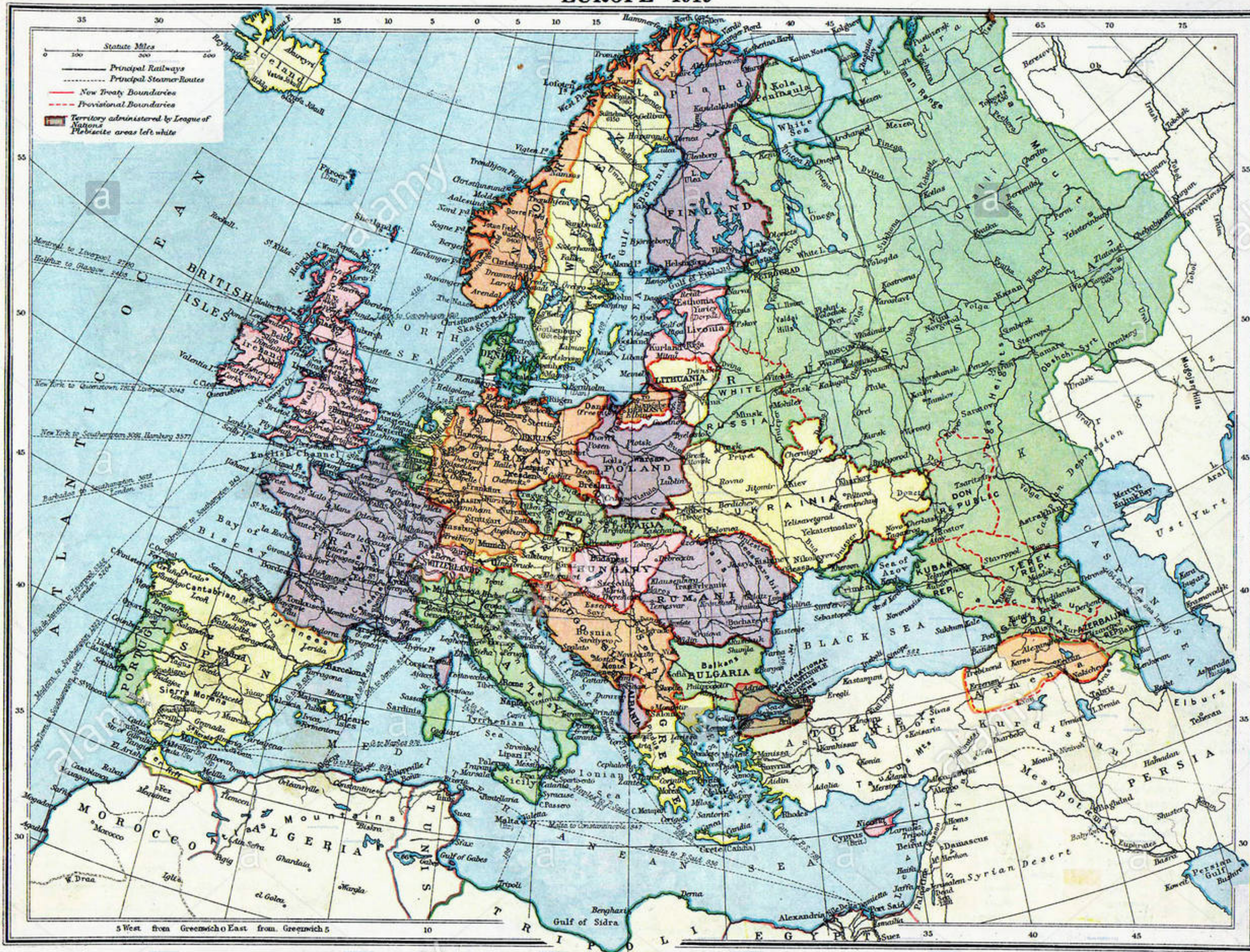


*“We wanted in a spirit of solidarity with the Entente to march on Pest in order to help in the re-establishment of order”*

**Ionel Brătianu**



# EUROPE—1919





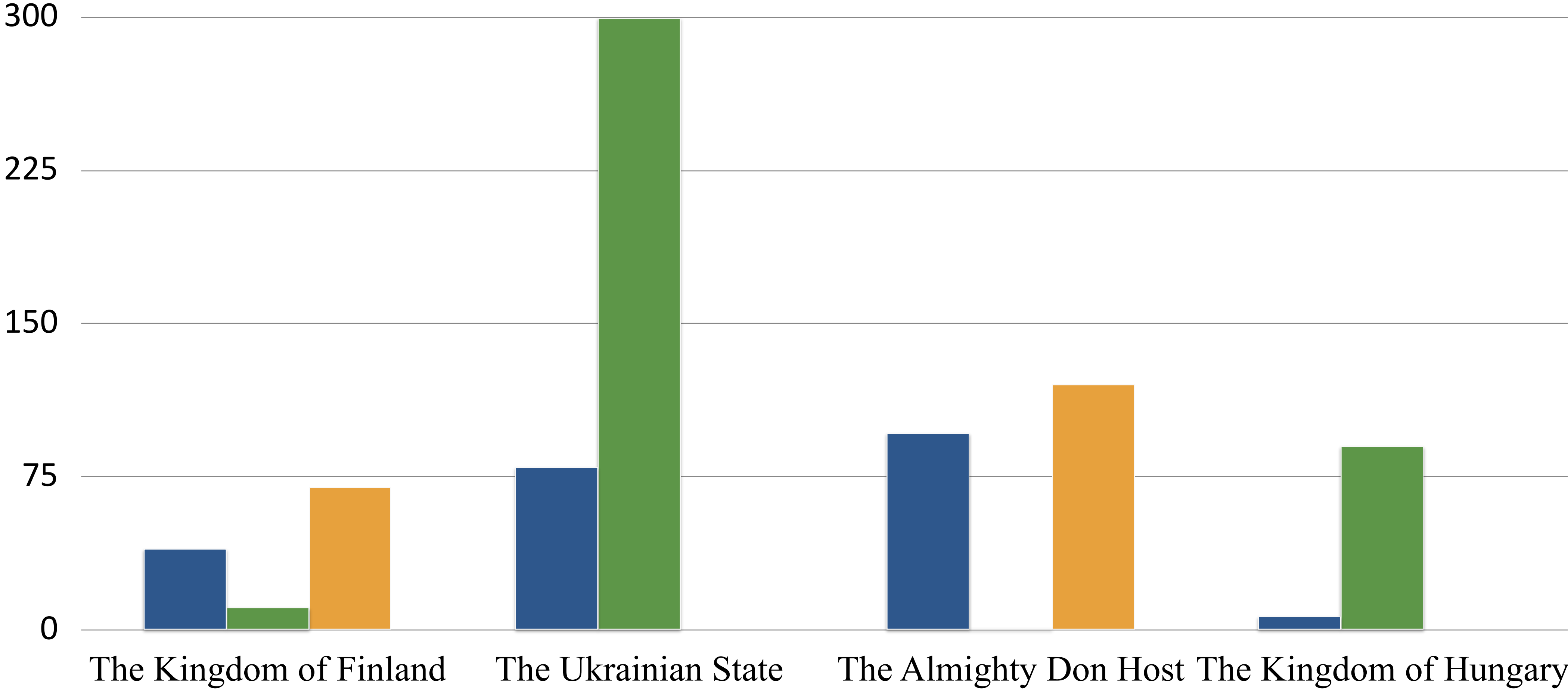
## The Monarchist counter-revolution and the foreign intervention in Central and Eastern Europe 1918-1919

	<b>The Kingdom of Finland</b>	<b>The Kingdom of Hungary</b>	<b>The Ukrainian State</b>	<b>The Almighty Don Host</b>
<b>War</b>	<b>The Liberation War or Civil War 27 January - 16 May 1918</b>	<b>The Romanian Intervention 24 July - 3 August 1919 (Occupation until the end of 1919)</b>	<b>Liberation War 17 December 1917 - 12 June 1918 / The German and Austro- Hungarian intervention 18 February - 8 May 1918 (Occupation until the end of 1918)</b>	<b>Liberation War December 1917 – September 1918</b>
<b>Interventionist forces</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>Romania</b>	<b>Germany and Austro-Hungary</b>	<b>Germany</b>
<b>Leader of Monarchist Counter-revolution</b>	<b>Lieutenant-General Baron Carl Gustaf Mannerheim Regent and Commander-in-Chief</b>	<b>Vice-Admiral Miklós Horthy Regent and Commander-in-Chief</b>	<b>Lieutenant-General Pavlo Skoropadsky Hetman</b>	<b>Major-General Pyotr Krasnov Ataman</b>
<b>Period of Restoration</b>	<b>Until 17 July 1919</b>	<b>Until 16 October 1944</b>	<b>29 April – 17 December 1918</b>	<b>18 May 1918 – 15 February 1919</b>

## The Quantitative correlation between the manpower of the National Armies, the Interventionists, and the Reds

	The National Army 100 %	The Interventionists	The Reds
The Kingdom of Finland	40,000	11,000 27,5 %	70,000 175 %
The Kingdom of Hungary	6,500	90,000 1384 %	150,000 2308 %
The Ukrainian State	60,000 + 20,000 the Russian Whites	300,000 375 %	N/A
The Almighty Don Host	76,500 + 20,000 the Russian Whites	n/a	120,000 124%

# The colour diagram of the manpower of the National Whites (blue), the Interventionists (green), the Reds (yellow)



# Conclusions

- The monarchist counter-revolution did not emerge during the republican-democratic phase of the revolution but *arose as a response to the Bolshevism* as an anti-human ideology and political practice. At the same time, the monarchist counter-revolution implied the restoration pre-revolutionary (old) regime even the state retained the republican rule (for instance, the Ukrainian State, the Almighty Don Host). Such new republics became the bases of the Russian restoration.
- Ideologically, *the counter-revolution as a historic phenomenon can be classified into two types: the monarchist and the republican*. For instance, in the *Russian case, both types existed simultaneously*. However, in *Finland and Hungary, the monarchist type of counter-revolution dominated*.
- the *foreign intervention* was accompanied by some territorial aspiration from the supporter's party according to strategic aims or national project. For instance, the Kingdom of Sweden tried to incorporate the Aland Islands, the Kingdom of Finland - Karelia, the Kingdom of Romania - Bessarabia and the Hungarian territory as much as possible, and so did the Ukrainian State and the Almighty Don Host towards Russia. The role of the *foreign intervention* was *decisive in Russia, Ukraine, and Hungary*, and *insignificant in Finland and the Almighty Don Host*. Moreover, in fact, Romania saved Hungary from the long and murderous Civil War like as was in Russia.

- The political and military potential of the monarchist counter-revolution was high only in Finland, but in Russia and Hungary, it was weak and demanded foreign support.
- The peak of the monarchist counter-revolution in the territory of the former Russian Empire took place during the Brest-Litovsk system of international relations under the dominance of the German Empire. And, on the contrary, the Entente, Allied and Associated Powers supported the republican Anti-Bolshevik movements. Due to the Allies' pressure, two Kingdoms (Finland and Hungary) existed without the Kings.
- The monarchist counter-revolution in the former Russian Empire had a more politically realistic approach to the territorial issue and the self-determination of nations than the republican one, which was based on the nationalist principle "Russia One and Indivisible" and did not recognize even the independence of Finland. At the same time, this condition was not applied to the Hungarian case, where the principle "Historic Hungary" was dominated in the society as a whole.

Thank you for your attention!

Vielen Dank für Ihre Aufmerksamkeit!

Vă mulțumesc pentru atenție!

Благодаря за вниманието!

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Köszönöm a figyelmet!