

Biographical
Dictionary of
Central and Eastern
Europe in the
Twentieth Century

Edited by

Wojciech Roszkowski

and Jan Kofman

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Preface

This biographical dictionary has its own history. I started working on it nearly two decades ago, when the collapse of the communist empire in Central and Eastern Europe appeared imminent. The idea was born out of my reflection on the poor knowledge of the history and culture of Poland's neighbors in the "Lands Between"—the name given to the region between the uniting Europe and the Russian core of the Soviet empire by British historian Alan Parker. At that time, ignorance of the history of Central and Eastern Europe was evident not only in the West but perhaps even more so in the nations of the region, which were neighbors and belonged to one political bloc but were nonetheless isolated from one another. The thought of an increasingly likely political reorganization of the Lands Between occurred to me as early as the 1980s, partly under the influence of interwar "Promethean" ideas (decay of the Soviet Union into nation-states) and partly as a result of my observations of the deepening crisis of the Soviet empire. I believed that this kind of dictionary might play an important role in filling the information gaps and providing the knowledge necessary to build bridges between these nations—and between them and the rest of the world—in the future.

As the pace of history accelerated in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, I had many other things to keep me busy. Nevertheless, in the mid-1990s I decided to fulfill my original plan to make the twentieth-century history of the region more accessible to people through biographical notes on its key figures, because what interests me most in history, even in macro-scale history, is the fate of individuals. I was assisted in my work by the Central and Eastern Europe Department (*Zakład Europy rodkowej i Wschodniej*) of the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences (*Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk* [ISP PAN]) and some of its other staff. We gradually secured the cooperation of additional authors from outside the Institute, and even outside Poland. Their names are given in alphabetical order, regardless of how many entries they wrote—some contributed over a hundred entries, and others wrote only one or two.

It was a great challenge to form a team of competent authors who would abide by the formal requirements and keep the deadlines. Editing the texts was another challenge. It is well known that the quality of dictionaries and encyclopedias to a large extent depends on careful attention to detail in terms of content and form. In the case of such a complicated matter as the modern history of a dozen

or so nations using well over dozen languages, it was a very difficult task indeed. I had the first go at editing and was aware that I needed assistance in finding errors and mistakes in terms of substance, style, and form. Despite initial hesitation because of the size of the dictionary and numerous traps in the submitted texts, Professor Jan Kofman, Ph.D., known for his thoroughness and conscientiousness as well as for his excellent eye for linguistic abuse, finally agreed to be the second editor. The scale of Professor Kofman's editorial contribution to the final shape of the texts led me to persuade him to accept the role of co-editor of the whole dictionary.

We initially planned to establish a network of authors and editors from all the countries of the region, but that proved impractical; therefore, with some noteworthy exceptions, this dictionary was compiled and written mainly by Polish authors. Of course, the Polish perspective might seem one-sided, particularly in the case of countries that are Poland's neighbors. Therefore, objective presentation of the history of particular nations was another great challenge to the authors and editors of this dictionary. We might not have reached the ideal but it is worth keeping in mind how difficult the task was. We may not have satisfied proponents of radical views, but we believe that extreme views in historiography sow discord and are dangerous.

Preparing the list of entries was yet another challenge. There are numerous biographical dictionaries for particular countries of the region, varying in size and the degree of detail, so it was difficult to follow any particular model. We decided to focus on politicians, but we could not omit the main representatives of culture, because the social role of eminent artists or clergymen often surpassed that of politicians. However, we did not include sport or pop culture celebrities, except for representatives of art cinema. The reason for this was that we could not just add only a few representative figures of this kind from each country, and if we had included them all, the dictionary would have become even vaster.

Proportionate coverage of various countries was another question. We agreed that the larger countries should have more entries; however, irrespective of their population, we adopted a certain minimum for nations with their own statehood, even if only transitional. Some characters were linked with more than one country: the dictionary includes Hungarians from Transylvania and Slovakia, Ukrainians from Galicia, Albanians from Kosovo, and Jews from various countries and of varying degrees of as-

similation. The size of each biographical entry depends on the importance of the person, but we often allowed some adjustments, taking into account the span of their life or the availability of biographical sources.

The term “Central and Eastern Europe” must be explained. It has been and still is interpreted in various ways. In fact there is no consensus as to its geographical or political extent, and the understanding of this notion has also changed quite a bit over time. In this dictionary we adopted the broadest definition, the concept of the “Lands Between,” which generally corresponds to the European territory under communist rule after 1945. We excluded Germany, Austria, Russia, Finland, and Greece; we included the European countries that after World War II became satellites of the Soviet Union, as well as the European Soviet republics, which, in our opinion, differ from Russia culturally. The region covered in the dictionary is thus immensely varied historically, socially, economically, ethnically, and religiously; yet, it is precisely this diversity that defines the specific character of the area.

In this dictionary we tried to minimize evaluations. Nonetheless, the reader will certainly notice our critical attitude toward authoritarian, and particularly totalitarian, regimes. The authors and editors of this work cherish the rule of law, human rights, and the rights of national minorities, and value consistency of words and deeds. We also appreciate justified national interests. However, this biographical dictionary is neither a critical study nor a polemic; what the reader will find here is a reference work.

It is difficult to discuss in this short preface all the editorial principles adopted for the entries. The formal principles need no explanation. However, the use of some terms should be explained. For example, the reader may

notice that the term “politician” is used for political figures in pluralist, or even authoritarian, systems, whereas in the case of communist regimes we generally use the term “political activist.” We believe that the great majority of such persons served as functionaries of the system rather than as independent politicians. The term “post-communist” is to be understood as denoting affiliation with a movement or party that historically is rooted in a communist party and chose to preserve most of its communist legacy in the new situation after 1989.

Work on this dictionary lasted about five years. It could never have been completed without the support of the ISP PAN. In its research plans, the ISP PAN always provided funds for salaries and small fees for the authors, and the directors of the ISP PAN were invariably supportive of our work. Thus, credit for the completion of the dictionary in large part goes to the ISP PAN. However, I should also mention my two years with the Chair of Polish Studies at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville (2000–2002), where I compiled much material for the dictionary and wrote and edited a few hundred entries. Our thanks also go to Ms. Jolanta Kowalczyk, the Polish editor of the dictionary; to Rytm, the Warsaw-based publishers that took up the difficult task of publishing the work in Poland; to Ms. Marzena Zamłyńska, who translated most of the biographical entries into English; and to Dr. Marek Chodakiewicz, who is a contributor to the dictionary and assisted me in my work while I was in the United States. Our special thanks go to Professor Aleksander Manterys for his help with the East European type fonts used in the dictionary.

Wojciech Roszkowski

About the Editors

Wojciech Roszkowski is Full Professor of History at the Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences (IPS PAS), and the Warsaw School of Economics. He is also a Lecturer at the Collegium Civitas in Warsaw. He earlier served as Prorector of the Warsaw School of Economics (1990–93), Director of IPS PAS (1994–2000), a Wilson Center Fellow (1988), Visiting Professor at the University of Maryland, College Park (1989), and Kościuszko Chair of Polish Studies at the University of Virginia (2000–2). He is a specialist on the recent history of Poland and East Central Europe. Among his publications are *Landowners in Poland 1918–39* (East European Monographs/Columbia University Press, 1991), *Contemporary History of Poland 1914–1993* (in Polish; PWN, 1995; first published underground 1982–86), and (with Jan Kofman) *Transformation and Post-Communism* (in Polish; IPS PAS, 1999). Since 2004 he has been a member of the European Parliament.

Jan Kofman is Full Professor of History at the Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, and the Uniwersytet Podlaski in Białystok. He is also a Lecturer at the Collegium Civitas in Warsaw. Dr. Kofman was Editor-in-Chief of the underground quarterly *Krytyka* (1982–94) and a participant in the Round-Table Talks in 1989. He served as Editor-in-Chief (1990–99) and Director (1998–99) of the Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN Press in Warsaw. A specialist on the contemporary history of Poland and East Central Europe, he is the author of *Economic Nationalism and Development. Central and Eastern Europe between the Two World Wars* (Westview, 1997) and coauthor (with Wojciech Roszkowski) of *Transformation and Post-Communism* (in Polish; IPS PAS, 1999).

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Institutional Abbreviations

ASSR	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
CC	Central Committee
Cheka	Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
DEMOS	Democratic Opposition of Slovenia
GRU	Main Intelligence Administration (Military)
KGB	Committee for State Security (from 1954)
MGB	Ministry for State Security (from 1946)
MVD	Ministry of Internal Affairs (from 1946)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NKGB	People's Commissariat for State Security (3 February 1941–20 July 1941; and 1943–1946)
NKVD	People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (1934–1946)
NSZZ	Self-Governing Trade Union (Solidarity)
OGPU	Unified State Political Directorate
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PRL	People's Republic of Poland
RKP(b)	Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)
RSDWP	Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party
RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
UN	United Nations
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VKP(b)	All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)

Source Abbreviations

<i>Annuario Pontificio</i>	<i>Annuario pontificio per l'anno (Pontifical yearbook)</i> . Rome: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana.
<i>Biographisches Lexikon</i>	<i>Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas</i> , eds. Mathias Bernath and Felix v. Schroeder, vols. 1–4. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1976–1981.
Bugajski	Janusz Bugajski, <i>Political Parties of Eastern Europe. A Guide to Politics in the Post-Communist Era</i> . Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2002.
ČBS	<i>Český biografický slovník XX století</i> , Encyklopedický institut CSAV. Prague: Akademia, 1999.
<i>EL</i>	<i>Encyclopedia Lituanica</i> , vols. 1–4, Boston: J.Kapočius, 1970–1978.
Kunert	Andrzej Krzysztof Kunert, ed., <i>Słownik biograficzny konspiracji warszawskiej 1939–1944</i> , vols. 1–3. Warsaw: PAX, 1987–1991.
Lazitch	Branko Lazitch, ed., <i>Biographical Dictionary of the Comintern</i> , Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1973.
<i>MERSH</i>	Joseph L. Wiczyński, ed., <i>Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History</i> , vols. 1–59. Gulf Breeze, Fla.: Academic International Press, 1976–1996.
Mołdawa	Tadeusz Mołdawa, <i>Ludzie władzy 1944–1991</i> . Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1991.
<i>Polacy w historii . . .</i>	<i>Polacy w historii i kulturze krajów Europy Zachodniej. Słownik biograficzny</i> . Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1981.
<i>Posłowie . . .</i>	<i>Posłowie i senatorowie Rzeczypospolitej Polski 1919–1939. Słownik biograficzny</i> , vol. I, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 1998.
<i>PSB</i>	<i>Polski Słownik Biograficzny</i> .
<i>SBS</i>	Vladimír Mináč et al., eds., <i>Slovenský Biografický Slovník: Od roku 833 do roku 1990</i> . Martin: Matica Slovenska, 1986–1994.

Note: Names mentioned in boldface type have their own entries in the dictionary.

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A

ABAKANOWICZ Magdalena (20 June 1930, Falenty, near Warsaw), Polish artist. Abakanowicz studied in Gdańsk and Warsaw, where she graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in 1954. She took part in the First Tapestry Biennial in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1963, which helped her get a scholarship from the French government. While in France she studied the traditional art of weaving in the Gobelin style. After returning to Poland she started to create and exhibit original spatial tapestries, soon called the *abakans*. A gold medal at the Second Tapestry Biennial in Lausanne and a grand prix at the São Paulo Biennale in Brazil in 1965 opened the way to an international career. From the late 1960s Abakanowicz exhibited in the most prestigious galleries throughout the world, from Amsterdam and Stockholm to Venice and New York. In the early 1970s she concentrated on sculpting human figures (“Heads,” 1973, and “Alterations,” 1974), in the 1980s she partly returned to traditional sculpting (“War Games,” 1987), and in the 1990s she developed the idea of “arboreal art,” aiming at a transformation of the human habitat. In 1999 she received the prestigious Leonardo da Vinci Award, granted by the World Cultural Council. (WR)

Sources: *Wielka encyklopedia powszechna (PWN)*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 2001); *Contemporary Artists* (Chicago and London, 1987); *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 1 (London, 1996); Barbara Rose, *Magdalena Abakanowicz* (New York, 1994); *Magdalena Abakanowicz* (Warsaw, 1995).

ABDIĆ Fikret (29 September 1939, Dolni Vidovec, Bosnia), Bosnian political and economic activist. Born into a Muslim family, Abdić made a career in the Communist Party. In the mid-1980s he was involved in a huge financial scandal, when it appeared that Agrokomerc, the company of which he was the director, had drafted unprotected bills of exchange. The collapse of “Agrokomerc” cost the Yugoslav economy the equivalent of about half a billion dollars. Arrested and sentenced to a lengthy imprisonment, Abdić was released in 1990, and owing to his old connections and accumulated wealth, he became an influential politician. In the first presidential election in Bosnia in 1990 he gained most of the votes (868,000) but ceded the presidency to **Alija Izetbegović** in exchange for the position of minister of interior. In 1993, during the war among the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims and after prolonged discord with Izetbegović Abdić established the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia in the region of Bihać. This led to further fighting

against Muslim forces loyal to Izetbegović. In August 1994 Abdić’s troops were defeated and retreated from the Bihać pocket, but returned there in November 1994 thanks to the support of the army of the Serb Republic of Kraina and the Bosnian Serbs. NATO air raids on Bosnia forced Abdić to flee to Croatia in August 1995. Considered by many Bosnian Muslims to be a traitor, Abdić did not return to the political arena of Bosnia-Herzegovina after losing in the first post-war parliamentary election of 1996. Accused by the Hague Tribunal of war crimes in the former Yugoslavia, he went into hiding, where he remains. (WR)

Sources: K. W. Banta, “Financial Scandal Turns into Political Bombshell,” *Time*, 28 September 1987; Hrvoje Sosić, *Treće pokriće “Agrokomerc,”* (Zagreb, 1989); Ante Čuvalo, *Historical Dictionary of Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Lanham, Md., 1997); Željko E. Šuster, *Historical Dictionary of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia* (Lanham, Md., 1999); Bugajski; www.rulers.org.

ABETSEDARSKY Laurentsi (12 July 1916, Gorki–6 July 1975, Minsk), Belorussian Soviet historian. In 1946 Abetsedarsky graduated from the Belorussian State University in Minsk, where he began his scholarly and pedagogical career. He was head of the Department of Soviet History between 1950 and 1958. For the following ten years he headed the Department of History of the Belorussian SSR. In 1966 he became a full professor of history. Abetsedarsky treated the history of Belarus strictly as a part of the history of Russia. According to him, the peasant movements in Belarus in the middle of the seventeenth century were a manifestation of the Belorussian peasants’ aspirations to incorporate a part of the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania into the Muscovite state. He described the mass displacements of the population of eastern Belarus to the territories beyond the Urals in 1654–55 as actions corresponding to the will of those people, and resulting from their desire to escape the reign of the Polish nobility. He considered the unification of the eastern Slavic lands under Moscow’s dominance as a natural process that served the vital interests of the populations of Belarus and the Ukraine. He emphasized the right of tsarist Russia to possess these lands. He considered the Grand Duchy of Lithuania an alien state structure imposed on the Belorussian people by external forces. He considered the twentieth-century Belorussian national movement a nationalist degeneration. Abetsedarsky authored many supplementary materials for teaching the history of Belarus in the secondary schools; they were published in thirteen editions (1960–74). He also wrote a textbook that was reissued eleven times (1975–87). He was one of the authors of a five-volume official history of the Belorussian SSR. His works contributed to the Sovietization and Russification of the Belorussian intelligentsia. (EM)

Sources: “L. S. Abetsedarski: Niekroloh,” *Viesnik BDU*, 1975, no. 2; *Entsyklapiedyia historyi Bielarusi*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1993); *Bielaruskaia entsyklapiedyia*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1996); Rainer Lindner, *Historiker und Herrschaft. Nationsbildung und Geschichtspolitik in Weissrussland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1999).

ABRAMCHIK Mikalay (16 August 1903, Sychaviche, county of Vileika—29 May 1970, Paris), Belorussian émigré pro-independence activist, publicist. In 1920 Abramchik graduated from a Belorussian high school in Radoszkowicze. In 1924 he won a scholarship from the Czechoslovak government and the opportunity to study in Prague. (Such scholarships were funded to assist Belorussian youth and the Ukrainian citizens of Poland.) When the headquarters of the Belorussian People’s Republic was moved from Berlin to Prague in 1925, Abramchik became a close associate of the leaders of the Belorussian government-in-exile, **Vasil Zakharka** and **Pyotr Krecheuski**. At the beginning of the 1930s Abramchik went to France to organize Belorussian groups that were dispersed there. However, the Union of Belorussian Working Émigrés, which Abramchik established, did not play any major role. The day before the outbreak of World War II he left for Berlin, obtaining the consent of the government of the Third Reich to publish *Ranitsa*, a weekly in the Belorussian language. Initially addressed to Belorussian émigré circles, the weekly was later distributed in all the countries subjugated by Germany. As the editor of the weekly between 1939 and 1944, Abramchik promoted the idea of building a Belorussian state allied with Germany. In 1940 he established Belorussian committees in the Third Reich, Bohemia, and occupied Poland. The committees were to be rudiments of the Belorussian government if Germany was victorious in the expected war against the USSR. In mid-1944, in the face of the defeat of the German armed forces, he left Berlin for Paris. In 1945 he became involved in organizing help for Belorussians who had worked as forced laborers in Germany or who had been released from concentration camps and for refugees from the USSR. At a conference in Paris on 28 November 1947 Abramchik was elected president of the Council of the Belorussian People’s Republic, an émigré government that was in conflict with the Belorussian Central Council of **Radaslau Astrouski**. He held the position until the end of his life. In 1950 he published a brochure *I Accuse the Kremlin of the Genocide of My Nation*. In the 1950s and 1960s he also presided over the League for the Liberation of the Peoples of the USSR. (EM)

Sources: *Entsyklapiedyia historyi Bielarusi*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1993); *Bielaruskaia entsyklapiedyia*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1996); Nicholas P. Vakar,

Belorussia: The Making of a Nation (Cambridge, Mass., 1956); Jan Zaprudnik, *Historical Dictionary of Belarus* (Lanham, Md., 1998).

ABRAMOWSKI Edward (17 August 1868, Stefanin, near Vasilkov, Ukraine—21 July 1918, Warsaw), Polish philosopher and social activist. Abramowski was born into a landowner’s family. After his mother died the family moved to Warsaw where he had private tutors; one of them was the famous poet Maria Konopnicka. At fifteen Abramowski published his first article in *Zorza*. In 1885 he began natural science studies in Kraków, and in 1886–89 he continued his studies in Geneva. There he became active in the Socialist movement, co-founding the Library of a Polish Socialist. At the beginning of 1889 Abramowski returned to Kraków, from where he went to Warsaw. In Warsaw, he was a co-founder of the Second Proletariat Party. In 1891 he established the Workers’ Union (Zjednoczenie Robotnicze), promoting Socialist ideology among workers. He wrote a series of brochures, such as *Rewolucja robotnicza* (The workers’ revolution; 1892), and an extensive sociological study, *Spoleczeństwo rodowe* (Ancestral society; 1890). After the death of his new wife, Stanisława, in 1892 Abramowski suffered a nervous breakdown and returned to Geneva, where he took part in the formation of the Polish Socialist Party (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna [PPS]) and joined the party central (Centralizacja). He was the author of a proposed PPS program that set the independence of Poland through class struggle as a party goal. At that time, however, this program was not accepted.

Abramowski settled in Paris, but at the request of the Russian police he was expelled from France in January 1893. He went to London, and then to Zurich, where he wrote a brochure *Wszystkim robotnikom i górnikom polskim na dzień 1 maja—socjaliści polscy* (For all Polish workers and miners on May 1st Day—From Polish Socialists). Socialists-Internationalists held back the distribution of the brochure because of the independence aims it outlined. In 1894 Abramowski moved to Geneva, where he conducted sociological and psychological research. He worked out his own concept of Marxism, linked with sociological phenomenalism. In *Pierwiastki indywidualne w socjologii* (Individual elements in sociology; 1899) and *Zagadnienia socjalizmu* (Issues of socialism; 1899) he called for a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, and stateless socialism based on a “moral revolution.”

In 1897 Abramowski returned to Warsaw and began to establish “spiritual societies.” Many radical intellectuals, including **Stefan Żeromski**, were influenced by these societies. In 1905 from the underground, Abramowski published *Zmowa powszechna przeciw rządowi* (General

conspiracy against the government), where he proposed a general boycott as a way to struggle against tsarism. After the revolution of 1905 Abramowski exerted important influence on the development of the Polish cooperative movement and ideology. In 1906 he organized the Cooperative Society (Towarzystwo Kooperatystów). In his works *Nasza Polityka* (Our policy; 1906) and *Idee społeczne kooperatywności* (Social ideas of cooperativism; 1906), he presented the theory of the movement. Between 1908 and 1910 he worked on the theory of memory in Brussels and Paris. It was then that he joined a Masonic lodge called Wielki Wschód (Great East). After his return to Warsaw in 1910 he organized the Psychological Institute, conducting practical experiments. In 1915 he was appointed professor of psychology at the revived University of Warsaw, where he lectured on “experimental metaphysics.” The results of his work were: *Badania doświadczalne nad pamięcią* (An experimental study of memory, 3 vols.; 1910–12) and *Źródła podświadomości i jej przejawy* (Sources of the subconscious and its aspects; 1914). Because of deteriorating health, Abramowski was not politically active during World War I. However, he supported the policy of **Józef Piłsudski** and the Polish Military Organization (Polska Organizacja Wojskowa). (WR)

Sources: Andrzej Walicki, “Stanisław Brzozowski i Edward Abramowski,” *Studia Filozoficzne* 1975, no. 5; Maria Dąbrowska, *Życie i dzieło Edwarda Abramowskiego* (Warsaw, 1925); Kazimierz Krzeczkowski, *Dzieje życia i twórczości Edwarda Abramowskiego* (Warsaw, 1933); Oskar Lange, *Socjologia i idee społeczne Edwarda Abramowskiego* (Kraków, 1928); Bohdan Cywiński, “Myśl polityczna Edwarda Abramowskiego,” in: *Polska myśl polityczna XIX i XX*, vol. 2 (Wrocław 1978).

ABRANTOWICZ Fabian (14 September 1884, Novogrudok [Navahrudak]–1940?), Belorussian priest and social worker. Abrantowicz was educated in Novogrudok and graduated from the Catholic Theological Academy in St. Petersburg. Ordained in November 1908, in 1910–12 he studied at the Catholic University in Louvain, Belgium, where he received a Ph.D. in philosophy in 1912. From 1914 to 1918 he lectured in philosophy at the St. Petersburg Theological Academy. In May 1918 he co-founded the Belorussian Christian Democratic Union in Petrograd and co-initiated a congress of Belorussian Catholic clergy in Minsk. In 1918 he became rector of the theological seminary in Minsk and, along with Bishop Zygmunt Łoziński, he offered the first Catholic Holy Mass in Belorussian. In 1921–26 Abrantowicz was prelate of the Pinsk chapter of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1926 he moved to a monastery of the Marist order in Druya, where a number of Belorussian Catholic priests had gathered to support lay

Catholic publishing activity. Abrantowicz published a lot, demanding a wider use of Belorussian in the Novogrudok (Nowogródek) region and Polesie. In June 1928 he was sent by the Vatican to Harbin to carry on missionary activities among Russian émigrés. In the fall of 1939 he returned to the Soviet-occupied area of prewar Poland, but he was arrested by the NKVD. For a few months he was kept in the Lwów (Lviv) prison. Later Abrantowicz was deported deep into Russia, where he disappeared. (EM)

Sources: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 1 (Lublin, 1973); *Encyklopedia historii Białorusi*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1993); *Bielaruskaya entsyklopedyia*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1996); Vitaut Kipel and Zora Kipel eds., *Byelorussian Statehood* (New York, 1988); *Skazani jako “szpiedzy Watykanu”* (Ząbki, 1998).

ÁCHIM András Liker (15 March 1871, Békéscsaba–15 May 1911 Békéscsaba), Hungarian politician. Born into a rich peasant family in the region that became the cradle of the radical peasant movement, Áchim graduated from high school; from 1894 he managed a five-hundred-acre farm. A member of the county council in Békéscsaba and of the provincial assembly, in August 1904 he became a member of the Reformed Social Democratic Party and headed its local organization. In March 1906 he founded the Independent Socialist Peasant Union, which attracted farm workers, and became its leader. At the same time he became editor-in-chief of the party weekly, *Paraszt Újság*. Áchim was elected to the parliament three times (1905, 1906, and 1910–11), but in 1906 the electoral court annulled his mandate on account of electoral abuse (voters had been bought off with food and alcohol). Áchim advocated protection of the village poor, state redemption of entailed estates and church property and their lease to the peasants, abolishment of the upper house of parliament (House of Lords), free education for country folk, and electoral laws for secret ballots. Beginning in 1906 Áchim presided over the All-National Trade Union of Farmers, Smallholders, and Lifters. More than six hundred delegates from four hundred villages took part in its congress in June 1908. In April and May 1911, in gatherings and in his writings Áchim vigorously attacked local politicians, mainly his chief opponent, Endre Zsilinszky. On 14 May 1911, a quarrel with Zsilinszky’s sons, **Endre (Bajcsy-Zsilinszky** as of 1925) and Gábor, in Áchim’s home turned into a fight. Áchim was shot and died the next day. The case was widely publicized, but a few months later the court in Budapest acquitted both brothers, stating they had acted in self-defense. (JT)

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; *Magyar Nagylexikon*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 1993); *Új Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon*, vol. 1 (Budapest 2001); János Tibori, *Az Áchim L. András-féle békéscsabai parasztszöveg*

(Budapest, 1958); József Domokos, *Áchim L. András* (Budapest, 1971); Joseph Held, ed., *The Modernization of Agriculture: Rural Transformation in Hungary 1848–1975* (Boulder, Colo., 1980).

ACZÉL György (31 August 1917, Budapest–6 December 1991, Budapest), Hungarian Communist activist. After the death of his father Aczél was brought up in an orphanage. While still at school he began to work in construction. He took part in the youth Zionist movement called Somér. In 1935 he joined the illegal Communist Party. In 1936 he studied in a theater academy for half a year and later performed as an amateur actor. At the beginning of 1942 he was arrested and incorporated into work service, but he managed to quit. Under the German occupation (after March 1944) and the rule of the Arrow Cross Party (after October 1944) Aczél was active in the resistance, saving several hundred Jews. After the war he worked in the Budapest organization of the Hungarian Communist Party (HCP). From August 1946 he was the secretary of the party of Komitat Zémlen and from May 1948, of Komitat Baranya. In 1947–49 he was a deputy to the National Assembly. He was a member of the Central Committee (CC) of the Hungarian Workers' Party (HWP), which was formed at the “unification congress” of two workers' parties in June 1948. In June 1949 he was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment in one of the trials accompanying the fake proceedings against **László Rajk**. Released in August 1954, he was rehabilitated a few weeks later. In the fall of 1954 he became the director of a building company.

On 3 November 1956 Aczél became a district organizational secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP), which was founded after the dissolution of the HWP. On 4 November he joined **János Kádár**. On 11 November, at a meeting of the executive of the HSWP, Aczél opted for a Yugoslav-style neutrality and insisted on the continuation of talks with **Imre Nagy**. During a debate on the resolution of the “four causes of the counterrevolution,” which went on at the beginning of December, Aczél represented the “softer line”; therefore in February 1957 he had to carry out a self-criticism. Between April 1957 and February 1958 he was a vice-minister of culture and then until April 1967 the first vice-minister of culture. He had a much greater influence on Hungarian cultural policy than his formal powers would suggest. He owed this to his frequent personal contacts with Kádár. Aczél was the creator of the guidelines for the cultural policy, which were later referred to as “the three Ts” (*támogatás*—support; *tűrés*—tolerance; *tiltás*—forbidding). He had direct influence upon most decisions concerning cultural life, behaving like a one-man state patronage. The majority

of society and the elite approved, while outstanding writers and poets dedicated their works to him.

At the Ninth Congress of the HSWP in 1966 Aczél joined the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the CC, and in April 1967 he was elected secretary of the CC, supervising the work of the Department of Science, Education, and Culture. In March 1969 he became the director of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the CC. At the Tenth Congress of the party in November 1970 he joined the Politburo. From 1971 he was a member of parliament again. In April of the same year Aczél became the president of the Working Group for Cultural Policy Affairs, which was created at that time within the CC. He held the post until 1975. In 1968 he began to take part in the implementation of “the new economic mechanism,” and when the process was stopped in 1974, he was dismissed from his post in the CC. However, he retained his membership in the Politburo and became deputy prime minister and president of the State Educational Council. He held that post until 1976 and in 1980–82. In 1975 his book-interview, *Entretiens avec György Aczél*, was published in French and then in many other languages. In it, he argued with the French rightist politician Alain Peyrefitte. In 1979 Aczél submitted a resolution to the Politburo of the HSWP, denouncing the Hungarian signatories of Charter 77. At the beginning of the 1980s his heated discussions with the minister of culture, **Imre Pozsgay**, led to the resignation of both. In June 1982 Aczél ceased to be vice-premier and again became the secretary of the CC for cultural affairs. At the Thirteenth Congress of the HSWP in 1985 he was dismissed from most of his posts and then was appointed director of the Institute of Social Sciences of the CC. Between 1985 and 1990 he was again an MP. At the national conference of the HSWP in 1988 he did not run for the Politburo but retained his membership in the CC. At the meeting of the CC in June 1989 Aczél played a major role in the overthrow of **Károly Grósz** and the exchange of one-man leadership for a four-person executive board. (JT)

Sources: Bennet Kovrig, *Communism in Hungary from Kun to Kádár* (Stanford, 1979); Miklós Molnár, *From Béla Kun to János Kádár: Seventy Years of Hungarian Communism* (New York, 1990); *Magyar Nagylexikon* (Budapest, 1993), vol. 1; Sándor Révész, *Aczél és korunk* (Budapest, 1997); *A magyar forradalom és szabadságharc enciklopédiája*, CD-ROM (Budapest, 1999).

ADAMEC Ladislav (10 September 1926, Frenštát, near Radhošť), Czech Communist activist. The graduate of a trade academy, Adamec joined the Czechoslovak Communist Party (CPC) in 1946, and in the 1950s he worked in the political and economic apparatus in his hometown.

Between 1960 and 1962 he was deputy chairman of the Provincial National Council in Ostrava. In 1961 he graduated from a higher political school of the CPC Central Committee (CC), and in 1967 he received a Ph.D. from the Higher Economic School in Prague. From 1963 to 1969 Adamec was chairman of the CPC CC Industry Commission, from 1963 to 1971 member of its Economic Commission, and from 1966 member of the CPC CC. During the Prague Spring of 1968 he stood aside. From 1969 to 1990 he was a member of the Czech National Council and from 1969 to 1987 deputy prime minister of the Czech government. He reached the top rungs of Communist power when communism began to erode. In 1987 Adamec became a member of the Presidium of the CPC CC, then prime minister of the Czech Republic, and from March 1987 to October 1988 he was deputy prime minister of the federal government. After the resignation of **Lubomír Štrougal**, on 12 October 1988 Adamec became prime minister of Czechoslovakia. Despite the growing social tensions, he stubbornly resisted reforms. It was only after 17 November 1989 that he tried to save the system by reaching a compromise with the democratic opposition, and he entered into talks with the Civic Forum (Občanské Forum [CF]). At first, the CF delegation, as well as its Slovak equivalent, Public against Violence (Verejnost' Proti Násiliu), offered Adamec the position of president, but the evolution of a new system accelerated. On 24 November 1989 Adamec was dismissed from the CPC CC Presidium, and on 7 December, from the position of prime minister. From 21 December 1989 to 1 September 1990 he presided over the CPC, and in the first free elections in June 1990 he won a mandate in the Federal Assembly. After his term was over in June 1992, he retired. (PU)

Sources: ČBS; *Kdo byl kdo v našich dějinách ve 20. století*, vol. 1 (Prague, 1998); *Českoslovenští politici 1918/1991* (Prague, 1991); *Who's Who in the Socialist Countries of Europe*, vol. 1 (Munich, London, and Paris, 1989).

ADAMKUS Valdas [originally Adamkavičius] (3 November 1926, Kaunas), engineer and politician, president of Lithuania. Born into a white-collar family, Adamkus started high school but had to quit owing to the Soviet invasion of 1940 and the German invasion of 1941. During the German occupation he published and distributed an underground periodical, *Jaunime, budek!* In July 1944 along with his family he left for Germany. In the fall of 1944 he returned to join anti-Soviet guerrillas. He took part in a battle against the NKVD troops at Seda, but seeing the hopelessness of the situation, he came back to Germany. He graduated from high school in Munich and entered university there. He worked at the YMCA, organizing sports events for dis-

placed persons from various countries. He was an athlete himself and won several gold medals at the Olympics of Captive Nations in 1948. In 1949 his family, along with the family of former president **Kazys Grinius**, left for the United States. Adamkus worked as a blue-collar laborer in an automobile factory in Chicago and as a draftsman in an engineering company, and he organized cultural events for Lithuanian émigrés. Among other things, he presided over the Lithuanian Student Center, Santara. In 1960 he graduated in engineering from the Illinois Institute of Technology. From 1958 to 1965 he was deputy chairman and from 1967 chairman of the Lithuanian cultural and political federation Santara-Sviesa, and he organized protests against the Soviet occupation of Lithuania. For instance, he handed a petition on this matter to U.S. President John F. Kennedy and to the UN secretary general.

In the 1970s Adamkus worked for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), among other positions as head of the EPA Great Lakes ecological project. He was also active in the Republican Party. Starting in 1972 he visited Soviet Lithuania within the framework of ecological cooperation. He supported the construction of waste treatment plants and the development of environmental monitoring, making contacts with opposition circles and bringing émigré literature. He helped Lithuanian specialists come to study in the United States, cooperating with Vilnius University, especially during the *perestroika* period. In 1988 he received an international ecological award and in 1989, an honorary doctorate from Vilnius University. In 1991 he supported efforts for the international recognition of Lithuania's independence, and after the fall of the USSR and reconstruction of a sovereign Lithuanian state, he increasingly was engaged in its public life. In the presidential campaign of 1993 he supported Stasys Lozoraitis Jr., who nevertheless lost. In 1996 Adamkus participated in the parliamentary campaign of the Lithuanian Center Union (Lietuvos Centro Sąjunga). In 1997 he became a member of the city council of Šiauliai.

In the first round of the presidential elections on 21 December 1997, Adamkus came in second, but in the second round (4 January 1998), thanks to the support of **Vytautas Landsbergis**, he won by a narrow margin of fourteen thousand votes (50.4 percent). He was sworn in on 26 February 1998. He gave up his U.S. citizenship, but making use of his American contacts (in 1993 President Bill Clinton personally thanked him for his work in the EPA), he promoted pro-Western policies in Lithuania, striving for its entry into NATO and the European Union. He supported settling accounts with the Soviet and German past, establishing a special commission for the investigation of Nazi and Communist crimes in 1940–91. He developed

contacts with Scandinavian countries and European Union members; he normalized relations with Russia and Poland. In January 2003 he ran for re-election but lost to **Rolandas Paksas**. After Paksas was impeached, Adamkus was again elected president on 27 June 2004. (WR)

Sources: *Wielka encyklopedia PWN*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 2001); *Lietuva, Žengiantij XXI amžiu. Valdo Adamkaus rinkimų programa* (Vilnius, 1997); *Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States 1999* (London, 1999); Bugajski; Piotr Łossowski, *Litwa* (Warsaw, 2001); www.president.lt; www.rulers.org

ADAMOVICH Ales (3 September 1927, Kaniukhy, near Kopylsk–26 January 1994, Moscow), Belorussian writer and literary critic. Between 1943 and 1944 Adamovich was active in the Soviet underground in the region of Bobruysk. After the war he studied at the metallurgical technical college in Leninogorsk in the Altai *krai* (region); between 1945 and 1950 he studied in the Philology Department of the Belorussian State University in Minsk, and then in 1954–62 and 1967–83 he worked at the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Belorussian SSR. Between 1964 and 1966 he lectured on Belorussian literature at Lomonosov University in Moscow. In 1987 he became director of the Cinematography Institute in Moscow. He was a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and from 1989 a member of the Belorussian PEN club. He began his literary activities as a critic. His theoretical considerations of literature and his analyses of the literary works of the main representatives of Belorussian literature appeared in Belorussian and in Russian. He authored such works as *Kultura tvarchosti* (The culture of creation; 1959), *Haryzonty bialoruskoi prozy* (Horizons of Belorussian prose; 1974) and *Vaina i vioska u suchasnai literatury* (War and the countryside in contemporary literature; 1982). He made his debut as a writer with a two-volume novel, *Partizany* (Partisans; 1960–63), which was devoted to the Soviet resistance movement in Belorussia. In all his works, fitted into the official current of Soviet culture, he dealt with war issues. His greatest fame came from his works *Khatynskaia apoviests* (Khatyn story; 1972) (from which the script of the film *Idi i smatri* [Come and see; 1985], by Elem Klimov, was based) and *Vybiery zhyttsio* (Choose life; 1986), which warned against the destruction of civilization. (EM)

Sources: *Wielka encyklopedia powszechna*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 2001); *Bielaruskaya pismienniki 1917–1990* (Minsk, 1994); *Bielaruskaya pismienniki: Biibibliografichny slounik*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1995); *Bielaruskaya entsyklopedyia*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1994); *New York Times*, 31 January 1994.

ADAMOVICH Anton, pseudonyms “Biryeh” and “Zabransky” (26 June 1909, Minsk–12 June 1998, New York),

Belorussian émigré historian and theorist of literature. Adamovich studied at the Belorussian Pedagogical and Technical Institute in Minsk and, beginning in 1928, at the Belorussian State University. Arrested in 1930 for being a member of a nonexistent organization, the Union of Liberation of Belorussia, he was held in Glazov and in Viatka. In 1938 he was allowed to return to Minsk, where he completed his university studies. During the German occupation he took part in the formation of the structures of the Belorussian administration. In 1941–43 he was a member of the leadership of the Belorussian People’s Mutual Aid, and then he joined the Belorussian Central Council, which was created in December 1943 and aspired to be a state government allied with Germany. Adamovich was active in the Belorussian Scientific Society and cooperated with the editorial offices of the newspapers *Mienskaia Hazieta*, *Bielaruskaya Hazieta*, and *Ranitsa* (Berlin). After the war he was in West Germany, where he edited the magazines *Viedamki*, *Batskaushchina*, *Sakavik*, and *Konadni* for émigrés from Belorussia. He was co-founder of the Munich Institute for Research on Problems of the USSR and first director of the Belorussian section of Radio Svaboda. In 1960 he emigrated to the United States. In his historical works, *Balshavism na shliakhakh stanauliennia kantrolu nad Belarussiu* (Bolshevism on the way to establishing control over Belarus; 1954) and *Balshavism u revalutsyinyim rukhu na Belarusi* (Bolshevism in the Belorussian revolutionary movement; 1956), Adamovich demonstrated that the Bolshevik ideology did not have any traditions in Belorussia and was alien to the inhabitants of the Belorussian land and that Communist rule had been brought on the bayonets of the Red Army soldiers. In America, Adamovich was involved in analyzing the literary works of such Belorussian poets and writers as **Natalya Arsenneva**, **Maxim Bahdanovich**, **Ales Harun**, and **Yakub Kolas**. He wrote prefaces to anthologies of their works. Adamovich was the author of *Opposition to Sovietization in Belorussian Literature 1917–1957* (1958). (EM)

Sources: *Entsyklopedyia historyi Bielarusi*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1993); *Bielaruskaya entsyklopedyia*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1996).

ADAMOVICH Yazep (7 January 1897, Borisov–22 April 1937, Minsk), Belorussian Communist activist. Adamovich came from a working-class background. At ten he began to work in factories in Borisov, Minsk, and Tiflis. Drafted into the tsarist army in 1914, he fought on the southwestern front and on the Romanian front. In 1916 he joined the Russian Social Democratic Workers’ Party, and he agitated among soldiers. After the February 1917 revolution he worked in the staff of the Red Guards in

Smolensk. In July 1918 he became head of the Smolensk garrison of the Red Guards and also a Bolshevik commissar of the *guberniya* (province) of Smolensk. He led the struggle against anti-Bolshevik groupings in Smolensk, Vitebsk, and Homel Provinces. In September 1920 he was appointed commissar for military affairs of the Belorussian SSR, and in 1921 he assumed the post of commissar of the interior and deputy president of the Council of People's Commissars of the Belorussian SSR. He was responsible for the persecution of the opponents of Bolshevism. As a representative of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Belorussia, he took part in the formation of the USSR. In 1924 he became president of the Council of People's Commissars of the Belorussian SSR. He participated in the policy of Beloruthenization of public life, which was conducted on a large scale. Educational and cultural institutions, the press, the administration, and party structures were obliged to use the Belorussian language only. However, as 1927 saw the gradual abandonment of the nationalist policy, Adamovich was removed from his post. Another reason for his removal was his support for the New Economic Policy (NEP). Adamovich was initially transferred to work in the Soviet central administration, and he served, for example, as head of the USSR sugar industry department. In 1932 he was sent to Kamchatka, where he organized the fisheries. With the wave of persecutions of the nationalist elite of the Soviet republics, he was accused of Belorussian nationalism and of supporting the kulaks when he was head of the administration in Belarus. According to official information, Adamovich committed suicide. (EM)

Sources: *MERSH*, vol. 1; S. Shamardzin, "Staronki z biiahrafi Yazepa Adamovicha," *Polymia*, 1966, no. 4; Ivan S. Lubachko, *Belorussia under Soviet Rule, 1917–1957* (Lexington, KY 1972); *Encyklopedyia historyi Belarusi*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1994).

ADAMSKI Stanisław (12 April 1875, Zielona Góra, near Szamotuły–12 November 1967, Katowice), Polish Catholic bishop. One of seven children of a trackwalker, in 1896 Adamski graduated from high school. He studied at a theological seminary in Poznań and Gniezno, and in November 1899 he was ordained. He worked as a curate in Gniezno. Politically active, from 1904 to 1910 Adamski was secretary general of the diocesan Union of Catholic Societies of Polish Workers (*Związek Katolickich Towarzystw Robotników Polskich*). He established educational, cultural, and mutual aid societies in the dioceses of Gniezno and Poznań. He founded and edited the weekly *Robotnik* (The worker). Adamski worked together with cooperative activists rallied around Reverend Piotr Wawrzyniak. In 1906 he became a member of the board of the Association of Commercial

Cooperatives (*Związek Spółek Zarobkowych i Gospodarczych*) as a member of the patronage and in 1910 as the patron of the association. From 1906 he worked at the St. Wojciech Printing House and Bookstore (*Drukarnia i Księgarnia św. Wojciecha*); in 1911 he became its general manager and in 1923 president of its supervisory board. In 1919 he was a founding member of Poznań University, and he lectured on the cooperative movement at the Department of Law and Economics.

After the outbreak of World War I Adamski became involved in pro-independence activities. In 1916 he became head of a secret organization that was preparing for the revival of Polish statehood in Poznań. In 1918–19 he was a member of the commissariat of the National People's Council (*Naczelna Rada Ludowa*). From April 1918 he belonged to the National Workers' Party (*Narodowe Stronnictwo Robotników [NSR]*), and as a representative of the party he entered the Constituent Sejm (1919–22). When in 1919 the NSR split, Adamski became head of the Polish Christian Democratic Party (*Polskie Stronnictwo Chrześcijańskiej Demokracji [PSCChD]*). Between 1922 and 1927 he was senator. After the coup of May 1926, disappointed with the rule of the *sanacja* regime, he withdrew from active politics. In 1930 he became the first general manager of the Institute of Catholic Action. On 2 September 1930 he was appointed ordinary bishop of Katowice. Co-founder of the statute of Catholic Action, in 1932 he became president of the executive committee of the Press Committee of the Polish Episcopate. He contributed greatly to promoting the use of the mass media in evangelical work.

Under strong pressure from Nazi authorities after 1939, Adamski was an advocate of hiding one's true national convictions from these authorities. He sent two lengthy memorials on this issue to the Holy See and to the Polish government in France. The government of General **Władysław Sikorski** initially accepted such activities with reservation but finally rejected them. In the fall of 1939 Adamski privately advised Silesian believers that they should submit declarations "leaning toward the German identity"; Adamski, however, declared himself Polish. He developed charity activities with the assistance of Caritas, which existed officially, and he also developed unofficial actions of sending parcels to internment and concentration camps. He informed the Holy See about the persecutions of the clergy of the Katowice diocese. In June 1940, because of blackmail by German gangs, Adamski instructed priests to restrict the use of the Polish language in pastoral work, with the exception of the confession box. He repeatedly intervened with the German authorities on behalf of imprisoned priests. Recognized as an enemy of the Third

Reich, in February 1941 Adamski was displaced from the Katowice diocese to the General Gouvernement (the official name of a Nazi-occupied area in central Poland). He arrived in Warsaw, where he lived with his family. He got involved in underground activities—for example, he became honorary president of the Civic Council of the Western Territories, which was established by the West Office of the Delegation of the Polish Government-in-Exile for the Homeland. During the Warsaw Uprising he was the only bishop to perform pastoral services. After the fall of the rising he went for a short time to Jasna Góra, and then in February 1945 he returned to Katowice.

In the fall of 1945 Adamski allowed clergymen whom he had chosen to work in the national councils at different levels. He intervened with local and central authorities against the abuses that took place during the response to the results of the so-called *Volksliste* (German national list) in Upper Silesia. His argument—expounded, for example, in his work *Pogląd na rozwój sprawy narodowościowej w Województwie Śląskim w czasie okupacji niemieckiej* (A view on the development of the nationalist issue in the Silesian Province during the German occupation)—was adopted by the governor (*wojewoda*) of Dąbrowa Silesia, Aleksander Zawadzki, who was able to convince the central authorities to moderate their restrictive policy toward the Polish-speaking natives of Upper Silesia. Adamski was involved in restoring a ministry in the Wrocław diocese; for example, he proposed the creation of a separate vicariate-general for Opole Silesia (Śląsk Opolski). From 1947 he repeatedly campaigned for the freedom to teach religion, which had been reduced by the authorities. In October 1952 he called on Catholics in the Katowice diocese to collect signatures for a petition to the Council of State demanding the restoration of religion classes in schools. Around seventy thousand signatures were collected. Communist authorities considered this action as anti-state. It demanded that the Episcopate condemn Adamski's activities. Since the Episcopate refused to do so, on 7 November 1952, under a decree by the Special Committee for Struggle against Fraud and Economic Sabotage, Adamski was expelled from the diocese for five years. He went to an Ursuline convent in Lipnica near Otorowo, county of Szamotuły. He was under constant surveillance by the secret police there. He returned to Katowice on 5 November 1956. He published over three hundred works. (AGr)

Sources: *Wielkopolski słownik biograficzny* (Warsaw and Poznań, 1981); K. Szaraniec, *Ks. Stanisław Adamski*, parts 1–3 (Katowice, 1990–91); *Księża społecznicy w Wielkopolsce 1894–1919. Słownik biograficzny*, vol. 1 (Gniezno, 1992); Andrzej Grajewski, *Wygnanie* (Katowice, 1995); *Słownik biograficzny Katolickiego Duchowieństwa Śląskiego XIX i XX wieku* (Katowice, 1996).

ADY Endre (22 November 1877, Érmindszent, Transylvania–27 January 1919, Budapest), Hungarian poet. Ady came from an impoverished Calvinist gentry family. He started writing as a student at a Calvinist high school in Zilah (1892–96). During his law studies in Debrecen and Budapest, which he failed to complete, he mixed the writing of poems with that of columns and articles for the local press. In 1903 he met Adél Brüll, the wife of a wealthy merchant. His passionate love for her made a strong impact on his future life. In 1904 he followed her to Paris and to Bavaria and Italy, where, among other things, he studied the poetry of Charles Baudelaire and Paul Verlaine. Enchanted by their poetry, he translated it into Hungarian. In 1906 Ady published his first volume, *Új versek* (New poems), which was a breakthrough in his career and made him one of the champions of Hungarian literary life. Apart from passionate love poems, the volume included a poetic vision of the Hungarian past and present. Ady also expressed his prophetic fears of turmoil and defeats that Hungary was soon to experience. After returning home, he settled in Budapest, where in 1907–12 he published five other volumes: *Vér és arany* (Gold and blood); *Az Illés szekereiny* (Chariots of Elijah); *Szeretném, ha szeretnének* (I would like to if they wanted); *A minden titkok versei* (Poems of all secrets); and *Menekülő élet* (Passing life). Apart from developing earlier motifs, including fears of a revolution, these volumes recorded the existential struggles of the author and his longing for a wider presence of God in the world. At this time Ady drew closer to the literary vanguard centered on the periodical *Nyugat* (1908–41).

In 1912 Ady became a member of a Masonic lodge in Martinovics. He broke off his romance with Brüll, entering into correspondence and then marrying a landowner's daughter, Berta Boncza. His subsequent volumes—*A magunk szerelme* (Our own love; 1913), *Ki látott engem?* (Who saw me? 1914), *A halottak élén* (In the van of the dead; 1918), and the posthumous *Az utolsó hajók* (Last ships; 1919)—reflected the perplexities of a man torn apart by a growing fear of death (he suffered from advanced syphilis) and a declining enthusiasm concerning his own future and that of his country, a man fearfully watching the development of the war and the emerging European order. In November 1918 he took part in the parliamentary session, at which the Hungarian Republic was proclaimed. He became chairman of the literary association Vörösmarty Akadémia. His funeral turned into a large patriotic manifestation by the residents of Budapest. His literary greatness consisted in the symbolism and personal nature of his lyrics. At the same time he largely influenced the Hungarian national consciousness by mythologizing

its past problems and by preaching the hopelessness of individual struggle against the Hungarian “wasteland” and the fragility of independence aspirations of the small Central European nations. (MS)

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; Aladár Schöpflin, *Ady Endre* (Budapest, 1934); Watson Kirkconnell, *The Poetry of Ady* (Budapest, 1937); Guglielmo Capacchi, *La poesie di Andrea Ady in una nuova traduzione* (Bologna, 1957); Mary Gluck, *Endre Ady: An East European Response to the Cultural Crisis of the Fin de Siecle* (New York, 1977).

AFTENIE Vasile (14 July 1899, Londroman–10 May 1950, Bucharest), Romanian Greek Catholic bishop, martyr for faith. Aftenie graduated from high school in 1918. In 1917 he was drafted into the army and spent a couple months on the front, mainly in Italy. In 1919 he started theological studies in Blaj and continued them in Rome, where he received a Ph.D. in philosophy and theology in 1925. After returning home, in January 1926 he was ordained, and the following month he became professor at the Theological Academy in Blaj. In 1939 he was appointed rector of this school, and in 1940 he was nominated auxiliary bishop of the Greek Catholic metropolis of Blaj (diocese of Alba Iulia-Făgăraș) and vicar general of Bucharest. After the war, the Communist authorities began the persecution of Greek Catholics and their priests and bishops; on 28 October 1948 Aftenie was arrested along with all five other Greek Catholic bishops and about six hundred priests. The official reason for his arrest was the possession of a letter from **Iuliu Maniu**. Together with the other bishops, Aftenie was imprisoned in a monastery in Dragoslavele, a summer residence of the Orthodox patriarch of Romania converted into a prison. On 1 December 1948 the Greek Catholic church was banned, and its structure was integrated into the Romanian Orthodox Church. At the end of February 1949 all the bishops were moved to the Căldărușani Monastery near Bucharest. Aftenie was accused of maintaining contacts with partisans resisting the Communist power in the Transylvanian mountains. Interrogated many times in the Ministry of Interior headquarters in Bucharest, he was put in a villa in Sinaia, where **Gheorghiu Gheorghiu-Dej** and Patriarch **Justinian** tried to make him agree to join the Orthodox Church and offered him the position of Metropolitan of Iași. When Aftenie refused, he was put in the Jilava prison. At the beginning of 1950 he was again interrogated and tortured in the Ministry of Interior headquarters. Moved to Văcărești Prison in Bucharest, he was murdered there particularly brutally on the orders of General **Alexandru Nicolschi**, and he was buried in the Catholic Bellu Cemetery in Bucharest. (LW)

Sources: Józef Darski, *Rumunia: Historia, współczesność, konflikty narodowe* (Warsaw, 1995); Paul Caravia, Virgiliu Constantinescu, and Flori Stănescu, *The Imprisoned Church of Romania, 1944–1989* (Bucharest, 1999); Denis Deletant, *Communist Terror in Romania: Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State, 1948–1965* (New York, 1999); www.bru.ro.

AKEL Fredrich Karl (5 September 1871, Kaubi, near Pärnu–3 July 1941, Tallinn), Estonian politician and doctor. Born into the family of a rich stockbreeder, Akel could afford medical studies at the University of Dorpat (Tartu) in 1892–97. Afterwards he worked in its hospital (1897–99). After a short practice in Ujazdów, near Warsaw, he continued his studies in Berlin, Prague, and Leipzig (1901). For a short time he worked in an ophthalmological clinic in Riga, and then he continued his own practice in Tallinn (1902–4 and 1905–12). During the Russo-Japanese War he served in the tsarist army. In 1912 he founded his own ophthalmological clinic. Respect and popularity, which he had gained as a doctor, helped him win election to the Tallinn City Council. For many years he was also a justice of the peace in Tallinn-Haapsalu. In 1920–22 he was a lay deputy chairman of the consistory of the Estonian Lutheran Church and one of the leaders of the Christian People’s Party (Kristlik Rahvaerakond [CPP]). On its behalf he won mandates in the second and third parliamentary terms. Despite moderate support (8–10 percent of the vote), the CPP, in which the Protestant clergy played an important role, had a significant influence in the fragmented Estonian parliament. In 1922–23 Akel was ambassador to Finland and then foreign minister (1923–24). From 26 March to 16 December 1924 he was the head of state (*riigivanem*). His was a minority government, which nevertheless tried to deal with inflation and problems with foreign payments (among other things) caused by the collapse and closing of the Russian market. Reforms carried out by the minister of finance, **Otto Strandmann**, though temporarily painful, were successful in the long run and helped to accelerate economic development in the late 1920s.

At first a supporter of parliamentary democracy, Akel gradually accepted authoritarian rule. In 1926–27 he was foreign minister again, and later he served as ambassador to Sweden (1928–34); after the **Konstantin Päts** coup he became ambassador to Germany (1934–36) and a member of the Upper House of parliament (1938–40). In 1936 he became head of diplomacy again, developing a pro-German line in which he saw a chance to maintain independence in case of Soviet aggression. He also continued rapprochement with Sweden but failed to gain its engagement in the defense of Estonia. He supported the idea of an alliance of the Baltic states with Poland and pressed Lithuania to improve its relations with Poland.

During the Lithuanian-Polish crisis of March 1938 he called on President **Antanas Smetona**, supporting Polish postulates of normalization, and he helped in bilateral negotiations that were mostly held in Tallinn. Akel sat on the boards of the Northern Baltic Association of Doctors, the Tallinn Society of Folk Education, the Tallinn Loan and Insurance Company, and the Kreditpank. He also presided over the Society for Construction of the Estonia Theater and the Estonia Society in Tallinn. From 1907 he was chairman of the sports association Kalev in Tallinn, and he was the first chairman of the Estonian Olympic Committee (1923–31). In 1927–32 he was the Estonian representative to the International Olympics Committee. Arrested by the NKVD on 17 October 1940, Akel was shot. (AG)

Sources: Evald Uustalu, *The History of Estonian People* (London, 1952); Tõnu Parming, *The Collapse of Liberal Democracy and the Rise of Authoritarianism in Estonia* (London, 1975); Piotr Łossowski, *Stosunki polsko-estońskie 1918–1939* (Gdańsk, 1992); Matti Laur, Tõnis Lukas, Ain Mäesalu, and Ago Pajur Tõnu Tannberg, *History of Estonia* (Tallinn, 2000); www.eok.ee/olympialiikumine.php?view;www.president.ee/eng/riigipead/FriedrichAkel.

AKINCHITS Fabiyan (20 January 1886, Akinchitse, near Stolbtsy [Stołpcę]–7 March 1943, Minsk), Belorussian politician. Between 1906 and 1913 Akinchits studied law at St. Petersburg University. In 1906 he became a member of the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party. Having completed his studies, he worked as a defense attorney. In 1917 he joined the Bolsheviks. In 1923 he returned to his native land, which at that time was incorporated within Poland. He started working as a teacher in Zasulye, and he opened an office providing services in application writing and legal advice. In 1926 he allied himself with the Belorussian Peasant and Worker Hromada, and he became a member of the party executive. As defense attorney, he represented Hromada activists during political trials, and he coordinated the work of Hromada's parliamentary club. In November 1926 he became president of the Vilnius branch of the party, and he was the leader of the so-called nationalist current, which vied with the pro-Soviet and Communist current for influence in the organization. In January 1927 Polish authorities arrested Hromada leaders on charges of conducting activities aimed at separating the Eastern Borderland (Kresy) from Poland. The Vilnius court sentenced Akinchits to eight years in prison.

In July 1930 Akinchits was the last member of the Hromada leadership to leave prison, and he refused at the same time to go to the USSR. He joined the Central Council of Belorussian Cultural and Economic Organizations (Centrsayuz), a movement led by **Anton Lutskievich**. As

a rival organization to the Communist movement, it was supported by the Polish government. Akinchits became a member of the leadership of the movement and he edited its newspapers, *Napierad* and *Bielaruski zvon*. In 1931 he published *Chamu tak stalasia? (Why did it happen?)*, in which he proved that the Communist ideology was disastrous to the Belorussian movement. Soon he left the ranks of Centrsayuz, accusing Lutskievich of leftist leanings. In May 1931 he created the Vilnius Belorussian group called Revival, with a pro-Polish orientation. In 1933, along with Władysław Kozłowski, he began to publish the magazine *Novy shlahk*, which initiated the consolidation of the Belorussian nationalist movement. In 1937 he formed the Belorussian National Socialist Party (BNSP). The party, whose ideas bordered on German fascism, was banned by the Polish authorities. In June 1939 the congress of the BNSP was held in Gdańsk. At the congress it was decided that the future of independent Belorussia would be built in alliance with the Germans. From June 1939 Akinchits worked in the Belorussian Bureau of the Ministry of Propaganda of the Third Reich. At the beginning of 1940, within the framework of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, he became president of the Belorussian Committee in Warsaw, and a year later he was appointed head of a Belorussian school for propaganda workers near Berlin. He was assassinated during one of his visits to Minsk; the assassination was probably inspired by a rival group of Belorussian activists who collaborated with the Germans. His death was later announced as a success of the Soviet underground in the struggle against collaborators. (EM)

Sources: *Entsyklapiedyia historyi Belarusi*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1994); *Wielka Encyklopedia PWN*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 2001); Nicholas P. Vakar, *Belorussia: The Making of a Nation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956); Y. Vapa, "Fabiyan Akinchits i iahony chas," *Niva*, 1993, nos. 38–41.

AKSYONAU [Aksyonov] Aleksandr (9 October 1924, Kuntarovka, near Homyel), Soviet party and state activist in Belorussia. In 1941–42 Aksyonau worked in a *kolkhoz*. In 1941 he graduated from the Higher Pedagogical School in Homyel, and in 1942–43 he served in the Red Army. From 1944 he worked in the apparatus of the Lenin Association of Communist Youth of Belorussia in Orenburg, Baranavichy, and Hrodna. From 1945 a member of the CPSU and from 1956 a member of the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party of Belorussia (CPB), in 1957 he became first secretary of the Komsomol in Belorussia and a member of the CPB Politburo, and he graduated from the Higher Party School in Moscow. In 1959 he became deputy chairman of the KGB of the Belorussian SSR, and from 1960 to 1965 he was minister of interior of the Belorussian republic,

supervising repression against people not loyal enough to the Soviet system. In 1965 he became first secretary of the CPB District Committee in Vitebsk and in 1971, secretary of the CPB CC. From 1978 to 1983 he was prime minister of the Belorussian republican government and from 1983 to 1985 Soviet ambassador to Poland. In 1985 he became chairman of the Soviet State Television and Radio Committee, and in 1989 he retired. (EM)

Sources: *Belaruskaya SRR. Kratkaya entsyklopediya*, vol. 5 (Minsk, 1982); *Entsyklopediya historyi Belarusi*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1994); Borys Lewytzkij, ed., *Who's Who in the Soviet Union* (Munich, 1984); Leonard Geron and Alex Pravda, eds., *Who's Who in Russia and the New States* (London, 1993).

ALAPY Gyula [originally Alapi] (18 December 1911, Komárom–18 February 1982, Fonyód), Hungarian Communist activist. Alapy was the son of the chief archivist of Komárom and of an heiress of the Frank-Kiss family, which owned many factories in town and in the neighborhood. After the Treaty of Trianon (1920) the family stayed in Czechoslovakia. In 1930 Alapy joined the Social Democratic Party and took part in leftist student group activities. He graduated in law from Brno University in 1934, and then he worked as a defense attorney in Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky). During World War II Catholic priests saved him and his Jewish mother from deportation and death. In 1945 he moved to Hungary, where from mid-1948 he belonged to the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, then to the (Communist) Hungarian Workers' Party, and from 1956 to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP). In 1945–46 Alapy worked in the public prosecutor's office in Győr, and from 1946 to 1948 he was its chairman. From July 1948 to February 1949 he was a member of the Chief Prosecutor's Office (CPO) in Budapest, and in January 1949 he was the chief plaintiff in the trial of Cardinal **József Mindszenty**. For his role in the trial he was nominated CPO chairman. He was a ruthless tool of the **Mátyás Rákosi** dictatorship, passing numerous death sentences, and he frequently repeated that “there is only one way to get rid of mad dogs—they must be killed.” He was the chief plaintiff in many political show trials, such as those of **László Rajk**, **József Kóvágó**, police and army officers, and many others. All together he passed about twenty death sentences in political trials. In 1956 he was dismissed and left for the USSR. He returned to Hungary in March 1958 and worked at the Institute of Law of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Later he worked as a legal adviser in a power and gas meter enterprise. In 1972 he retired. The only punishment he suffered was expulsion from the HSWP for the abuse of “socialist law and order” in 1962. In a state of depression he probably committed suicide. (JT)

Sources: *Új Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 2001); *Magyarország 1944–1956*, CD-ROM (Budapest, 2001).

ALDEA Aurel (28 March 1887, Slatina–17 October 1949, Aiud), Romanian general. After graduating from the War College in Bucharest, Aldea steadily rose in the ranks of the army. As one of the closest advisers to King **Michael**, in May 1944 he took part in the first meeting of the king with representatives of the opposition to Marshal **Ion Antonescu**; the purpose of the meeting was to effect the withdrawal of Romania from an alliance with the Germans. He also took part in a crucial meeting of the king with Antonescu on 23 August 1944, during which the dictator was removed from power and arrested. Aldea became minister of the interior in the government of General **Constantin Sănătescu**, which was established after the coup, and he held the post until the beginning of November. Next, he was commander of territorial defense until 24 March 1945. Removed from this position, in the summer of that year he started to cooperate with the anti-Communist underground, and he soon became head of the National Resistance Movement (*Mișcarea Națională de Rezistență*), which included such armed groups as the Haiduks of Avram Iancu (*Haiducii lui Avram Iancu*) and the Grey Greatcoats (*Graiuul Sangelui*). In May 1946 Aldea was arrested on the grounds of plotting to “destroy the unity of the Romanian state.” He was accused of directing the anti-Communist resistance movement and was also falsely charged with supporting Hungarian separatism in Transylvania. On 18 November 1946 he was sentenced to hard labor for life. He died of heart disease in prison. (WR)

Sources: Ivor Porter, *Operation Autonomous: With S.O.E. in Wartime Romania* (London, 1989); Dennis Deletant, *Communist Terror in Romania: Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State, 1948–1965* (New York, 1999).

ALEKSA Jonas (25 December 1879, Kumetiškiai, Samogetia–20 April 1955, Tomsk), Lithuanian politician. Aleksa studied sociology and the natural sciences at Moscow University (1900–1907) and agronomy at the Agricultural Academy in Warsaw (1914–15). In 1902 he was temporarily arrested for anti-tsarist activities. During World War I he worked in Voronezh and was co-founder of the Populist Democratic National League of Freedom (*Demokratine Tautos Laisves Santara*), in brief called Santara. In 1918 he returned to Lithuania and became head of a department in the Ministry of Agriculture. From June 1920 to February 1922 and from February to June 1923 he was minister of agriculture. In 1925, along with **Petras Leonas** and **Vaclovas Sidzikauskas**, he was a founder of

the Lithuanian Peasant Party (Lietuvos Ūkininkų Partija [LPP]). From 1925 he lectured in agrarian economics at Kaunas University. After the Nationalist coup of December 1926 the LPP supported the new government of **Augustinas Voldemaras**, and Aleksa became the minister of agriculture again. When the Nationalists dissolved the parliament in 1927, the LPP withdrew its support for the regime, but Aleksa stayed in the government as head of a new group called Peasant Unity, which enjoyed the support of rich peasants from southern Lithuania. As a result of the Great Depression, in September 1935 the group stopped supporting the government, so Aleksa gave up his position. He became chairman of the Agricultural Chamber and director of a cooperative bank.

After the Soviet invasion of June 1940 Aleksa was arrested, and his family was deported to Siberia. He was released after the German invasion in June 1941. Together with former president **Kazys Grinius** and former minister of agriculture Reverend **Mykolas Krupavičius**, he signed a memorandum to the German authorities protesting the expropriation of Lithuanians and the extermination of Jews. In the fall of 1942 he was arrested by the Gestapo and deported to Germany. After the end of the war he returned to Lithuania to reunite with his family, but in 1948 he was arrested and sentenced to forced labor in a camp near Krasnoyarsk. In 1952 he was allowed to reunite with his family in Tomsk, but he soon died. He authored the following among other works: *Lietuvių tautos likimo klausimo* (On the fate of the Lithuanian nation; 1925); *Ūkininkai ir jų jėga* (Peasants and their strength; 1929); *Mūsų žemės ūkio reikalai* (On our agricultural situation; 1930); and *Lietuviškųjų gyvenimo kelių paieškant* (In search of a Lithuanian way of life; 1933). (WR)

Sources: *EL*, vols. 1 and 6; Piotr Łossowski, *Kraje bałtyckie na drodze od demokracji parlamentarnej do dyktatury 1918–1934* (Wrocław, 1972); Wojciech Roszkowski, “Litewskie partie chłopskie (1905–1970), in Krzysztof Jasiewicz, ed., *Europa nieprowincjonalna* (Warsaw, 1999).

ALEKSA-ANGARIETIS Zigmās (25 June 1882, Obelutšiai, near Vilkauiškis–22 June 1940, Moscow), Lithuanian Communist activist. Born into a peasant family, after finishing secondary school, Aleksa-Angarietis enrolled in the Warsaw Veterinary Institute, and he took up revolutionary activities. In 1904 he was expelled from the institute and arrested. Released in 1905, he joined the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania. Between 1908 and 1909 he published the newspaper *Darbininku zodis*. Arrested in Marijampole in 1909, he was held in prison for two years, and then he was sentenced to deportation to the region of the Angara River in Siberia. After the February 1917

revolution he arrived in Petrograd and joined the leadership of the Lithuanian Bolsheviks. He also published the newspaper *Tiesa*. He took an active part in the Bolshevik coup in November 1917, and he started working in the Commissariat of Nationalities of the Council of People’s Commissars. In November 1918 he arrived in Vilnius to conduct underground Communist activity. After the invasion by the Red Army at the beginning of 1919, he was appointed commissar of the interior of the Lithuanian-Belorussian SSR. He became notorious for his atrocities against “the enemies of the people.” After the collapse of the Lithuanian-Belorussian SSR he worked in Smolensk, writing articles and brochures. In 1921 in Smolensk he published, for example, *Lietuvos revoliucinio judėjimo ir darbininkų kovos istorija* (History of the revolutionary movement and of the workers’ struggle in Lithuania, 2 vols.). From 1920 he was secretary of the Foreign Office of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee, and from 1924 he was a member of the Politburo of the party. He also represented Lithuania in the Communist International. In the 1920s he supported Stalin in his struggle against Leon Trotsky. Between 1926 and 1935 he was secretary of the International Control Committee of the Comintern. Arrested by the NKVD in Moscow on 17 March 1938, he was held on remand for over two years, and then he was executed by firing squad. (WR)

Sources: *EL*, vol. 1; *MERSH*, vol. 1; Lazitch; Saulius Sužiedelis, *Historical Dictionary of Lithuania* (Lanham, Md., 1997); R. Šarmaitis, “Zigmās Angarietis,” *Kommunist*, no. 7 (Vilnius, 1956); Alfred E. Senn, *The Emergence of Modern Lithuania* (New York, 1959).

ALEKSANDROV Todor (14 February 1881, Štip–31 August 1924, near Melnik), Macedonian revolutionary and politician. Very early on Aleksandrov got involved in the Macedonian revolutionary and nationalist movement, and he was one of the leaders of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (Vnatrešna Makedonska Revolucionerna Organizacija [IMRO]). At first he opposed Turkish rule, and during the Balkan Wars (1912–13) he represented a pro-Bulgarian option. After the defeat of Turkey he opposed Greek and Serb interests in Macedonia. After World War I, in opposition to the leftist federalists in the IMRO, who wanted to associate the organization with the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (SHS), he suggested an autonomous Macedonia with Salonika as its capital. Tensions between the IMRO factions led to sharp conflict and a split in the organization. Along with General **Alexander Protogerov**, Aleksandrov assumed command of the right wing of the IMRO (the so-called autonomists), also in opposition to the Bulgarian Populist

government of **Aleksandur Stamboliyski**. Aleksandrov's troops controlled Pirin Macedonia and organized attacks into Vardar Macedonia, inside the SHS Kingdom. In 1922 the Bulgarian authorities arrested him temporarily for his actions against the Stamboliyski regime. Aleksandrov took part in the coup that overthrew and killed Stamboliyski in June 1923. The new Bulgarian prime minister, **Aleksandur Tsankov**, supported Aleksandrov and his autonomists. As he failed to accomplish his goals, Aleksandrov began to cooperate with Croat nationalists and with the Young Turks who ruled in Istanbul. Finally he drew closer to the Communist International. In May 1924 he signed an agreement of cooperation with the leftist faction of IMRO federalists, but in practice he remained mistrustful of them. He also got involved in a conflict concerning the cooperation of the IMRO with the Soviet Union. As a result of this conflict, his comrades murdered him. There are several theories concerning his death. In 1994 his *Dnevnik i korespondencija ot prvata svecka vojna, 1915–1918 g.* (Diary and correspondence from World War I, 1915–1918) was published. (MC)

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; Mercia MacDermott, *For Freedom and Perfection: The Life of Yané Sandansky* (London and Nyack, N.Y., 1988); *Zagovorut protiv Todor Aleksandrov po dannii na Vutreshnata makedonska revoliutsionna organizatsiia* (Sofia, 1991); *Todor Aleksandrov. Zhivot-legenda: Avtobiogr., spomeni, interviuta i dr. materialii: Biblioteka Arkhiv* (Sofia, 1991); Decho Dobrinov, *Posledn'i'at 't'sar na planinite: Biografichen ocherk za Todor Aleksandrov, 1881–1924* (Sofia, 1992); Irena Stawowy-Kawka, *Historia Macedonii* (Wrocław, 2000).

ALEKSIYEVICH Svyatlana (31 May 1948, Ivano-Frankovsk), Belorussian journalist and writer. After graduating from high school in Kopytkovichy in Polesie in 1965, Aleksiyevich worked as a tutor in a boarding school, a teacher of history and German, and a journalist for the local press in Naroulja and Byaroza. In 1972 she graduated in journalism at the Belorussian State University in Minsk. She worked at *Syelskaya gazeta* (1972–73) and at a literary monthly, *Nioman* (1973–84). She made her literary debut in 1975. In 1985 she published her first novel, *U vayny nye zhenskoye litso* (War has no female face), which garnered a lot of criticism for downplaying the heroic image of Soviet women during World War II, for “nihilism,” and for spreading “pacifist” views, but as a result of *perestroika*, about 2 million sold copies made her famous in Soviet literary circles. She won more fame and international recognition for another novel, *Tsynkovye malchiki* (Tin boys; 1989), which described the cruelty of the Afghan war, but Aleksiyevich was sued for slandering the honor of Soviet officers and soldiers. Her next book, *Chernobylskaya molitva* (The Prayer of Chernobyl; 1997),

showed a world endangered by the accumulation of the technical means of extermination. Her books have been published in nineteen countries, and she has received a number of prestigious national and international awards. Since 1989 Aleksiyevich has been a member of the Belorussian PEN club. (EM)

Sources: *Bielaruskiya pismienniki. Biyabibliyahraficzny slounik*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1992); *Bielaruskiya pismienniki 1917–1990* (Minsk, 1994); *Kto iest kto w Respublike Belarus* (Minsk, 1999).

ALEXANDER I Karadjordjević (16 December 1888, Cetinje, Montenegro–9 October 1934, Marseilles, France), king of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes and king of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Alexander I spent his youth in Geneva and St. Petersburg. In 1903, after the overthrow of the Obrenović dynasty, his father, Peter I Karadjordjević, became king. In 1909, when his elder brother renounced his right of succession, Alexander came back to Serbia. A successful commander in the Balkan Wars of 1912–13, he was appointed regent on 24 June 1914. During World War I he served as commander-in-chief of Serbia's armed forces. On 31 October 1918 he triumphantly entered Belgrade, and on 1 December, as prince regent, he proclaimed the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. On 28 June 1921 there was an unsuccessful attempt on his life. On 16 June 1921 he succeeded his father as king. As the main representative of the Greater Serbia orientation, he belonged to the opponents of federalism.

The main sources of conflict in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were the issues of a centralist versus a federal model of state and ethnic strife. On 20 June 1928 a Radical Party deputy shot dead two Croat Peasant Party deputies in the parliament and injured three others, among them **Stjepan Radić**, who soon died. This caused a very serious national crisis. On 6 January 1929 Alexander dissolved the parliament, abolished the centralist constitution of 1921, rendered all political parties illegal, dismissed communal self-government, introduced censorship, and established a royal dictatorship. On 3 October 1929, by decree, he changed the previous name of the country to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. He also introduced an administrative reform, replacing the former thirty-three departments with nine *banovine*. They were headed by a *ban* nominated by the king. Alexander's intention was to put an end to the historical division into nations and create a unified Yugoslav state, which, he believed, would help suppress the constant ethnic conflicts. The Great Depression of the 1930s added to the domestic problems, and social discontent increased. On 9 September 1931 Alexander promulgated a new constitution that sanctioned dictator-

ship. However, neither the opening of the new parliament nor frequent government changes by Alexander helped to relieve the tensions in Yugoslavia. The Croatian Peasant Party insisted on the reorganization of the state on the basis of the equal rights of the nations. Also, the Slovene People's Party joined in criticizing the existing form of government. The authorities responded by repressing the politicians of the opposition parties. In December 1933 the Croatian Ustaše carried out an unsuccessful attempt on Alexander's life.

In foreign policy Alexander opted for maintaining the Versailles order. An alliance with France was of primary importance. Part of the pro-French policy was to include Yugoslavia in the Little Entente, created in 1920–22, whose members were also Czechoslovakia and Romania. Alexander engaged his country in the Balkan Entente (comprised of Greece, Turkey, and Romania), formed in February 1934, and he managed to improve relations with Bulgaria. During a visit to Marseilles, Alexander and the French foreign minister, Louis Barthou, were shot dead by Vlada Makedonski vel Velicko Georgijev-Kerin, a Macedonian linked with the Croatian Ustaše who was lynched on the spot by the crowd. (AO)

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; Waclaw Felczak and Tadeusz Wasilewski, *Historia Jugosławii* (Wrocław, 1985); Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans, Twentieth Century*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1983); Mark Biondich, *Stjepan Radić, the Croat Peasant Party, and the Politics of Mass Mobilization, 1904–1928* (Toronto, 2000).

ALEXANDER Obrenović (14 August 1876, Belgrade–11 June 1903, Belgrade), king of Serbia, son of Milan and Natalie, née Keško. After his father's abdication, on 6 March 1889 Alexander ascended the throne, although the real power was exercised by three regents: Jovan Ristić, Kosta Protić, and Jovan Beli-Marković. In April 1893 Alexander declared himself of age and, against the terms of the constitution, he began to reign. In January 1894 his father returned to Belgrade to prevent anarchy and to support Alexander in his struggle against Radical Party leaders. The latter represented peasants and part of the lower middle class, and at that time they showed a sympathy toward socialism. In May 1894 Alexander suspended the relatively liberal constitution of 1888 and restored the conservative constitution of 1869. Inter-party strife intensified in the country. The splits were deepened by a conflict between Milan and his wife, Queen Natalie, who was backed by the Radicals. Alexander sometimes obeyed his father and sometimes followed his mother's advice. In 1899, after an unsuccessful assassination attempt on Milan, a state of emergency was declared, and radical

leaders were arrested. In 1900 Alexander caused a scandal by marrying Draga Mašin, the widow of a Czech engineer and a former lady-in-waiting to Queen Natalie, and by rejecting proposals to marry the Princess of Montenegro. This led to a conflict between Alexander and his father, who soon broke off relations with his son, left Serbia, and died in Vienna in February 1901.

On 19 April 1900 Alexander accepted a new constitution, which slightly increased the importance of the parliament (Skupština). Some Radicals became reconciled with the king, but not for long. He introduced an absolutist reign. In March 1903 he again suspended the constitution. As a result, an anti-royalist demonstration took place in Belgrade, organized by Dimitr Tucivić, the founder of the Social Democratic Party. During the demonstration several people were killed. Alexander restored the constitution, but he soon dissolved the parliament and ordered new elections. On the night of 10–11 June 1903 a group of officers staged a coup, killing Alexander, his wife Draga, her two brothers, and three ministers. The next day the army proclaimed the accession to the throne of Peter Karadjordjević. Such was the end of the Obrenović dynasty, which had ruled in Serbia from 1815. Simultaneously, there ended a period of subordination of Serb interests to the interests of Austria-Hungary, and the balance of power in the Balkans changed substantially. (AO)

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; Vladan Georgevitch, *Das Ende der Obrenovitch: Beiträge zur Geschichte Serbiens 1897 bis 1900* (Leipzig, 1905); Chedomille Mijatovitch, *A Royal Tragedy* (London, 1906); Slobodan Jovanović, *Vlada Aleksandra Obrenovicia*, vols. 1–3 (Belgrade 1934/36); Wayne S. Vucinich, *Serbia between East and West: The Events of 1903–1908* (Stanford, 1954); Michael B. Petrovich, *A History of Modern Serbia 1804–1918*, vols. 1–2 (New York, 1976); Waclaw Felczak and Tadeusz Wasilewski, *Historia Jugosławii* (Wrocław, 1985).

ALIA Ramiz (18 October 1925, Shkodër), Communist leader of Albania. Alia came from a poor Muslim family. Between 1939 and 1940 he belonged to a Fascist organization, the Albanian Lictorian Youth, and in 1942 he joined the Union of Communist Youth. In April 1943 he joined the Albanian Communist Party and became the leader of a party unit in Berat. After the collapse of the Italian occupation he joined the National Liberation Army, serving as political commissar in the Seventh Partisan Brigade and at the end of the war in the Fifth Division. Under the patronage of **Enver Hoxha** he rose rapidly in the government hierarchy. From 1944 to 1948 he was secretary general of the Communist youth organization, the Union of Working Youth of Albania. He completed shortened studies in a party school in Moscow, becoming a Stalinist apparatchik.

Beginning in February 1948 Alia worked in the Office

of Propaganda and Agitation of the Communist Party's Central Committee, and from September 1948 he was a member of the CC. From 1950 he was a deputy to the People's Assembly. Between 1955 and 1958 he was minister of education; in 1958 he was again a deputy to the People's Assembly, and in 1961 he became a member of the Politburo of the CC of the Party of Labor of Albania (PLA). From 1960 he was also a member of the Secretariat of the CC. In 1965 he headed the Albanian delegation at the congress of the Communist Party of China in Beijing. As chair of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the People's Assembly, Alia followed the pro-Chinese policy of Hoxha. After breaking away from Beijing and after the removal of Prime Minister **Mehmet Shehu**, in November 1982 he became president of the Assembly, thus the titular head of state. In fact Alia advanced to the second-highest position in the government hierarchy and was jointly responsible for the policy of terror in the country. After Hoxha's death, on 13 April 1985 Alia took over the post of first secretary of the CC of the PLA. In November 1986 the Ninth Congress of the party decided to maintain the "revolutionary legacy" of Hoxha, realized by Alia. In 1990 he was also appointed president of the republic.

When the Communist government in Albania collapsed in February 1991, Alia began to clear the vestiges of Hoxha's rule and tried to anticipate events by making personnel changes at the highest levels. These were meant to ease mounting social tensions but proved ineffective. Yielding to opposition pressures, on 21 December 1991 Alia fixed a date for by-elections, which were held in March 1992 and brought victory to the opposition Democratic Party of Albania. On 3 April 1992 he resigned as president. Soon after the delegatization of the Communist Party he was arrested and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for embezzlement and corruption. In July 1995 he was released under amnesty, but in February 1996 he was arrested again. After one year of preventive arrest he stood trial. He was accused, among other things, of sending thousands of people to forced labor camps and of giving orders to shoot people who had illegally tried to cross the border. When the Communists came to power in 1998, Alia was released from prison. (WD, WR)

Sources: *Alia Ramiz: Ditari i burgut* (Athens, n.d.); *Unë, Ramiz Alia: Dëshmoj për historinë* (Tirana, 1993); *Who's Who in the Socialist Countries of Europe* (Munich, London, and Paris, 1989); Stavro Skendi, *Albania* (New York, 1956); Jerzy Hauziński and Jan Leśny, *Historia Albanii* (Wrocław, 1992); www.rulers.org

ALIJAGIĆ Alija (20 November 1895, Bijeljina–8 March 1922, Zagreb), Bosnian Communist. Born into an impoverished Bosnian Muslim family, Alijagić worked as a carpenter's apprentice in Sarajevo, where he joined a

trade union in 1912. Mobilized into the Austro-Hungarian army, he was temporarily arrested for disloyalty. In 1919 he joined the Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia (from June 1920 the Communist Party of Yugoslavia) and in March 1921, the organization Red Truth (Crvena Pravda), which organized terrorist attacks against the authorities of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. On 21 June 1921 he murdered Minister of interior Milorad Drašković, who, in reply to Communist terrorist attacks, had dissolved Communist organizations and banned revolutionary propaganda. Alijagić was captured and tried. Despite the efforts of his defense team, which argued that he had acted for political reasons, he was sentenced to death in October 1921 and executed. In Communist Yugoslavia he was remembered as a revolutionary hero. (WR)

Sources: *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vol. 1 (Zagreb, 1955); *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 1 (Zagreb, 1983); Ivo Politeo, *Politički delikt* (Zagreb, 1921).

ALITI Abdurahman (1945, Zhelino, near Tetovo), Macedonian Albanian politician. Aliti graduated in law from Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje in 1969. From 1970 he worked in the City Council of Tetovo. In 1990 he was elected a delegate of ethnic Albanians to the government of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. From the first free elections of November 1990, he served as MP. He was also head of the Party for Democratic Prosperity (Partija za Demokratski Prosperitet/Partia ë prosperiteti demokratike [PDP]), founded in 1991. Aliti was presiding over the party when, in 1994, Arben Xhaferi broke away with a faction. Vice-president of the Macedonian parliament (Sobranie) from 1994 to 1998, Aliti has been a centrist and has supported integration but not assimilation. He has been active in the pursuit of equal rights for Albanians in Macedonia. Owing to the vagaries of Albanian politics in Macedonia, he was eclipsed and replaced by Imer Imeri in the mid-1990s. In 2000, he stood against **Stojan Andov** for Speaker of the Parliament but lost. Imeri resigned in 2002, and Aliti once more became head of the PDP, albeit in a controversial election. (DP)

Sources: Duncan Perry, "Republic of Macedonia: On the Road to Stability or Destruction?" *Transition*, 25 August 1995; Valentina Georgieva and Sasha Konechni, *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Macedonia* (Lanham, Md., 1998).

ALIZOTI bey Fejzi (September 1874, Gjirokastra–March 1945, Tirana), Albanian politician. Alizoti studied administration and finance at university in Istanbul. From being an Ottoman official in Lebanon, he advanced to the position of governor (*mutesarrif*) of Libya and Anatolia. In 1904 he returned to Albania, becoming prefect of Korça.

For his contacts with the Albanian national movements he was removed to Kurdistan, and during the Italian-Turkish war he was interned for a few months. After release in 1911, he became governor of Prizren. In 1912 in Vlorë he signed the Albanian declaration of independence and became minister of the interior in the government of **Is-mail Kemal**. When Prince **Wilhelm von Wied** came to Albania, Alizoti became secretary general in the Ministry of Interior. When in July 1915 Montenegrin troops entered Shkodër, he was arrested, but during the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Shkoder he helped to create an Albanian administration and became prefect of the town. When in 1918 a pro-Italian government was established in Durrës, he became its minister of finance. His pro-Italian sympathies were the reason for his arrest by the authorities of the Albanian state during the aggravation of a conflict over the control of Vlorë with Italy in 1920. Aliti returned to public life at a time of renewed Albanian-Italian cooperation. In 1926 he was on the board of directors of the National Bank of Albania, and in 1927 he became minister of finance. He was the author of spare budgets in the early 1930s. He wrote economic articles for leading government periodicals. It was then that he began to be accused of taking payoffs from the Italians. After the Italian invasion of April 1939 he was among the highest-ranking politicians who cooperated with the Italians. He was ranked among the “professionals of Gjirokaster”—that is, those experienced in state administration. A member of the Albanian Fascist Party, he also edited its organ, *Fashizmi*. In the first collaboration government of Shefqet bey Vërlaci (12 April 1939–3 December 1941) Aliti was minister of finance. In August 1941 he was appointed civil commissioner of New Albania (Kosovo). Captured by the Communist partisans and tried as the main defendant in a show trial in Tirana, on 1 March 1945 Aliti was sentenced to death and soon executed. (TC)

Sources: Jacomoni di San Savino Francesco, *La politica dell'Italia in Albania* (Rocca San Casciano, 1965); Pepa Pjeter, *Dosja e diktaturës* (Tirana, 1995); Gaçe Bardhosh, *Ata që shpallën Pavarësinë Kombëtare* (Tirana, 1997); Bernd Fischer, *Albania at War 1939–1945* (London, 1999).

ALLIK Hendrik (15 March 1901, Abja–8 May 1989, Tallinn), Estonian Communist activist. From 1916 Allik worked in a textile factory in Tallinn and was active in the trade unions. In 1917 he joined the Bolshevik party. In 1923 he was coopted to the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party of Estonia (CPE) and to the CC of the Estonian Komsomol. For participation in the December 1924 Communist rebellion he was sentenced to twenty-five years in prison. Released due to an amnesty

in 1938, he became a member of the CPE Politburo. After the incorporation of Estonia into the USSR, from mid-1940 to mid-1941 he was the Soviet commissioner for industry. In 1942–43 he served on the front as political commissar, and then he was deputy prime minister of the Estonian SSR. After the restoration of Soviet control, in 1945–46 he was also minister of agriculture. In 1948 he graduated in economics from the Tallinn Polytechnic Institute. From 1947 he was a member of the Supreme Council of the Estonian SSR. At this time he married the widow of the former prime minister of the Estonian SSR, **Olga Johannes Lauristin**. In 1950 Allik was accused of “bourgeois nationalism” and sentenced to twenty-five years in prison. Released in 1956, he was reinstated in his previous positions. In 1961–73 he was head of the Planning Commission of the Estonian SSR; from 1958 to 1976 he was a member of the CPE CC; from 1966 to 1970, a member of the Supreme Council of the USSR; and from 1959 to 1967 and from 1971 to 1975, a member of the Supreme Council of the Estonian SSR. His son, Jaan, rejected his father’s Communist stance and sympathized with the democratic opposition. (AG)

Sources: *Eesti Entsüklopeedia*, vol. 14 (Tallinn, 2000); Rein Taagepera, *Estonia: Return to Independence* (Boulder, Colo., 1993); Romuald J. Misiunas and Rein Taagepera, *The Baltic States: Years of Dependence 1940–1990* (Berkeley, 1993).

ALLIKSAAR Artur (15 April 1923, Tartu–12 August 1966, Tartu), Estonian poet and playwright. In 1942 Alliksaar graduated from high school. During the “thaw” after Stalin’s death he wrote poems combining irony and the surrealistic grotesque with reflections on contemporary life in a world of coercion. It was only in 1966 that his play *Anonüümne saar* (Island with no name) was published; in it reality was absurd, and absurdity became reality. Although known only to a narrow artistic circle, Alliksaar became a champion of nonconformism in the Estonian culture under Communist rule. From a formal point of view his works were characterized by a flexible and musical style, as well as by semantic experiments. He also translated into Estonian the works of Reiner Maria Rilke and Sergey Yesenin. Alliksaar died prematurely of cancer. Two of his major collections were published posthumously: *Olematus võiks ju ka olemata olla* (Nonexistence cannot exist; 1968) and *Luule* (Poems; 1976). His works had a very strong influence on Estonian literature in the last stages of communism. (WR)

Sources: *Eesti Noukogude Entsüklopeedia*, vol. 1 (Tallinn, 1985); *Wielka encyklopedia powszechna*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 2001); Romuald Misiunas and Rein Taagepera, *The Baltic States: Years of Dependence 1940–1980* (Berkeley, 1983).

ALSHEUSKI Anatol [originally Yurka Pruzhynski] (4 July 1904, Bereza Kartuska [Byarozha]–1937, USSR), Belorussian Communist activist. In 1919 Alsheuski volunteered for the Red Army. In 1920 he began to study at Sverdlov Memorial Communist University in Moscow, and then he worked in the Bolshevik party apparatus in Ryazan and Nizhny Novgorod. In 1925 he was sent to work in Poland. He was (among other things) secretary of the Communist Youth Association of Western Belorussia, a member of the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Youth Association of Poland, a member of the CC of the Communist Party of Western Belorussia (CPWB), and editor-in-chief of its press organs, *Balszavik* and *Chyrvony stsiakh*. Arrested by the Polish authorities, he was kept in a Warsaw prison, and in 1929 he was exchanged for Soviet political prisoners. He returned to Belorussia and worked as the CPWB representative at the headquarters of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Belorussia in Minsk. He published a lot in the Soviet press, mostly propaganda articles on the situation of the “working classes” in Poland. In 1937 he was arrested on the grounds of alleged spying for Poland and was executed by firing squad. (EM)

Sources: U. Kalesnik, *Paslanyets Prameteya: Dakumentalnaya apovests* (Minsk, 1984); *Entsyklapedyia historyi Belarusi*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1993).

ALTER Wiktor (7 February 1890, Mława–4 December 1941, Kuibyshev), Polish-Jewish Socialist politician. Alter was the son of a rich merchant. While at Wojciech Górski High School in Warsaw, he was arrested by the Russian police for organizing a school strike in 1905. At that time he started secret work for the Bund. From 1906 to 1910 he studied in Liege, Belgium, where he qualified as an engineer. In 1912 he returned to Warsaw but was arrested and deported to Narym, in Siberia, in April 1913. He managed to escape and spent 1914–17 in Belgium and Great Britain, where he belonged to the British Labour Party. In March 1917 he returned to Russia. After the Bolshevik revolution he was elected to the Central Committee of the Bund. In late 1918 he returned to Poland to represent the Bund in the Warsaw Council of Workers’ Delegates. He urged the stop of Polish military operations in the east and called for a strike in Polish military works. Nevertheless, during the First Congress of the Polish Bund in Kraków in April 1920, he opposed the party’s access to the Comintern. In mid-1921 he was sent to Moscow to negotiate the Bund’s cooperation with the Comintern but was arrested by the Cheka for contacts with the Social Revolutionaries. Soon released, he returned to Warsaw, where he even more vigorously opposed the

Bund’s cooperation with the Comintern. For some time he favored the Vienna International, but in 1930 he moved a resolution in favor of the Bund’s access to the Second International. Along with **Henryk Erlich**, Alter represented the Bund in it. From 1934 he favored a united front of Communists and Socialists in Poland. He represented Jewish unions in the Central Committee of Trade Unions (Komisja Centralna Związków Zawodowych). In 1937 he was in Spain. He published many articles in the Bund press—for example, “Folks-Tsaytung,” “Nowe pismo,” and “Myśl socjalistyczna.”

When the Third Reich invaded Poland in September 1939, Alter went eastward. Arrested by the NKVD in Kowel, he was released and agreed to organize an international Jewish anti-Fascist committee in Great Britain and the United States. After the Polish-Soviet agreement of July 1941 he got in touch with the Polish Embassy in Kuibyshev and was appointed the embassy’s delegate to Sverdlovsk. During the recruitment of Polish citizens to the army of General **Władysław Anders**, he opposed Jewish nationalists who wanted separate Jewish troops. On 4 December 1941 he was arrested by the NKVD, along with Erlich, on the grounds of alleged cooperation with Nazi Germany. Both men were soon killed by the Soviets despite the energetic protests of the Polish embassy and the Allied governments. The accusations were absurd, and the whole Alter-Erlich affair remains a political enigma. Alter’s sister, Estera Iwińska, was a Polish lawyer, and his brother, Issak Arens, was a Soviet diplomat. Alter authored several works, including *Socjalizm walczący* (Militant socialism; 1926), *Tsu der Yidnfrage in Poiln* (The Jewish question in Poland; 1927), *Antysemityzm gospodarczy w świetle cyfr* (Economic anti-Semitism in the light of data; 1937), and *Hiszpania w ogniu* (Spain on fire; 1937). (WR)

Sources: *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 1; *Słownik biograficzny działaczy polskiego ruchu robotniczego*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1979); *Henryk Erlich i Wiktor Alter* (New York, 1951); *The Case of Henryk Erlich and Wiktor Alter* (London, 1943).

AMBRAZEVIČIUS-BRAZAITIS Juozas [originally Ambrazevičius] (9 December 1903, Trakišliai, near Marijampolė–28 October 1974, New York), Lithuanian historian of literature and politician. After graduating from high school in Marijampolė, in 1922–27 Ambrazevičius-Brazaitis studied literature at Kaunas University, and then he started working as a teacher in a high school for girls in Kaunas. In 1931–32 he studied in Bonn, and after returning to Lithuania, he taught in the same high school. In 1934 he began lecturing in Lithuanian literature and folk culture at Kaunas University. He authored several textbooks on

the theory of literature and on the history of Lithuanian and world literature. He worked in the Catholic cultural movement, editing the dailies *Lietuva* and *XX Amžius*. During the first Soviet occupation (1940–41) he kept his job and engaged in underground activities. After the German invasion, on 23 June 1941 he headed the Provisional Lithuanian Government and was its minister of education. For six weeks he tried to win German acceptance but in vain. His government issued about one hundred decrees regulating property rights, administration, and education. On 5 August 1941 he finally gave up his mission but continued to work as head of the political commission of the secret Chief Committee of Lithuanian Liberation (Vyriausiasis Lietuvos Išlaivimo Komitetas [CCLL]) and editor of its underground periodical *Į laisvę*. In the summer of 1944 he left for Germany, and in 1948 for the United States, where he edited a Catholic daily, *Darbininkas*, and continued his work in the CCLL in exile. He published a number of leaflets illustrating German and Soviet crimes in Lithuania and the Lithuanian resistance—for example, *In the Name of the Lithuanian People* (1946) and *Appeal to the United Nations on Genocide* (1951). In 1964 he published *Allein, ganz allein* (Alone, all alone) about the Lithuanian armed resistance. The Kremlin actively opposed his activities. In the 1970s he became a subject of interest for the Soviet media and American hunters of Nazi collaborators, who accused him of having worked for the Third Reich. In reply, he published an extensive dossier of his World War II activities. (WR)

Sources: *EL*, vol. 1; Saulius Sužiedelis, *Historical Dictionary of Lithuania* (Lanham, Md., 1997); Algirdas Budreckis, *The Lithuanian National Revolt of 1941* (Boston, 1968).

ANDERS Władysław (11 August 1892, Błóń, near Kutno–12 May 1970, London), Polish general and politician. Anders studied at the Polytechnic College in Riga, where he belonged to a student organization called Arkonia. During World War I he was drafted as a reserve officer in the Russian army, and in 1914–17 he served as a cavalry lieutenant. In 1917 he completed studies at the Academy of the General Staff in St. Petersburg, gaining first place, for which he received a golden sword from Tsar Nicholas II. Anders took part in the formation of the First Polish Corps, which was created by General **Józef Dowbór-Muśnicki** in Russia in 1917, and he served in the first regiment of the Krechowce *uhlans* (cavalrymen) of this corps. After its dissolution Anders returned to Warsaw. He took part in the disarmament of Germans in Poland. In 1918 he served in the Polish Army. He participated in the Great Poland (Wielkopolska) Uprising (1918–19). In 1919 he was the

chief of staff of the Operational Unit of the command-in-chief of the armed forces in the former Prussian sector of partitioned Poland (Wielkopolska army in Poznań). He fought in the Polish-Bolshevik war (1919–21), commanding a regiment. In 1921 he left for Paris, where he graduated from the War College (École Supérieure de Guerre) in 1923. In 1924 he returned to Poland as a colonel and started work as director of a course for higher commanders. Later, he worked in the staff of the inspector general of the cavalry. During the coup of May 1926 he became the chief of staff of the government forces. However, after the coup he remained in the army. From 1928 to 1937 he commanded two cavalry brigades. In 1937 he became the commander of the Nowogródzka Cavalry Brigade within the “Modlin” Army of General Emil Przedzimirski.

Anders commanded this brigade during the war with Germany until 12 September 1939. He then took command of the Cavalry Operational Group, fighting against German and Soviet forces. After the seizure of the Polish Eastern Borderland by the Soviets, the Polish authorities, which had evacuated to Romania, ordered Anders to get to Romania or Hungary. After severe battles, during which he was seriously injured, Anders was taken captive by the Soviets near Turka. For twenty-two months he was held by the NKVD in various prisons, including the ill-famed Lubyanka Prison. After the German attack on the USSR and the signing of the Polish-Soviet treaty on 30 July 1941, Anders was released. He assumed command of the Polish Army, which was forming in the USSR among Poles deported from the territories seized by the USSR. When in 1942, as a result of a British-Soviet agreement, this army had to leave the USSR and move to Iran, Anders became the commander of the Polish Army in the East (1942–43). From 1943 to 1946 he was in command of the Second Polish Corps within the Polish Armed Forces in the West (Polskie Siły Zbrojne na Zachodzie). This corps, consisting of two infantry divisions, one armored brigade, and an artillery group, took part in the battle of Monte Cassino, finally capturing the monastery in May 1944. This success opened the way to Rome for the Allies. At the end of the war the Second Corps also fought in the battle of Ancona, on the “Gothic line,” at Bologna, and in the Apennines. In February 1945 Anders took a critical stand on the Yalta decisions. While General Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski was being held in captivity, from February to May 1945 Anders served as the commander-in-chief and inspector general of the Polish Armed Forces in the West.

Next, Anders assumed command of the Second Polish Corps, which after the end of the war was around 110,000-strong, posing a serious political problem to the Allies in the face of the Sovietization of Poland. The

soldiers and officers of the corps, as well as their adored general Anders, wanted to maintain the corps as an independent military unit, capable of supporting the Polish cause after the war. However, in March 1946 the efforts of the British led to the dissolution of the Polish Armed Forces, including the Second Corps, and their integration into the Polish Adaptation and Resettlement Corps (Polski Korpus Przynależności i Rozmieszczenia). Anders left for London, where he continued to play a major political role. On 26 September 1946 the Communist government in Warsaw deprived him of his Polish citizenship, which was restored to him posthumously by the government of the Third Republic of Poland. From 1946 to 1954 Anders held the titular post of commander-in-chief and inspector general of the Polish Armed Forces in the West. He co-organized the National Treasury and from 1949 was its president. On 8 August 1954 he joined the Council of the Three, a substitute head of state in exile. In 1954 he became lieutenant general. He authored *Bez ostatniego rozdziału* (Army in exile; 1949), in which he depicted the fate of the Poles in the USSR in 1939–41. The work was translated into nine languages. He also wrote *Kłęska Hitlera w Rosji, 1941–1945* (Hitler's defeat in Russia, 1941–45; 1952). In accord with his last will, he was buried at the Polish war cemetery in Monte Cassino. For thousands of Polish soldiers who had been saved from the USSR, Anders was the symbol of a common fate and patriotism. He was a kind of savior because of the protection he gave not only to his subordinates, but also to their families and to Polish orphans, who were evacuated along with them. (JS)

Sources: Marian Hemar, ed., *Generał Anders: życie i chwata* (London, 1970); Zdzisław Stahl, *Generał Anders i 2 Korpus* (London, 1989); Juliusz L. Englert and Krzysztof Barbarowski, *Generał Anders* (London, 1990); Ewa Berberyusz, *Anders spieszony: "Aneks"* (London, 1992); Krzysztof Szmagier, *Generał Anders i jego żołnierze* (Warsaw, 1993); Piotr Stawiecki, *Słownik biograficzny generałów Wojska Polskiego, 1918–1939* (Warsaw, 1994); Piotr Zaroń, *Armia Andersa* (Toruń, 1996); Henryk Piotr Kosk, *Generalicja polska: Popularny słownik biograficzny*, vol. 1 (Pruszków, 1998).

ANDOV Stojan (30 November 1935, Kavadarci, Macedonia), Macedonian politician, former Communist. Andov graduated in economics from Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje and the University of Belgrade. In the 1970s he supported market reforms in Yugoslavia. He served as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's ambassador to Iraq in the 1980s and spent much of his career in Belgrade and abroad. A member of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia in the 1980s, he served for a time as the vice-president of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly. In November 1990 he was elected to the Macedonian

National Assembly (Sobranie), becoming its speaker in January 1991. He headed the Liberal Party, founded in 1993 as a coalition between the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Macedonia and the Young Democratic Progressive Party. Its members have been overwhelmingly ethnic Macedonians who support a free market economy. From October 1995 to the beginning of 1996 Andov acted as the president of Macedonia following an assassination attempt on **Kiro Gligorov**. Andov resigned the parliamentary speaker's post in 1996, joining the opposition when Prime Minister **Branko Crvenkovski** reshuffled the cabinet and dismissed members of the Liberal Party in a dispute involving industrial privatization. Andov ran unsuccessfully for president of the republic in October 1999. He regained the parliamentary speakership in November 2000 and held it until October 2002. He has opposed reforms meant to accord ethnic Albanians greater rights but is believed to be a staunch supporter of Macedonia's good relations with the United States and the European Union. Andov joined a coalition including the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization–Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity and the New Democracy Party in the September 2002 elections. (DP)

Sources: Valentina Georgieva and Sasha Konechni, *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Macedonia* (Lanham, Md., 1998); James Pfeiffer, ed., *The New Macedonian Question* (London, 1999); *RFE/RL Newswire*; Bugajski; *OMRI Daily Digest*; www.rulers.org

ANDRÁSSY Gyula, Jr. (30 June 1860, Tóketerebes [Trebšov, near Košice, Slovakia]–11 June 1929, Budapest), Hungarian politician. The son of Prime Minister Gyula Andrassy, Andrassy began his career as a royal minister and MP on behalf of the Liberal Party (Szabadelvű Párt). In 1892 he became undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Interior, and in 1894–95 he was minister at the imperial court in Vienna. He supported the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867, but he increasingly competed with the leader of his party, **István Tisza**. During the parliamentary debate on the budget and military draft in February 1904, Andrassy belonged to the opposition against Prime Minister Tisza. The parliamentary conflict resulted in a new election. Under social pressures the right to vote was extended, so the Liberal Party lost. In 1905 Andrassy founded the Constitutional Party (Alkotmánypárt), which also supported the Austro-Hungarian compromise, and entered a new government coalition. In the **Sándor Wekerle** government Andrassy was Hungarian minister of interior from April 1906 to January 1910. He elaborated on a draft of the new electoral law, including universal but not fully equal voting rights in Hungary. Owing to the opposition of the left, the law did not come into force. He advocated a

sharpening of the Magyarization policy and restrictions on the use of native languages in public life, elaborated by the minister of education and religious denominations, **Albert Apponyi** (“lex Apponyi”). Andrásy was an excellent parliamentary orator. During World War I he fully supported Hungary’s engagement but remained in opposition to the subsequent government of Tisza (1913–17). In late October 1918 he was appointed foreign minister of Austria-Hungary, with the task of engaging in the peace talks with the Entente. On 3 November 1918 he concluded the armistice with the victorious coalition on its terms.

During the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919 Andrásy was one of the key organizers of the Anti-Bolshevik Committee in Vienna. In 1920 he was elected to the parliament again. In 1921 he presided over the Christian National Union. As a convinced legitimist and conservative, in October 1921 he took part in a futile attempt to enthrone Charles IV as King of Hungary and offered to become his foreign minister, for which he was arrested for a couple of weeks. After his release, he was one of the main opponents of the policy of national consolidation of Prime Minister **István Bethlen**, and until the end of his life he preached Austro-Hungarian legitimism. From 1904 Andrásy was a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He authored many articles and books, including *Az 1867-es kiegyezésről* (On the Compromise of 1867; 1896), *A magyar államfönntmaradásának és alkotmányos szabadságának okai* (Constitutional freedoms of the Hungarian state, 3 vols.; 1901–11), *A királykérdés jogi szempontból Budapest* (Legal grounds of royal power in Hungary; 1920), and *A világháború előzményei* (Circumstances of the outbreak of World War II, 2 vols.; 1925–26). (MS)

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; Steven Béla Varga, *Historical Dictionary of Hungary* (Lanham, Md., 1997); Paul Count Teleki, *The Evolution of Hungary and Its Place in European History* (New York, 1923); Sándor Pethő, *Andrásy Gyula és ellenfelei* (Budapest, 1924); Albert Apponyi, *Andrásy Gyula emlékezete*. MTA Emlékbeszédek (Budapest, 1930); Nicholas Horthy, *Memoirs* (Paris, 1954); Michael Karolyi, *Faith without Illusion* (London, 1956); Paul Ignatus, *Hungary* (London, 1972); István Diósegi, *A magyar külpolitika útjai: tanulmányok* (Budapest, 1984); Jerzy Kochanowski, *Węgry* (Warsaw, 1997).

ANDREESCU Gabriel (8 April 1952, Buzau), Romanian dissident. In 1976 Andreescu graduated in physics from Bucharest University. He taught physics in Buzau, and in 1980–89 he worked at the Meteorological and Hydrological Institute in Bucharest. In 1982, through a school friend living in the United States, he issued a couple of letters criticizing the rule of **Nicolae Ceaușescu** and his clan. In 1984 Radio Free Europe began to broadcast excerpts from his diary. In December 1987 he was arrested and accused

of high treason. Despite brutal interrogation, he did not disclose his collaborators, and he was released in accord with the amnesty of January 1988. Soon, Andreescu, **Doina Cornea**, and **Mircea Dinescu** sent a letter to the participants of the International Conference on Human Rights in Kraków, Poland, in which they delineated the violations of human rights in Romania and appealed to the Romanian society not to collaborate with the regime. In June 1989 they led a several-week-long hunger strike in defense of human rights in Romania. Andreescu’s letter to the subsequent conference on human rights in Paris in 1989 raised a debate about Western interference in the internal affairs of Communist countries. Despite constant surveillance by the political police, Securitate, Andreescu gave a couple of interviews to the Western media. Starting in October 1989 he was in house arrest. He was imprisoned on 22 December 1989 but released the next day owing to the fall of the Ceaușescu regime. From January to May 1990 Andreescu belonged to the Council of the National Salvation Front, and then he worked with the Group in Favor of Social Dialogue (Grupul pentru Dialog Social). He is a leader of the Romanian Association for the Defense of Human Rights. (WR)

Sources: “Curriculum vitae Gabriel Andreescu” and Radoslav Doru, “Gabriel Andreescu”; manuscripts in the archives of the Karta Center in Warsaw.

ANDREI Stefan (29 March 1931, Podari-Livezi, Oltenia), Romanian Communist activist. In 1956 Andrei graduated in engineering from the Higher School of Building in Bucharest. From 1960 to 1963 he belonged to the Executive Committee of the Union of Student Associations, and in 1962–65 he was a member of the Central Committee (CC) of the Union of Working Youth. In both organizations he was responsible for foreign relations. From October 1965 he was deputy head of the Department for Relations with Socialist Countries of the CC of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP), and in April 1972 he became CC secretary for foreign affairs. From November 1974 he belonged to the Standing Presidium of the RCP CC Political Executive Committee, the highest party organ. In February 1978, during a conference of party secretaries of Communist parties in Budapest, Andrei held talks with the leaders of the Hungarian party on the burning issue of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania. He was one of the chief executors of **Nicolae Ceaușescu**’s foreign policy decisions. Andrei was famous for a pompous way of life and corruption. From March 1978 he was foreign minister. He accompanied Ceaușescu on many foreign trips. During visits to Budapest (March 1983) and Bonn (March 1984) he discussed the problem of national minorities in Romania. During the Thirteenth RCP Congress in November 1984

he was dismissed from the Standing Presidium. Ceaușescu charged him with the special protection of his youngest son, Nicu. In theory Andrei was to prepare Nicu for future rule; in practice Andrei tolerated his scandalous conduct. At the end of 1985 Andrei left the Foreign Ministry and became RCP CC secretary, this time responsible for the ailing economy. The end of the Ceaușescu regime was also the end of his career. (PC)

Sources: Juliusz Stroynowski, ed., *Who's Who in the Socialist Countries of Europe* (Munich, London, and Paris, 1989); Robert King, *History of the Romanian Communist Party* (Stanford, 1980); Martin McCauley and Stephen Carter, *Leadership and Succession in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China* (New York, 1985); Ion M. Pacepa, *Red Horizons* (New York, 1987).

ANDRESEN Nigol (2 October 1899, Vanamoisa, near Haljala—24 February 1985, Tartu), was an Estonian writer and Communist activist. In 1918 Andresen graduated from a training school in Rakvere, and then he worked as a teacher. In 1928 he was elected MP on behalf of the Estonian Socialist Labor Party but he left it, recognizing its program as too moderate. He founded the Marxist Union of Working People (MUWP); the group was attracted to the Communist International, which was seeking a chance to restore influence in Estonia after the Communist Party of Estonia had failed to overthrow the democratic government in 1924. In 1935 Comintern representatives signed an agreement of cooperation with the MUWP in the struggle against “fascism”—i.e., the **Konstantin Päts** regime.

At the time of the Soviet invasion in June 1940, Andresen belonged to a group of most trusted aides of the Communists. In the **Johannes Vares** government (June–July 1940) he became commissar of foreign affairs, and in the **Johannes Lauristin** government he was appointed deputy chairman (deputy prime minister) of the Council of People's Commissars of the Estonian SSR and commissar of education (1940–44). Supervising the transformation of the Estonian Foreign Ministry into the People's Commissariat of the Estonian SSR, he was responsible for personnel purges and the promotion of Soviet activists. However, there is evidence that he hoped to maintain remnants of the former diplomatic apparatus. As commissar for education, he implemented Soviet instructions, which meant the transformation of the education system along Soviet lines, the introduction of Marxism-Leninism into schools, purges among teachers, and the abolition of teacher and student organizations and their replacement by the Soviet Komsomol and pioneer organizations. He was also responsible for censorship in 1940–41 and 1944–46. After the restoration of Soviet power in 1944, Andresen was acting chairman of the Council of Ministers

of the Estonian SSR (1946–47) and deputy chairman of the republican Supreme Council (1946–49). In 1947 he graduated from a party school at the Central Committee of the Soviet party, and in 1948, from Estonian studies at the University of Tartu. In 1940–49 he was a member of the Supreme Council of the Estonian SSR, and in 1940–46, a member of the Supreme Council of the USSR. With the wave of purges that affected the Estonian party in 1950, Andresen was accused of “bourgeois nationalism” and deported to Siberia. After his return he withdrew from political life and worked as a teacher. He published biographies of *Friedebert Tuglas* (1968) and *Paul Kuusberg* (1976). He also translated works by Maksxim Gorky, Ilya Ehrenburg, and Arnold Zweig, as well as *Das Kapital*, by Karl Marx, and the *Communist Manifesto*. (AG)

Sources: *Eesti Entsüklopeedia*, vol. 14 (Tallinn, 2000); *Pravda*, 13 May 1950; Erik Nørgaard, *Mændene fra Estland* (Copenhagen, 1990); Toivo U. Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians* (Stanford, 1991); Matti Laur, Tõnis Lukas, Ain Mäesalu, Ago Pajur, and Tõnu Tannberg, *History of Estonia* (Tallinn, 2000); www.okupatsioon.ee/english/overviews/index.html; Mike Jones, “How Estonia Became Part of the USSR and” “Revolutionary History”; www.revolutionary-history.co.uk.

ANDRIĆ Ivo (10 October 1892, Dolac, near Travnik, Bosnia—13 March 1975, Belgrade), Yugoslav writer and diplomat. Andrić was born into a Catholic family in Bosnia. His father died when he was two years old. Andrić spent his childhood in the Bosnian town of Višegrad on the Drina River. In 1910 he began his education at the Great Gymnasium in Sarajevo. He was active in Mlada Bosna (Young Bosnia), a revolutionary youth movement that aimed at the unification of the south Slavic nations into one state and that was in opposition to Austria-Hungary. With the radicalization of Mlada Bosna, Andrić started to distance himself from this movement. In the fall of 1912 he began studies in philosophy in Zagreb. After one year he moved to Vienna, but for health reasons he left for Kraków, where in 1914 he studied at the Jagiellonian University. After the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand (June 1914) by **Gavrilo Princip**, a member of Mlada Bosna, Andrić arrived in Split, where in July of the same year he was arrested. He was held in prison until mid-1917. After the end of World War I he got a job at the Ministry for Religious Affairs in the newly created Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. In 1920 he entered the Yugoslav diplomatic service. In 1924 he completed his studies and obtained a Ph.D. from the university in Graz, Austria. He then continued his work in the diplomatic service. He served at diplomatic missions in Rome, Bucharest, Marseilles, Paris, Madrid, Brussels, and Geneva. In 1939 he was appointed ambassador to Berlin, where

he stayed until April 1941, when the Third Reich invaded Yugoslavia. After World War II he joined the Communist Party. He also became president of the Yugoslav Writers' Union and deputy president of the Society for Cultural Cooperation of Yugoslavia with the USSR. In 1949, as a representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, he was elected to the Yugoslav Federal Assembly.

Andrić was a representative of the so-called great generation, an avant-garde movement after World War I. His literary output belongs to three literatures: Croatian, Serbian, and Bosnian. He published his first literary work in 1910, under the title *U sumrak* (At twilight). In 1914 he issued a collection of poems, *Hrvatska mlada lirika* (Croatian young lyric poetry). He was an editor of the literary magazines *Književni Jug* and *Yugoslavenska njiva*. During his studies in Vienna he became acquainted with the literary works of the Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard; these exerted an influence on his writing that could be seen, for example, in his volumes of lyrical prose, *Ex ponto* (1918) and *Nemiri* (Unrest; 1920). In 1924, 1931, and 1936 collections of his short stories were published; each collection was entitled *Pripovetke* (Short stories). In 1925 he received an award from the Serbian Royal Academy for the first of these collections, and in 1938 he was honored with the Order of St. Sava. During the German occupation (1941–45) he lived in Belgrade, and he wrote three novels; these were published in 1945 and are considered his most important works. In 1961 these novels won him the Nobel Prize for Literature. In the first novel, *Na Drini ćuprija* (The Bridge on the Drina; 1959), Andrić presented the history of the small town Višegrad, which was created at the beginning of the sixteenth century, after the building of a great stone bridge. The bridge symbolized union and durability. His next novel, *Travnička hronika* (Bosnian story, 1959; also translated as *Bosnian chronicle*, 1963, and as *Days of the consuls*, 1992), was strongly set in the historical reality of 1807–14. Consul Daville, presented in the book as the personification of the civilized West, is helpless in his efforts to understand “wild,” multinational, and multicultural Bosnia, ruled by laws that are beyond his comprehension. The third novel is titled *Gospodjica* (The woman from Sarajevo; 1965). Andrić's most important works also include *Nove pripovetke* (New stories, 1948), *Prokleta avlija* (The damned yard; 1954), *Zapisi o Goji* (Conversations with Goya; 1960) and *Omerpaša Latas* (Omer Pasha Latas; 1976). (AO)

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; *Wielka encyklopedia PWN*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 2001); Marek Klecel, ed., *Ivo Andrić: W dziesiątą rocznicę śmierci (1975–1985). Materiały sesji Zakładu Jugoslawistyki Instytutu Filologii Słowiańskiej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* (Warsaw, 1988); Celia Hawkesworth, *Ivo Andrić:*

Bridge between East and West (London, 1984); Radovan Popović, *Ivo Andrić: Život* (Belgrade, 1988); Jan Wierzbicki, *Ivo Andrić* (Warsaw, 1965); Kazimierz Żorawski, *Ivo Andrić* (Warsaw, 1988).

ANDRZEJEWSKI Jerzy (19 August 1909, Warsaw–19 April 1983, Warsaw), Polish writer. In 1931 Andrzejewski graduated in Polish philology from Warsaw University. He made his debut in the Warsaw daily *ABC* in 1932. In 1935–37 he wrote for the weekly *Prosto z mostu*, where he edited a literary column. His first novel, *Ład serca* (Order of the heart; 1938), whose hero, a priest, finds a moral grounding in faith, won him wide recognition. In 1939 Andrzejewski won the Award of the Young of the Polish Academy of Literature. During the German occupation he was active in the underground cultural life of Warsaw. He presented his wartime experience in the collection of short stories *Noc* (The night; 1945). In 1946–47 he was chairman of the Kraków branch of the Trade Union of Polish Writers. In 1948 he published *Popiół i diament* (Ash and diamond), in which he presented postwar reality in a way acceptable to the Communists. The book, which was compulsory reading in the schools, became a part of the literary founding myth of communism in Poland and was made into a film by **Andrzej Wajda**.

In the early 1950s Andrzejewski declared himself a Marxist. This was, among other things, expressed in his collection *Partia i twórczość pisarza* (The Party and the work of a writer; 1952). In 1950–52 he was deputy chairman of the Association of Polish Writers and chairman of its Szczecin branch. In 1952–54 he edited *Przegląd kulturalny*; from 1955, the weekly *Twórczość*; and later, the weekly *Literatura*. From 1952 to 1957 he was MP. During the “thaw,” starting in 1955, he was increasingly critical of the regime, for which **Stefan Żółkiewski** and **Jakub Berman** attacked him. His new approach was expressed in *Ciemności kryją ziemię* (Darkness covering the earth; 1956). In 1956–57 he co-authored the idea of a literary periodical, *Europa*, but the Communist authorities disapproved of it. In November 1957 he left the Communist Party, as a result of which his works were temporarily banned. This happened again in 1964 after he co-initiated and signed the “Letter of 34” intellectuals to the prime minister criticizing censorship and government cultural policies. In March 1968 he spoke up in defense of protesting students, and in August 1968, against the Polish participation in the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. As a result, he was refused a passport, and his works were banned again. His accounts of communism are in the novel *Bramy rajy* (Gates of paradise; 1960) and a pamphlet on contemporary culture, *Idzie skacząc po górach* (He comes jumping over the mountains; 1963).

Andrzejewski published in *Twórczość*, but in 1972 his novel *Miazga* (Pulp) was withdrawn from publication. As a signatory of the “Letter of 101” in January 1976, he protested against amendments to the constitution regarding mono-party rule and Poland’s dependence on the Soviet Union. In 1976 he sent a letter to those persecuted after worker riots in Radom. He co-founded the Committee for the Defense of Workers (Komitet Obrony Robotników) and let the speaker of the parliament know about its creation in October 1976. As a result, his works were banned again, and he became the subject of a hostile press campaign and false accusations. He began to publish in underground periodicals and became a member of the editorial staff of *Zapis*. His *Miazga* appeared in an uncensored publication in 1979. Seriously ill, he took part in the First Congress of Solidarity in September 1981. (PK)

Sources: *Literatura polska. Przewodnik encyklopedyczny*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 2000); *Opozycja w PRL. Słownik biograficzny 1956–1989*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 2000); Maria Bursztyn, Katarzyna Rodymińska and Jerzy Eisler, *List 34* (Warsaw, 1993); Tadeusz Drewnowski, *Próba scalenia* (Warsaw, 1997).

ANGYAL István [originally Engel] (14 October 1928, Magyarbányhegyes–1 December 1958 Budapest), one of the leaders of the Hungarian revolution of 1956. During the war Angyal finished high school, but because of his Jewish origins, he was not allowed to take the final exams. In the summer of 1944, along with his mother and one of his sisters, he was deported to the Nazi concentration camp in Auschwitz-Birkenau, from which he returned alone. The Nazis shot his sister in his presence. After the war he was accepted into the Department of Humanities of Budapest University. In 1949 he spoke up in defense of **György Lukács**, for which he was fired from the university. He worked as a mechanic, and in 1951–55 he participated in the construction of the new town of Sztálinváros on the Danube; later he worked in a construction company in Budapest. On 23 October 1956 he took part in a demonstration at the Józef Bem monument, at the parliament building, and in the storming of the radio headquarters. On 25 October he joined a demonstration against Soviet intervention. On his initiative the demands of the demonstrators were proclaimed in front of the embassies of “people’s democracies” and not in front of the U.S. Embassy. The next day he took over lead of the insurgents in Túzoltó Street and took part in the defense of the Ninth Quarter of Budapest. On 29 and 30 October he negotiated conditions of armistice with Prime Minister **Imre Nagy**. When these were implemented, Angyal maintained peace and order and defended the idealized vision of a “Socialist society” against Stalinist restoration

and “capitalism.” After the second Soviet intervention on 4 November he continued the armed struggle. He also wrote and distributed leaflets and proclamations. He tried to get in touch with the new government of **János Kádár**, but in vain. Angyal was encouraged to leave Hungary but refused. Arrested on 16 November 1956, on 17 April 1958 he was sentenced to death on the grounds of initiating and leading a plot against “the power of the people.” On 27 November 1958 the Supreme Court upheld the sentence, and he was executed. (JT)

Sources: *Magyar Nagylexikon*, vol. 2 (Budapest, 1994); *A magyar forradalom és szabadságharc enciklopédiája*, CD-ROM (Budapest, 1999); *Új Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 2001); András Lukácsy, *Felismerem-e Angyal István. Levelek fiának* (Budapest, 1990); György Litván, ed., *Revolucja węgierska 1956 roku* (Warsaw, 1996).

ANIELEWICZ Mordecai, pseudonyms “Aniołek” (Little Angel) and “Malachi,” (1919, Wyszaków, Poland–8 May 1943, Warsaw), activist of the Zionist left in Poland. Anielewicz came from a Jewish lower-middle-class family. He attended a Hebrew secondary school, where he established ties with Betar, a youth organization of a radical faction of Zionists-Revisionists. The outbreak of World War II caused an ideological breakthrough in his life. In September 1939 he found himself under Soviet occupation. While trying to cross the border into Romania, he was arrested by the NKVD but was released. He returned to German-occupied Warsaw, and then he went to Wilno (Vilnius), which was under Lithuanian rule. In January 1940 he came back to Warsaw and joined a leftist youth organization, Hashomer Hatzair (Young Guard), derived from a revolutionary wing of the Poale Zion Left. The Zionist program of the party was anti-German and pro-Soviet. The party was in favor of a Jewish kibbutz state in Palestine and recognized the annexation of the Polish Eastern Borderland by the USSR. Such an orientation was represented by *Neged Hazerem*, an underground newspaper founded by Anielewicz, who was also its editor-in-chief. Anielewicz was also involved in clandestine teaching and in party propaganda.

In March or April 1942 Anielewicz co-established the Anti-Fascist Bloc, an alliance of leftist Zionists and Communists. He traveled secretly throughout German-occupied Poland, organizing units of the bloc. He was away from Warsaw at the time of mass deportations from the ghetto in the summer of 1942, when over 250,000 Jews were transported to the extermination camp in Treblinka. After his return, in November of that year he co-founded the Jewish Fighting Organization (*Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa* [ŻOB]), which aimed at armed resistance to the

Germans. The ŻOB was a union of units of the Socialist Bund, leftist Zionists, and Communists from the Polish Workers' Party (Polska Partia Robotnicza [PPR]). He soon became commander-in-chief of the ŻOB. He managed to obtain some help from the Home Army (Armia Krajowa [AK]): weapons, ammunition, and instructions on how to fight. The first ŻOB action against the Germans took place on 18 January 1943 and lasted four days. The ŻOB resistance successfully prevented a German-planned deportation to Treblinka. The actual uprising in the ghetto began on 19 April and lasted until 16 May 1943. During the fighting, Anielewicz commanded the ŻOB but also tried to coordinate resistance by the rightist Jewish Military Union (Żydowski Związek Bojowy [ZZB]) and the so-called wild insurrectionists. After two weeks of fighting, encircled by the SS in a bunker in Miła Street, Anielewicz, along with other leaders of the uprising, committed suicide. After the war a kibbutz named after him was created in Israel, Yad Mordecai, and one of the main streets of the former Jewish district in Warsaw was named Anielewicz Street. (MC)

Sources: Kunert, vol. 1; *Wielka encyklopedia PWN*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 2001); Emanuel Ringelblum, *Kronika getta warszawskiego* (Warsaw, 1983); Tomasz Szarota ed., *The Warsaw Ghetto: The 45th Anniversary of the Uprising* (Warsaw, 1988); Hanna Krall, *Shielding the Flame: Intimate Conversations with Marek Edelman* (New York, 1986); Yitzhak Zuckerman, *A Surplus of Memory: Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* (Berkeley, 1993); Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, *Żydzi i Polacy, 1918–1955: Współistnienie, Zagłada, Komunizm* (Warsaw, 2000).

ANTALL József, Jr. (8 April 1932, Pestújhely–12 December 1993, Budapest), Hungarian politician. In 1950 Antall graduated from a Piarist high school in Budapest. He was interested in politics and gained wide knowledge in this field. He graduated in history and Hungarian studies (1954) and in archive, library, and museum studies (1962) from the University of Budapest. In 1968 he earned a Ph.D. in history. From 1954 he taught in the József Eötvös High School in Budapest. During the 1956 revolution he chaired a revolutionary committee in this school, organized passive resistance against the **János Kádár** government, and reorganized the Independent Smallholders Party (ISP). After the revolution he was temporarily arrested and interrogated. Reprimanded and released, he was moved to another school. Owing to his political stance, in 1959 he was banned from teaching. In 1960–62 he worked as a librarian. In 1964 he got a job in the Ignaz Semmelweis Memorial Museum of the History of Medicine. First he was its deputy director (1964–74), then acting director (1974–84), and finally director (1984–91), upgrading the role of this institution.

In the 1970s and 1980s Antall worked as a scholar.

Among other things, he was deputy chairman of the International Association of the History of Medicine (1968–90) and chairman of the Hungarian Association of the History of Medicine (1982–90). In 1988 he entered the political scene. For family reasons he initially considered joining one of the historic parties: the ISP or the Christian Democratic People's Party (CDPP). Realizing that these parties would not take a leading role in systemic transformation, in the fall of 1988 he joined the Hungarian Democratic Forum (Magyar Demokrata Forum [HDF]). In the spring of 1989 he took part in the Round Table Talks of the Hungarian opposition, and in mid-June 1989 he became the HDF delegate to the Triangle Table Talks with the Communist leadership, aiming at a peaceful transition of power. During the talks (June–September 1989), Antall became one of the leaders of the opposition, gaining authority thanks to his knowledge of constitutional law and to his negotiating skills. In October 1989 he was almost unanimously elected chairman of the HDF and transformed it into a party that won the first free election in March and April 1990, gaining 42.5 percent of the vote and 165 out of 368 seats in the parliament.

Antall concluded a coalition of the HDF with the ISP and CDPP, and on 23 May 1990 he became prime minister. He strove for a stable parliamentary majority, which was all the more important as a result of the Triangle Table agreements, by which the range of laws requiring a two-thirds parliamentary majority was widened. This is why Antall also reached a compromise with the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD). As a result, the parliament elected the AFD candidate, **Árpád Göncz**, president. Antall enjoyed substantial respect in the West and kept Hungary out of the Balkan conflicts. During his term Hungary was accepted into the Council of Europe as the first country from the former Soviet bloc (October 1990). He initiated cooperation with Czechoslovakia (later the Czech Republic and Slovakia) and Poland with the Visegrad Triangle (February 1991). At this time Soviet troops were evacuated from Hungary (June 1991), the Warsaw Pact was dissolved (July 1991), and Hungary signed an association agreement with the European Community (December 1991). Antall also initiated steps toward Hungary's entry into NATO. In the fall of 1990 it turned out that he was seriously ill. From that point he struggled with time, directing government work with great determination. He was, nevertheless, unable to resolve conflicts in his own party, although in 1993 he excluded from it the radical nationalist faction of **István Csúrka**. With the maintenance of social order in mind, Antall advocated gradual transformation and abstained from more radical economic reforms. He was not a particularly skilled orator and the social costs of

transformation eroded his initial popularity, but his death moved the whole country, and his funeral was attended by hundreds of thousands of people. (JT)

Sources: *Magyar Nagylexikon*, vol. 2 (Budapest, 1994); *Nagy Képes Milleniumi Arcképcsarnok* (Budapest, 1999); *Új Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 2001); *Europa Środkowa i Wschodnia*, 1991, 1992, and 1993; Steven Béla Varga, *Historical Dictionary of Hungary* (Lanham, Md., 1997); Jerzy Kochanowski, *Wegry* (Warsaw, 1997); Rudolf L. Tókes, "Party Politics and Political Participation in Postcommunist Hungary," in Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, eds., *The Consolidation of Democracy in East-Central Europe* (Cambridge, 1997).

ANTALL József, Sr. (28 March 1896, Oroszi–24 July 1974, Budapest), Hungarian politician. Antall came from a middle-class family with patriotic traditions. During World War I he was a POW in Russia (1915–18). After returning home, in 1923 he graduated in law from Budapest University. Later he worked in the Ministry of Finance (1928–32), the Ministry of Labor, and the Ministry of Interior (1932–44). In 1931 he joined the Independent Smallholders Party (ISP) and was close to the so-called folk writers who opposed social and national values in favor of Socialist internationalism. From 1939, as head of the Department of Social Affairs of the Ministry of Interior, Antall coordinated Hungarian aid to war refugees. Along with his collaborators, he provided accommodations, supplies, and safety to thousands of Poles; to Allied soldiers (French, British, and Soviet) who escaped from POW camps; to persecuted Jews and Yugoslavs; and, in the course of the westward movement of the eastern front, to refugees from Transylvania and Bukovina, as well as to those from bombed German towns. He saved thousands of lives. He collaborated with the Hungarian and Polish resistance, personifying these circles, which opposed Hungarian engagement on the side of the Axis. After the Third Reich occupied Hungary, on 19 March 1944 he resigned, was arrested, and spent half a year in prison.

From May 1945 Antall was undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Reconstruction, and from November 1945 to July 1946 he was minister of reconstruction in the governments of **Zoltán Tildy** and **Ferenc Nagy**. In March and April 1946 he was temporarily minister of finance. In the parliamentary elections of November 1945 he won a seat on behalf of the ISP. In 1946–48 he chaired the Hungarian Red Cross, in the summer of 1947 he headed the ISP electoral commission, and in August 1947 he won a parliamentary seat again. In the elections of May 1949, when only one list from the Hungarian People's Independence Front was submitted, he won a seat again but was soon forced to give it up. At the end of 1949 he withdrew from

public life. During the revolution, on 30 October 1956 he returned to the ISP's top leadership. After the revolution was suppressed, he was interrogated as a witness. He was awarded the Great Cross of the Order of Merit of the Hungarian Republic (1947) and the Polish Commander's Order of Polonia Restituta, as well as French, Israeli, and British orders. In 1981 a street in Warsaw was given his name. His memoirs, *Menekultek menedéke: Emlékek és iratok* (Refugee camp: Memoirs and documents; 1997), were published posthumously. His son, **József Antall, Jr.** (1932–1993), was a Hungarian prime minister. (MS/JT)

Sources: *Magyar Nagylexikon*, vol. 2 (Budapest, 1994); *Új Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 2001); *Magyarország 1944–1956*, CD-ROM (Budapest, 2001); Endre Várkonyi, "Antall József," *Magyarország*, 1974, no. 36; Ágnes Godó, *Magyar-lengyel kapcsolatok a második világháborúban* (Budapest, 1976); Helena and Tibor Csorba, *Ziemia węgierska azylem Polaków 1939–1945* (Warsaw, 1985).

ANTANOVICH Ivan (3 April 1937, Domashe, near Lyahavitsi), Belorussian Communist activist. Antanovich graduated from the Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages in Minsk in 1960. He worked in the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences, publishing typical propaganda works such as *Amerikanskaia burzhuaznaia aksiologia na sluzhbe imperializma* (American bourgeois axiology in the service of imperialism; 1967) and two volumes on "bourgeois sociological theories" (1981–82). In 1977 he became professor. He was one of the authors of the *Belorussian Soviet Encyclopedia*. In the early 1970s he was the Belorussian representative to UNESCO. In 1977 he was sent to the party apparatus. From 1979 to 1987 he was secretary for culture of the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party of Belorussia (CPB); from 1987 to 1990, deputy rector of the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPB CC; and in 1990–91, secretary and Politburo member of the CC of the Communist Party of the Russian Federal SSR. As late as 1990 he published *Sovremennyy kapitalizm: Sotsy-dinamika vlasti* (Contemporary capitalism: Social dynamics of power). After the fall of the USSR he returned to Belorussia. From 1993 to 1995 he was director of the Belorussian Research Institute of Information and Forecasting; in 1995–97, deputy minister; and in 1997–98, minister of foreign affairs. He made futile attempts to lead Belorussia out of international isolation that had been caused by the policies of President **Alyaksandr Lukashenka**. (EM)

Sources: Jan Zaprudnik, *Historical Dictionary of Belarus* (Lanham, Md., 1998); *Kto iest kto v Respublike Belarus* (Minsk, 1999).

ANTCZAK Antoni (15 May 1890, Wolenice–31 July 1952, Wronki), Polish politician. The son of a laborer, Antczak completed four grades of a country grammar school and supplemented his knowledge through self-education. In 1914 he began political activity in the Polish Trade Union (Zjednoczenie Zawodowe Polskie [ZZP]), a Christian organization in Westphalia, Germany. In 1918 he joined the National Workers' Association (Narodowe Stronnictwo Robotnicze [NSR]) in Poland, and in 1921 he became a member of the Supreme Council of the National Workers' Party (Narodowa Partia Robotnicza [NPR]). In 1923–27 he was president of the Pomeranian board of the NPR; from 1929 to 1930 he was MP on behalf of the NPR. In 1937 he became a member of the board of the Labor Party (Stronnictwo Pracy [SP]). After the German aggression in 1939, he served as the government delegate to Pomerania. Fearing arrest, in July 1941 he moved to Warsaw, where he continued his activities as government delegate. Deported to Germany after the Warsaw Uprising, in March 1945, he returned to Poland and presided over the underground SP until the return of **Karol Popiel**. From November 1945, Antczak was treasurer of the party's Executive Committee and one of Popiel's trusted co-workers. In December 1945 Antczak became a deputy to the Communist-controlled National Home Council (Krajowa Rada Narodowa [KRN]). After an upheaval within the SP, caused by the pro-Communist activists of Zryw, Antczak, along with six associates, gave up their KRN seats in September 1946. Antczak cooperated with *Tygodnik Warszawski* (Warsaw Weekly) and unsuccessfully attempted to legalize the Christian Labor Party. Arrested by the secret police in August 1948 and sentenced to fifteen years in a rigged political trial on 6 April 1951, he died in prison. (WR)

Sources: *Posłowie . . .*, vol. 1; *Dzieje Zjednoczenia Zawodowego Polskiego 1889–1939* (Katowice, 1939); *Słownik biograficzny działaczy polskiego ruchu robotniczego*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1979); Karol Popiel, *Na mogiłach przyjaciół* (London, 1966).

ANTONCHIK Siarhey (1 April 1956, Pleshchenitsi, near Lahoyk), Belorussian trade and political activist. After high school Antonchik was a blue-collar worker in a Minsk tool factory, Belvar. In the late 1980s he was associated with the opposition Belorussian Popular Front (Belaruski Narodni Front [BNF]) and established structures of independent trade unions. In 1990 he was elected deputy to the Supreme Council on behalf of the BNF. As a member of the parliamentary anti-corruption commission, during the Supreme Council session of December 1994, he accused the **Alyaksandr Lukashenka** group of corruption, causing the first political crisis after the presidential elections.

His report, titled *Krainay kiruyus mafyoznyia klany* (The country is run by Mafia clans), pointed to corruption at the top echelons of Belorussian power. It was published in the paper *Svaboda*, thus becoming known to wider social circles. Antonchik was one of the deputies who went on a hunger strike in April 1995 to protest a referendum to change the state symbols initiated by the Lukashenka regime. In 1997 Antonchik established the Fund to Support the Unemployed, gathering funds for people fired for political reasons. (EM)

Sources: *Narodnyia deputaty Respubliki Belarus: Dwanattsataye sklikannie* (Minsk, 1992); Siergiej Owsiannik and Jelena Strielkova, *Wladza i społeczeństwo: Białoruś 1991–1998* (Warsaw, 1998).

ANTONESCU Ion (14 June 1882, Pitești–1 June 1946, near Jilava), Romanian marshal and dictator. Antonescu graduated from the military academy and soon afterwards took part in the suppression of the Moldavian rebellion of 1907. During World War I he was first the operations chief of the Northern Army, then chief of the operations office of the general staff, and he planned the resistance of the Romanian army against the Germans. In 1922–27 he served as military attaché in Paris, Brussels, and London. In 1933–34 he was chief of the general staff, and in December 1937 he became defense minister in the government of **Octavian Goga**. The cabinet failed to reduce tensions in the country and suppress disturbances caused (among other things) by anti-Semitism. In February 1938 King Charles II removed the ruling coalition and established a “government of national unity” with Patriarch **Miron Cristea** as its head. In fact this was a royal coup d'état that destroyed the appearance of democracy. In March 1938 Antonescu resigned his post in protest at the use of the army for domestic repression. He found himself in opposition to the king and became involved with the Fascist Iron Guard, supported by the Third Reich.

After the USSR annexed Bessarabia and northern Bukovina from Romania in June 1940 and Hungary took a part of Transylvania as a result of the Viennese arbitration of 30 August 1940, and also since Bulgaria claimed southern Dobrudja, King Charles had to resign. After a failed attempt by the Iron Guard to seize power on 4 September 1940, Antonescu established a dictatorship with the help of the armed forces. As premier of a “National Legionary State,” he began a complicated game with the Third Reich and the Iron Guard. Under German pressure, the leader of the Iron Guard, **Horia Sima**, became deputy prime minister. On 6 September, Antonescu reached an agreement with liberals and royalists and forced the abdication of Charles in favor of his son, Michael I. Once in power, one of Antonescu's first acts had to be the recognition of

the Viennese arbitration by which Hungary gained a part of Transylvania and of the annexation of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. The guardsmen unleashed a wave of terror and in November 1940 murdered the former premier, **Nicolae Iorga**, and an outstanding economist, **Virgil Madgearu**. This was followed by an attempted coup, to which Antonescu responded with force. Despite German support for the Iron Guard, the army suppressed the incidents and pogroms instigated on 21–23 January 1941 in the streets of Bucharest, and Antonescu forced Sima and other leaders of the Iron Guard to leave for Germany. Although the head of state was formally King Michael, henceforth Antonescu governed Romania integrally as premier, marshal, and commander (*conducatorul*) of the nation. However, the reward for the suppression of the “fifth column” by the Germans was concessions toward Hitler. In the fall of 1940 German troops came to the country under the guise of “protectors” of the Romanian petroleum fields and the country’s industrial centers.

The treaty of 4 December 1940 with Germany subordinated the Romanian economy to the Third Reich, even though it temporarily promised favorable conditions. On 23 October 1940 Antonescu signed the anti-Comintern Pact, but in April 1941 he refused to take part in the war against Yugoslavia, with whom Romania had traditionally had good relations. Instead, in order to gain back Bessarabia and Bukovina, he ordered thirty Romanian divisions to support the German invasion of the USSR in June 1941. After his aim had been achieved, which added greatly to his popularity, he submitted to German pressure on 14 August 1941 and sent his troops beyond Dniester. This drew Romania into war against the Allies for good. Antonescu found himself under pressure from public opinion, which mistakenly expected that German support would help to regain the rest of Transylvania. Despite German pressure, he did not agree to the mass extermination of the Jewish population of the Old Kingdom and southern Transylvania, whereas in Bessarabia and Bukovina the authorities organized deportations and the annihilation of Jews accused of supporting the Soviet regime in 1940–41.

The collaboration policies of Antonescu depended upon two factors—the current power of the Third Reich and calculations as to who was going to win the war eventually. Under the influence of Foreign Minister **Mihai Antonescu**, Antonescu tried to enter into closer relations with Italy; by improving cooperation among the Romance-language countries—Romania, Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal—he intended to bring about a joint withdrawal from the war against the Western powers. These plans failed. Despite many indirect contacts, the Allies did not

agree to a separate peace treaty with the German satellite governments without the consent of the USSR. In February 1944 Antonescu sent a special emissary, Prince **Barbu Știrbei**, on a mission to prepare the capitulation of Romania to the Allies, but the Kremlin, which wanted to enter the defeated country, blocked even this attempt.

The Romanian army suffered heavy losses in the USSR in 1944. Antonescu failed to side with the Big Three. It was only King Michael who was able to take the initiative in the overthrow of the dictatorship (23 August 1944), when the Red Army stood at the borders of Romania. Antonescu was arrested by Michael during his visit to the royal palace. He was interrogated for a long time, and, after the events of February 1945, he was handed over to the Russian Communists and the Soviet authorities. During his trial, which began in May 1946, the history of an extremely difficult political situation in Romania in 1940–44 came to light. German witnesses confirmed the caution with which Antonescu had acted toward Hitler. To the end Antonescu maintained that he had tried to prevent the subjugation of Romania by the USSR. During the trial even the leader of the peasant opposition, **Iuliu Maniu**, did not hesitate to shake hands with him. Antonescu was sentenced to death and executed. (WR)

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; Andreas Hillgruber, *Hitler, König Carol und Marschall Antonescu* (Wiesbaden, 1954); Andrzej Koryn, *Rumunia w polityce wielkich mocarstw 1944–1947* (Wrocław, 1983); Jipa Rotaru, Octavian Buran, and Vladimir Zodian, *Maresalul Ion Antonescu: Am facut “razboiul sfânt” Împotriva bolșevismului: Campania anului 1941* (Oradea, 1991); Gheorghe Barbul, *Mamorial Antonescu: Al treilea om al Axei* (Iași, 1992); Ioan Dan, “Prosesul” *Maresalului Ion Antonescu* (Bucharest, 1993); Keith Hitchins, *Rumania 1866–1947* (Oxford, 1994); Iosif C. Dragan, *Antonescu: Marshal and Ruler of Romania, 1940–1944* (Bucharest, 1995); Gh. Buzatu, ed., *Maresalul Antonescu În fata istoriei, Documente, marturii si comentarii*, vols. 1–4 (Iași, 1990–1995); Denis Deletant, *Communist Terror in Romania: Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State, 1948–1965* (New York, 1999).

ANTONESCU Mihai (18 November 1904, Nucet–1 June 1946, Jilava), Romanian lawyer and politician. Antonescu studied law at Bucharest University (1922–26). In 1927 he successfully defended a Ph.D. in law, and in 1931 he achieved the rank of assistant professor. In 1940 he defended General **Ion Antonescu**, who, on the orders of King **Charles II**, was being held prisoner at the Bistrița monastery. It was then that Antonescu first established contact with Ion Antonescu, with whom he had no family ties. After the takeover of power by Ion Antonescu, from November 1940 to January 1941 he served as justice minister in the government formed in coalition with the Iron Guard. When, after an unsuccessful coup by the Guardsists, Ion Antonescu liquidated the Iron Guard and became

head of the government (27 January 1941), Antonescu was appointed deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs. After the attack against the USSR in June 1941 he acted as premier on several occasions, replacing Ion Antonescu, who was on the eastern front. Antonescu was also responsible for foreign policy, except for relations with the Third Reich, which were handled by Ion Antonescu himself. Antonescu had a positive attitude toward Polish refugees in Romania, and despite pressures he protected them from Germans. The Polish government in exile, acting within the framework of the so-called Tripod Action, got in touch both with Antonescu and with the Romanian dictator in order to withdraw the country from its alliance with Germany. This initiated Romanian involvement in secret negotiations with the Allies; between 1942 and 1943 these were held in Cairo, Ankara, Stockholm, Madrid, Lisbon, Geneva, and the Holy See. A separate secret initiative of Antonescu was to maintain contacts with Italy, Vichy France, Spain, and Portugal in order to establish a “Latin Axis,” directed against the USSR and Hungary. Another goal that Antonescu pursued between 1941 and 1943 was to create a new “Little Entente” of Romania, Croatia, and Slovakia, which would be directed against Hungary.

In 1943 these activities, conducted with the knowledge of Ion Antonescu, were discovered by German intelligence in Turkey; as a result, Hitler demanded the dismissal of Antonescu. However, Marshal Antonescu did not agree to that. Antonescu continued his efforts to come to an agreement with the Allied countries through the diplomatic missions of neutral countries in Bucharest, especially through a Swiss envoy, Maurice de Weck, but in the face of a Soviet veto his attempts came to nothing. On the morning of 23 August 1944 Marshal Antonescu sent a wire to the diplomatic mission in Stockholm, trying to conclude peace with the USSR. The same day, however, a coup was staged, and Antonescu was arrested, along with the head of state. At the end of August they were both handed over to the Soviets and taken to Moscow, where they stayed until April 1946. Some sources state that they rejected a Soviet proposal to reassume power in Romania in exchange for close cooperation. In May 1946 their trial was held in Bucharest. At the trial, an amnesty proposed by King **Michael** was rejected, and the terms of the 1923 constitution and the Romanian penal code, which did not provide for the death penalty, were disregarded. Antonescu was executed by firing squad in the garden of the Jilava prison, along with Marshal Antonescu and two generals. Antonescu was the author of, among other works, *Organizarea păcii și a Societații Națiunilor* (The establishment of a peaceful order and the League of Nations; 1929) and *La Roumanie* (1933). (FA/TD)

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; Gheorghe Buzatu, ed., *Mareșalul Antonescu în fața istoriei*, vols. 1–4 (Iași, 1990); Gheorghe Barbul, *Mamorial Antonescu: Al treilea om al Axei* (Iași, 1992); Andreas Hillgruber, *Hitler, Regele Carol și Mareșalul Antonescu: Relațiile româno-germane în 1940–1944* (Bucharest, 1994); General Ion Gheorghe, *Un dictator nefericit: Mareșalul Antonescu. Calea României spre Statul satelit* (Bucharest, 1996); Ion Calafeteanu, “Mihai Antonescu și ideea ‘Axei latine,’” in *România și politica de alianțe: Istorie și actualitate* (Bucharest, 1993); Florin Anghel, “O alternativă de colaborare în interiorul Axei: Spre o nouă Mică Înțelegere, 1941–1944,” in *Revista Istorică*, 1996, nos. 3/4.

ANTONESCU Victor (3 September 1871, Antonești–24 September 1947, Bucharest), Romanian lawyer, diplomat, and politician. Before the agrarian reform of 1921 Antonescu was a large landowner. He had no family ties with General **Ion Antonescu**. He studied law at the university in Bucharest (1888–91) and at the College of Political Sciences in Paris (1891–94), where in 1895 he defended his Ph.D. in law. Between 1897 and 1900 he was a professor at the College of Political Sciences in Bucharest. From 1900 until his death he was a member of the National Liberal Party (PNL). In 1901 he was elected to parliament. He held various diplomatic posts—for example, he was minister of the legation in Paris (1917–20) and a member of the Romanian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference (1919–20), where he played an important role in advancing the stance of Romania. In 1922–26 he represented Romania at the League of Nations in Geneva. On behalf of the PNL he served as justice minister in 1914–16 and 1933–35, finance minister in 1916–17 and 1935–36, and minister of foreign affairs between August 1936 and 1937. His efforts led to a rapprochement with Poland; as a result the diplomatic missions of both countries were elevated to the ranks of embassies (June 1936). He adopted a conciliatory stance toward the policy of Charles II. He authored, for example, *Economie politique* (Political economy; 1895). (FA/TD)

Sources: Șerban N. Ionescu, *Who Was Who in Twentieth Century Romania* (Boulder, Colo., 1994); Dov. B. Lungu, *Romania and the Great Powers 1933–1940* (Durham, N.C., 1989); *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, Piotr Łossowski, ed., vol. 4 (Warsaw, 1995).

ANTONIADE Constantin (16 August 1880, Bucharest–1954, Sighet), Romanian diplomat. In 1902 Antoniaade graduated in law from Bucharest University, and in 1907 he received a Ph.D. in philology there. From 1919 to 1921 he worked as secretary of the Romanian delegation to the peace talks with the Central Powers, and from 1922 to 1927 he served as a judge at the League of Nations Court in Geneva. In 1928–29 he worked as a representative to the League of Nations, and then until 1933, as a member of the League of Nations committee preparing

an international conference on security and disarmament. From 1936 to 1939 he was minister plenipotentiary in the Romanian Embassy in Switzerland. After the takeover of power by General **Ion Antonescu** in 1940, Antoniadu went into opposition against the regime and its foreign policy. He was a sophisticated intellectual, and he authored *Les ambassadeurs de Venise du XVIème siècle* (Ambassadors of Venice in the sixteenth century; 1934), as well as essays on Henri Bergson, Thomas Carlyle, and Niccolò Machiavelli. Arrested by the Communists in 1950, he died in prison. (FA/WR)

Sources: Șerban N. Ionescu, *Who Was Who in Twentieth Century Romania* (Boulder, Colo., 1994).

ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO Volodymyr [originally Ovseyenko] (21 March 1883, Czernichów–8 February 1938, Moscow), Bolshevik officer and diplomat. Antonov-Ovseyenko came from the family of an officer of the tsarist army. Although from the end of 1902 he was a member of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, in 1904 he graduated as a second lieutenant from a Vladimir infantry school in St. Petersburg. At the turn of 1904/1905 he was assigned to military service in Warsaw and took part in the preparations for a military insurrection in the Kingdom of Poland. In the spring of 1905, after receiving a disciplinary transfer to the Far East to fight in the war against Japan, he left the army to continue revolutionary activities. Having allied himself with the Mensheviks, he was active in (among other places) St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Sevastopol, where he was captured and sentenced to death in 1907. The sentence was commuted to twenty years of penal servitude. He escaped soon after the sentence was passed and continued his activities. In 1909 he emigrated to France, where he assumed the name of Antonov. From 1910 he resided in Paris, and from 1914 he co-edited the magazine *Golos*. After the outbreak of World War I, in 1915 he expressed his support for the internationalist stance adopted by Lenin. At the end of 1915 he broke off with the Mensheviks and in May 1917 returned to Russia.

Antonov-Ovseyenko aligned himself with the Bolsheviks and conducted revolutionary agitation in Finland and Latvia, and in 1917 he became a member of the Military Revolutionary Committee in Petrograd. He took part in the Bolshevik coup in the capital, and at the All-Russian Congress of Soviets (8–9 November 1917) he was elected a member of the Council of People's Commissars for war and sea affairs. On 8 December 1917 he became commander of the armed forces for the struggle against counterrevolution in southern Russia (the Don, the Ukraine, and the Caucasus). Between December 1917 and February

1918 his units, attacking from the northeast, conquered the entire left bank of the Dnieper River in the Ukraine as far as Kiev. In March 1918 the Ukraine passed into the hands of the Germans, so between May and November 1918 he held various command posts in central Russia. In November 1918, with the collapse of the German occupation, he was appointed commander of the armed forces of the Kursk section (the so-called Ukrainian Front). From early December 1918 to early February 1919 he again seized the left bank of the Ukraine, including Kiev, this time pushing out the armed forces of the directorate of the Ukrainian People's Republic from this territory.

In the summer of 1919 the Ukraine passed into the hands of General Anton Denikin. Antonov-Ovseyenko was transferred to administrative work in the *guberniya* (province) of Povolzhye (middle and lower Volga region), which was suffering from famine and peasant insurrections. He was active there between 1921 and 1922. From 1917 he was a co-worker of the people's commissar for defense, Leon Trotsky, and between 1922 and 1924 he held the post of head of the Political Executive of the Revolutionary Military Council of Russia (Revvoiensoviet). As a Trotskyite, he was removed from his executive posts by Stalin. He was assigned to diplomatic work and headed a special negotiation mission to Canton (February–April 1924); he was subsequently a Soviet envoy to Czechoslovakia (1924–28), Lithuania (1928–30), and Poland (1930–34). In June 1934 he was suddenly recalled from his post and was appointed prosecutor of the RSFSR, but in July 1936 he was sent to Barcelona as consul general of the USSR. He was again recalled in September 1937 in relation to preparations for the trials of the Trotskyist opposition. On 12 October 1937 he was arrested and on 8 February 1938 sentenced to ten years in prison. According to recent findings, he was murdered in Lubyanka Prison the same day his sentence was rendered. He was rehabilitated at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU in 1956. Between 1924 and 1933 four volumes of his memoirs of 1914–19, *Zapiski o grazhdanskoi voine* (Notes on the civil war), were published. They remain a valuable source of information on the course of revolution in Russia, although they are not free from propaganda, which gave prominence to the role of Stalin and diminished the role of Trotsky. (TS)

Sources: *MERSH*, vol. 2; A. V. Rakitin and Robert V. Daniels, *Red October: The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917* (New York, 1967); *Wladimir A. Antonov-Owseienko: Istoriko-biograficheskii ocherk* (Moscow, 1989); V. A. Antonov-Ovsieienko, *V semnadtsatom godu* (Kiev, 1991).

ANVELT Jaan (18 April 1884, Võisiku–11 December 1937, USSR), Estonian Communist activist. Born into

a peasant family, in 1907 Anvelt joined the Bolshevik party. He graduated in law from St. Petersburg University in 1912 and edited the Bolshevik magazine *Kiir*. During the February 1917 revolution he was head of a revolutionary committee and the head of the soviet in Narva. After the October 1917 revolution he was president of the Bolshevik Executive Council for Estonia. He came to Petrograd at the beginning of 1918, and at the end of the same year he returned to Estonia as head of the Council of People's Commissars and commissar for military affairs. After the failure of the revolution and after Estonia gained independence, he fought as the commander of the Red Army on different fronts of the Russian civil war. In 1921 he returned to Estonia and headed underground activities. On 1 December 1924 he led an unsuccessful Communist coup in Tallinn. After his return to the USSR he became commissar of a military academy in Moscow; between 1929 and 1935 he was head of the Central Council of Civil Aviation of the USSR, and later, a Comintern worker. Under the pen name "Aadu Eessaare" he published a number of works. Arrested during the Great Purge, he died in prison. In the 1980s some of his works and letters were published in Estonia. (WR)

Sources: MERSH, vol. 2; *Eesti Nõukogude Entsüklopedia*, vol. 1 (Tallinn, 1985); Jaan Anvelt, *Valitud teosed* (Tallinn, 1982); *Jaan Anveldi kirjavahetusi aastaist 1904–1914* (Tallinn, 1984).

APOR Vilmos (29 February 1892, Segesvár [now Sigişoara, Romania]–2 April 1945, Győr), Hungarian bishop, victim of Communist terror. The sixth child of a noble family, Apor was deprived of his father at a young age and was brought up by his mother. He completed theological studies at a Jesuit university in Innsbruck, where he received a doctorate. Ordained in August 1915 in Nagyvárad (now Oradea, Romania), Apor worked as a priest and lecturer in theology. For a short time he served as a chaplain in the army. From 1916 he was chaplain and in 1937–41 parish priest in Gyula. As he was especially devoted to the poor, Apor was called the "presbyter of the poor," and on 21 January 1941 Pope Pius XII consecrated him bishop of Győr. In October 1944, along with other Hungarian bishops, Apor appealed to Ferenc Szálasi to withdraw Hungary from the war in order to prevent a national catastrophe. In December 1944 he personally intervened on the issue with the head of the Hungarian Nazis, protesting against the deportation and extermination of Hungarian Jews. After the invasion of the Red Army many women took refuge in his residence, fearing rape by Soviet soldiers. Apor, who came to the defense of three girls, was seriously wounded, and he died in hospital. In May 1986 he was buried in a basilica in Győr, where his

grave was a place of pilgrimage and prayer of the faithful. On 9 November 1997 he was beatified by Pope John Paul II as a martyr. (WR)

Sources: *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon* (Budapest, 1967), vol. 1; *Fifth Interim Report of Hearings before the Subcommittee on Hungary of the House of Representatives Select Committee on Communist Aggression* (Washington, D.C., 1954); *Osservatore Romano* (Polish edition), 1998, no. 1.

APOSTOL Gheorghe (17 May 1913, Tudor Vladimirescu, near Tecuci), Romanian Communist activist. The son of a railway worker, after primary school Apostol attended a railway trade school, and then he worked as a switchman. In 1930 he joined the Communist Party of Romania (CPR), participating in its youth organization. In 1936 he was arrested for Communist activities and sentenced to a lengthy imprisonment. He was released only after the coup of 23 August 1944. As the Communist dictatorship consolidated, he advanced in the trade union apparatus. In 1944 he became secretary of the General Confederation of Labor, and from 1945 to 1952 he was its chairman. From 1945 he was a member of the Central Committee (CC) of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP; renamed in 1943); from 1948 to 1969 he was a member of the Politburo of the CC of the Romanian Workers' Party (RWP; its name in 1948–65), and then a member of the RCP again. From 1946 to 1974 he was MP. In 1948, 1950–51, and 1952 he was the parliament speaker. From May 1952 to January 1953 he was third deputy prime minister, and then until April 1954, deputy prime minister. From October 1953 to April 1954 he was also minister of agriculture and forestry.

Apostol was closely connected with the first secretary of the Communist Party, **Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej**. After Stalin's death, as a result of Soviet pressures to introduce "collective leadership," on 20 April 1954 Gheorghiu-Dej gave up the party leadership to Apostol and took the helm of the government. Having realized that this may deprive him of control over the state, on 30 September 1955 he dismissed Apostol from the position of first secretary. In 1955–61 Apostol was chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions (CCTU), and from March 1961 to January 1967, first deputy prime minister. From 1965 to 1969 he was a member of the Presidium and of the Executive Committee of the RCP, and in 1967–69, chairman of the CCTU again. In 1968–70 he was a member of the National Council of the Front of Socialist Unity. As he consolidated control over the party and state by removing the clients of Gheorghiu-Dej, in 1969 **Nicolae Ceauşescu** dismissed Apostol from all these positions. From 1969 to 1975 he was director general of the State Reserve Fund, and from

1975 to 1977 he was sales director of the Semanatoarea enterprise in Bucharest. From 1977 to 1983 he was ambassador to Argentina, and in 1983–89, to Brazil. Probably from the early 1980s he stayed in touch with party leaders who had been fired by Ceaușescu. In 1989 Apostol was among six signatories of a letter criticizing Ceaușescu of the violation of human rights; the letter was broadcast on Radio Free Europe. According to one theory, this was a step toward toppling the dictator, which came to an end on 22 December 1989. Later on Apostol played no significant role in public life. (LW)

Sources: Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, ed., *Rumänien* (Göttingen, 1977); *Who's Who in the Socialist Countries of Europe* (Munich, London, and Paris, 1989); Ionescu Ghiță, *Comunismul în România* (Bucharest, 1994); Józef Darski, *Rumunia: Historia, współczesność, konflikty narodowe* (Warsaw, 1995); Ion Alexandrescu, Ion Bulei, Ion Mamina, and Ioan Scurtu, *Enciclopedia de istorie României* (Bucharest, 2000).

APPONYI Albert (29 May 1846, Vienna–7 February 1933, Geneva), Hungarian politician and diplomat. Apponyi started his political career in 1872, when, after graduating from law studies at the universities in Pest and Vienna, he became an MP. Except for the years 1875–1877 and 1918–20, he remained in the parliament, representing various conservative and nationalist parties until the end of his life. Without denying the necessity to conclude the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867, he strove to extend Hungarian autonomy. From October 1901 to November 1903 he was the speaker of the Hungarian parliament. From April 1906 to January 1910 he was minister of education and religions in the second government of **Sándor Wekerle**, authoring a controversial law demanding instruction in Hungarian in all primary schools in Hungary (the so-called *lex Apponyi* of 1907) and a 1909 decree on the compulsory teaching of religion in Hungarian. After the fall of the Wekerle government Apponyi was one of the most radical leaders of the opposition to the governments of **István Tisza**. From August 1917 to October 1918 Apponyi was minister of education in the third cabinet of Wekerle.

After World War I Apponyi presided over the Hungarian delegation to the peace talks; on 16 January 1920 in the Trianon Palace in Versailles, the delegation was informed about the results of the peace conference, which deprived Hungary of the bulk of its prewar territory. In protest Apponyi resigned. In the spring of 1920 he was suggested as a possible regent of Hungary, but he failed to gain wider support. He changed his political orientation and became one of the top leaders of the revisionist movement and of the Hungarian legitimists, who demanded the return of

the Habsburgs. From 1925 to 1933 he was representative to the League of Nations. He was the author of several books on the interdependence of Hungarian domestic and foreign policy, including the following: *A magyar nemzet természetszerű elhelyezkedése a világpolitikában* (The objective situation of the Hungarian nation in world politics; 1915); *The American Peace and Hungary* (1919); *Hungarian Foreign Policy* (1921); *Emlékirataim* (Memoirs, 2 vols.; 1922–34); and *Élmények és emlékek* (Experience and reflections; 1933). (MS)

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; Steven Béla Varga, *Historical Dictionary of Hungary* (Lanham, Md., 1997); *Apponyi emlékkönyv* (Budapest, 1926); Imre Jósika–Herczeg, *Apponyi és Amerika* (New York, 1926); Sándor Pethő, *Gróf Apponyi Albert* (Budapest, 1926); József Kerekesházy, *Apponyi* (Budapest, 1943); Nicholas Horthy, *Memoirs* (Paris, 1954); Harold Steinacker, *Austro-Hungarica* (Munich, 1963).

APRÓ Antal [originally Klein] (8 February 1913, Szeged–9 December 1994, Budapest), Hungarian Communist activist. Brought up in an orphanage, after primary school Apró worked as a house painter in Makó and Budapest. In 1930 he joined the All-National Union of Hungarian Construction Workers (AUHCW), and a year later, the illegal Hungarian Communist Party (HCP). In 1935 he co-organized a strike of construction workers and was active in the United Trade Union Opposition. In 1936–44 he was arrested seven times. Elected to the national leadership of the AUHCW in 1938, in September 1944 he became a member of the Central Committee (CC) of the Party of Peace, founded in June 1943 by **János Kádár** as a cover for the Communist Party. From 1945 Apró was a member of the HCP CC; from 1948, a member of the CC of the Hungarian Workers' Party (HWP); and from 1956, a member of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP).

For more than thirty years Apró stayed in the top leadership of the Communist Party and the state. From May to October 1946 he was a deputy member and then until June 1948 a member of the HCP CC Politburo; until 1956 he was a member of the HWP CC Politburo (except for the period from June to October 1953), and until 1980 he was a member of the HSWP CC Politburo. In 1946–52 he worked in the Organization Department of the HCP and HWP CC. In 1948 he was a member of the joint Organization Committee of the HCP and the Social Democratic Party; the committee's aim was to merge both parties under the control of the Communists. From 1945 to 1989 he was MP; from August 1948, secretary general of the National Council of Trade Unions; from August 1949 to January 1952 and from July to November 1953, a member of the Presidential Council; from the beginning of 1952 to July

1953, minister of the Ministry of Building Materials, and then deputy minister of building. In November 1953 he returned to the party Politburo and became deputy prime minister (until 31 October 1956) and permanent delegate to Comecon (until 1971). From the end of 1954 he belonged to the CC commission for the rehabilitation of unjustly sentenced party members, and in June 1956 he was elected chairman of the National Council of the Patriotic Front. On 6 October 1956 he made a speech during the funeral of **László Rajk** and his comrades.

Close to Kádár, Apró represented his political position. At the beginning of the revolution, on the night of 23 October 1956, he was elected to the CC Military Commission. From 26 October he was deputy prime minister and minister of building in the government of **Imre Nagy**. On 28 October he was co-opted to the HWP CC Politburo. On 1 November he turned up at the Soviet command in Tököl, near Budapest, and on 4 November he entered the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Kádár as minister of heavy industry. In December 1956 he became head of the Economic Commission of the HSWP CC. From May 1957 he was deputy prime minister, and from 1961 he headed the government's International Relations Committee. In May 1971 he was relieved of these duties and became speaker of parliament until December 1984. From 1976 to 1989 he was chairman of the Association of Hungarian-Soviet Friendship. In 1980 he was dismissed from the Politburo and in 1988 from the HSWP. In May 1989 he gave up his parliamentary mandate and retired. (JT)

Sources: *Magyar Nagylexikon*, vol. 2 (Budapest, 1994); *A magyar forradalom és szabadságharc enciklopédiája*, CD-ROM (Budapest, 1999); *Új Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 2001); Bennet Kovrig, *Communism in Hungary from Kun to Kádár* (Stanford, 1979); Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, ed., *Ungarn* (Göttingen, 1987); Miklós Molnár, *From Béla Kun to János Kádár: Seventy Years of Hungarian Communism* (New York, 1990).

ARB NORI Pjetër (18 January 1935, Durrës), Albanian writer, political prisoner, and politician. Born into the family of a Catholic prewar gendarme killed by the partisans during the war, Arbnori attended school in Shkodër. In 1949 he joined a secret youth organization that distributed anti-Communist leaflets. He graduated from high school with distinction but because of his family background he could not study abroad (there were no universities in Albania at that time). He worked as a teacher in a small school in the mountains. After military service, he worked as a farmhand in Xhafzotaj near Durrës. When the University of Tirana was established, thanks to false documents, Arbnori managed to start philological studies. In 1960 he entered into contact with

a small secret Social Democratic organization in Durrës, and he was the author of its program. Arrested in 1961, he was sentenced to death. His sentence was commuted to twenty-five years in prison and in fact spent twenty-nine years in prison.

Released in August 1989, in January 1990 Arbnori joined the opposition against the Communist Party. He co-organized the Albanian Democratic Party (Partia Demokratike e Shqipërisë), and he became its first chairman in the Shkodër region, from where he won mandates in subsequent parliamentary elections. In 1992 and 1996 he was elected speaker of the parliament. An officer of the Security Service (Segurimi), identified Arbnori as an agent of the Segurimi who supposedly used the pseudonym Koromanja although these allegations were never confirmed by actual documentation. The only document that was preserved was Arbnori's agreement to cooperate with the Segurimi, and it is believed by his followers to be forged. Nevertheless, the case deeply divided former political prisoners. In August 1997 Arbnori went on a hunger strike to protest attempts by the ruling Socialists to block access of the opposition to public media. The independent Albanian press called him "an Albanian Mandela." As a result the parliament amended the constitution on this matter in 1998. Arbnori continued to work in the parliamentary human rights commission. He is the author of popular novels, including *Kur dynden Vikingjët* (When the vikings come; 1992), *Mugujt e mesjetës* (The darkness of the Middle Ages; 1993), and *E bardha dhe e zeza* (The black and the white; 1996). He has also translated French historical works. (TC)

Sources: B. Hamilton, *Albania—Who Cares* (Grantham, 1992); Elez Biberaj, *Shqipëria në tranzicion: Rruga e vështrise drejt Demokracisë* (Tirana, 2001).

ARCISZEWSKI Tomasz (14 November 1877, Sierzchowy—20 November 1955, London), Polish Socialist politician. The son of a participant in the January Insurrection (1863), after his father's premature death Arciszewski was brought up in poverty. He completed a primary education and a course for locksmiths, and from 1887 he was a laborer. In 1896 he joined the Polish Socialist Party (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna [PPS]). Fearing arrest, he left for England but in 1900 returned to Sosnowiec, where he rebuilt a Socialist unit. Temporarily arrested in August 1900, Arciszewski resumed his underground political activities. During the 1905 revolution he was a member of a Socialist council in Józefów and co-organized the PPS Fighting Organization. Later, he carried on underground Socialist agitation in Siedlce, Białystok, and Kraków, where he trained members of the PPS Fighting

Organization. When the party split in 1906, Arciszewski sided with the PPS Revolutionary Faction. Hunted by the police, he constantly had to change his place of residence. In September 1908 he was one of the organizers of an expropriation action at Bezdany.

In August 1914 Arciszewski joined the Polish Legions, and in 1915 **Józef Piłsudski** sent him to the German-occupied territories of the former Kingdom of Poland. There he was active in the Polish Military Organization, organizing its units in Warsaw, Łódź, and Lublin. He directed the trade union of metal workers, and when the occupation ended, he organized the Central Committee of Trade Unions in resurrected Poland. On 7 November 1918 he became minister of labor and social welfare in the government of **Ignacy Daszyński**, and on 17 November of the same year, minister of post and telegraph in the government of **Jędrzej Moraczewski**. In January 1919 he was elected an MP to the Constituent Assembly. During the Polish-Soviet war he organized the workers' Committee for the Defense of Independence (Komitet Obrony Niepodległości). In independent Poland he was uninterruptedly a member of the Chief Council of the PPS and of its Central Executive Committee. He was elected an MP representing the PPS in 1922, 1928, and 1939 and was active in the parliamentary committee for social issues. After the May 1926 coup, he joined the opposition against the Piłsudski regime, and in 1930 he co-organized the center-left opposition (Centrolew). As a member of the right wing of the party, in the mid-1930s he opposed its "united front" tactics and closer links with the Communists.

After the defeat of September 1939 Arciszewski was one of the leading organizers of the underground Polish Socialist Party-Freedom, Equality, Independence (PPS-WRN), and from the beginning of 1944 he represented the party in the Council of National Unity (Rada Jedności Narodowej). At the end of July 1944 he was secretly taken to London by plane. He opposed compromise with the USSR. After the resignation of **Stanisław Mikołajczyk**, on 29 November 1944 Arciszewski became prime minister of the Polish government in exile. In that capacity, in February 1945 he submitted a protest of the Polish government against the Yalta decisions of the Big Three concerning the Polish question. President **Władysław Raczkiewicz** appointed Arciszewski his successor but later changed his mind in favor of **August Zaleski**. In June 1947 Arciszewski resigned as prime minister in protest. From December 1949 he directed the works of the Political Council, which competed with Zaleski. Arciszewski became a member of the Provisional Council of National Unity, which was formed in July 1954, and along with General **Władysław Anders** and Ambassador

Edward Raczyński he joined the Council of the Three, which from 1956 served as the presidency of the Republic of Poland. At the same time, until his death, Arciszewski held the post of president of the Central Foreign Committee of the PPS. (WR)

Sources: *The International Who's Who 1950* (London, 1950); *Postowie i senatorowie RP*, vol. 1; *Encyklopedia historii Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1999); Zygmunt Zaremba, *Wojna i konspiracja* (London, 1957); Adam Ciołkosz, "Tomasz Arciszewski," *Kultura*, 1956, no. 1.

AREKHVA Mikalay, pseudonyms "Pyotr," "Klyshka-Malinouski," "Mikulich," and "Barysevich" [in Poland known as Orechwa] (24 November 1902, Boruny, near Oshmiany [Oszmiana]–16 July 1990, Minsk), Belorussian Communist activist. Having joined the Red Army in 1919, Arekhva fought against White Russian forces and against the Polish army. Between 1920 and 1924 he was in the Komsomol apparatus. From 1924 he served as the first secretary of the Central Committee (CC) of the Union of Communist Youth of Belorussia, and in January 1925 he was assigned to work in the northeastern territories of the Second Republic of Poland. He served as secretary of the Vilnius district of the Communist Party of Western Belorussia (CPWB). Arrested in 1926, he spent more than five years in a Polish prison. In 1934 he became head of the State Secretariat of the CPWB, and from 1936 he was a representative of the CC of the CPWB to the CC of the Communist Party of Poland (Komunistyczna Partia Polski). In 1939–44 he was in the USSR. In 1944 he was seconded to the Polish Army and then, on behalf of the Kremlin, he co-organized the Polish security apparatus. From July 1944 he was head of the Personnel Section, between March 1946 and December 1954 he served as director of the Personnel Department of the Ministry of Public Security of the Polish People's Republic, and between January and May 1955 he was director of the Personnel Department of the Committee for Public Security. As he flaunted his superiority as a Soviet officer, he was generally hated, even among the employees of the Polish security apparatus. In 1956 he left for the USSR. Between 1956 and 1984 he worked at the Party History Institute of the CC of the Communist Party of Belorussia. He was mainly involved in propagating the party's successes in the "struggle for the social and national liberation of Belorussians in Western Belorussia." He was the author of propaganda books—for example, *Revalutsyinyi rukh u Zakhadniai Bielarusi u hady bielpolskai akupatsyiii* (The revolutionary movement in Western Belorussia during the years of White Polish occupation; 1958) and *D'ela i ludi KPZB: Vospominaniia* (Issues and People in the CPWB: Memoirs; 1983). (EM)

Sources: *Encyklopedyia historyi Belarusi*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1993); Edward Jan Nalepa, *Oficerowie Armii Radzieckiej w Wojsku Polskim, 1943–1968* (Warsaw, 1995); *Bielaruskaia entsyklapiedyia*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1996); Mirosław Piotrowski, *Ludzie bezpieki* (Lublin, 2000).

ARGETOIANU Constantin (3 March 1871, Craiova–1950, Sighet), Romanian politician and lawyer. The son of a general, Argetoianu studied law in Paris between 1888 and 1892, and in 1899 he received a Ph.D. in physics at the Paris Polytechnic. From 1898 to 1913 he worked in the diplomatic service, as secretary of the legation and as attaché. In 1914 he was appointed senator, representing the Conservative Party. He frequently changed his political orientation; for example, he was a member of the National Liberal Party and the National Democratic Party. Between January and March 1918 he was minister of justice in the government of General **Alexandru Avarescu**. In this capacity, in Buftea Argetoianu signed peace preliminaries unfavorable to Romania with the Central Powers; this led to the resignation of the cabinet and to the government of **Alexandru Marghiloman**. From March to June 1920 Argetoianu was finance minister, and then he served as minister of interior until December 1921. Between June and November 1927 he held the post of minister of agriculture. He had a good relationship with King **Charles II** from the moment of the king's accession in 1930. In the government of **Nicolae Iorga** (April 1931–June 1932) Argetoianu served as both minister of agriculture and minister of interior; in fact he was in charge of the work of the cabinet. At that time he tried to implement legislation that would cancel the debts of the peasants. However, the legislation did not come into force. After the introduction of the royal dictatorship in February 1938 and the dissolution of political parties, he was one of the first politicians to support the king, and he became a member of the Government of National Unity of Patriarch **Miron Cristea**. Until March 1938 Argetoianu served as minister of industry and trade, and then he was one of the leaders of the Front of National Rebirth, which was established in December 1938.

After the assassination of Prime Minister **Armand Călinescu**, on 28 September 1939 Argetoianu became the head of government and held the office until 28 November 1939. After the abdication of Charles II in September 1940, he went into political exile in Switzerland, where he remained until 1944. After the coup of 23 August 1944 he returned to Romania and formed a new political party, the Labor Party, which was supposed to take part in the elections of November 1946 but did not. Arrested by the Communist authorities in 1948, Argetoianu died in prison. He was the author of, among other works,

Problema constituțională (Constitutional problem; 1923); *Naționalism și internaționalism* (Nationalism and internationalism; 1929); *Statul agrar* (The Agrarian state; 1933); and a famous diary, titled *Pe urmele trecutului: Memorii* (Tracing the past: Memoirs; 1938), it was published in part in the 1930s, and the entire work appeared in the 1990s as *Amintiri de azi pentru azi de mâine* (Memoirs from today to tomorrow; 1990–92). (FA/TD)

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; Juliusz Demel, *Historia Rumunii* (Wrocław, 1986); Larry L. Watts, *Romanian Cassandra: Ion Antonescu and the Struggle for Reform 1916–1941* (Boulder, Colo., 1993).

ARGHEZI Tudor [originally Ion Theodorescu] (21 May 1880, Bucharest–14 July 1967, Bucharest), Romanian writer. Arghezi came from a peasant family that moved to Bucharest. In 1896 he graduated from high school and made his debut with a series of poems in the periodical *Liga ortodoxă*. Then he published his poems and prose in the periodicals *Revista modernă* and *Viața nouă*. In 1899 he entered the Cernică Monastery. A year later he became a deacon and soon secretary of the Bucharest metropolitan. He edited the periodicals *Revista de idei* and *Linia dreaptă*, but fearing church sanctions, he used his friend's name, Vasile Demetrius, as a pseudonym. In 1904 he left for Fribourg, Switzerland, to study, and in 1906 he broke with the church, moved to Geneva, and started studying in an evening school of handicrafts. He also worked in a watchmaker's shop. In 1910 he returned to Bucharest, doing both literary work and journalism in the daily *Viitorul* and in the periodicals *Viața socială*, *Facla*, and *Rampa*. In 1913 he became editor-in-chief of the daily *Seară*, where he published political columns, articles, and reviews.

During World War I Arghezi lived in Bucharest. After the war he was accused of writing for the pro-German press and imprisoned with eleven other writers in the Văcărești Monastery. After his release, in 1920–27 he wrote for various periodicals, editing *Cugetul românesc* and, from 1927, the weekly *Națiunea*. In 1928 he founded the periodical *Bilete de papagal*, which introduced a sort of allegorical pamphlet into Romanian literature, the so-called tablet. He published his first volume of poems, *Cuvînte potrivite* (Selected words), in 1927. His lyrics, combining tradition and modernist tendencies, garnered mixed feelings. His next volume, *Icoane de lemn* (Wooden icons; 1929), had anti-clerical overtones. In *Poarta neagră* (The black gate; 1930) he presented his memoirs from the Văcărești prison, and in *Tablete din Țara Kutu* (Tablets from the Land of Kutu; 1933) he criticized Romanian society and its political elite in a grotesque way. He also published a volume of poems, *Cărticica de seară* (The

evening booklet; 1935), and the novel *Cimitirul de Bună-Vestire* (The Annunciation Cemetery; 1936). He was critical of the **Ion Antonescu** regime. For a pamphlet on the German ambassador—*Baronul* (Baron)—in 1943 he was sent to the Tîrgu Jiu camp, where he wrote an anti-Fascist comedy *Seringa* (Syringe).

After his release in August 1944 Argezi published pamphlets on collaborators of the regime, memoirs, and a new volume of “tablets,” *Manual de morala practică* (Handbook of practical morality; 1945). On the fiftieth anniversary of his literary work in 1946, he received a state award. During the peak of Stalinism he chose to keep silent. In 1954 he resumed work with the daily and literary press. He published a volume of poems, *Prisaca* (Apiary), and a cycle of poems about the peasant rebellion, *1907*. In 1955 he became a member of the Romanian Academy and an MP. In 1956 he wrote a philosophical poem, *Cîntare omului* (Human song), and then new volumes of poems, including *Frunze* (Leaves; 1961). On his eighty-fifth birthday he received the title of Hero of Socialist Labor, and the University of Vienna gave him the prestigious Herder Award. (ASK)

Sources: *Wielka encyklopedia PWN*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 2001); Halina Mirska-Lasota, *Mały słownik pisarzy rumuńskich* (Warsaw, 1975); Dumitru Micu, *Tudor Argezi* (Bucharest, 1965); Serban Cioculescu, *Tudor Argezi* (Bucharest, 1971); Nicolae Balota, *Opera lui Tudor Argezi* (Bucharest, 1997); Pavel Tugui, *Argezi necocoscut* (Bucharest, 1998).

ARLOU Uladzimir (25 August 1953, Polotsk), Belorussian writer. Arlou studied history at the Belorussian State University in Minsk. In 1975–76 he worked as a teacher of history in Novopolotsk and then as a journalist and deputy editor-in-chief of the regional daily *Khimik*. In 1988 he became an editor in Mastatskaya Literatura Press, and in 1989, deputy chairman of the Belorussian PEN club. He made his debut as a poet in 1973. In the late 1980s he published collections of short stories: *Dobry dzyen, maya Shipshina* (Good morning, my Shipshina) and *Dzyen, kali upala strala* (The day the arrow fell). He won wide recognition for his short stories, essays, and historical novels: *Poka nye pogasla svyecha* (Until the candle dies down; 1990); *Milast' knyazya Hyeranima* (The Love of Prince Hieronymus; 1993); *Tayamnitsy polatskay historyi* (Secrets of the history of Polotsk; 1994); and *Adkul nash rod* (From where our clan comes; 1996). He co-authored *Dzyesiats' vyakou belaruskay historyi* (Ten centuries of Belorussian history; 1999). In 1998 he published a collection of short stories, *Rekvyem dla byenzapily* (Requiem for a motor saw), a psychological portrait of Soviet Belorussian society of the 1970s and 1980s. His works have been

translated in many European countries, and he has received many prestigious Belorussian awards. (EM)

Sources: *Bielaruskiya pismienniki: Biyabibliografichny slounik*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1992); *Bielaruskiya pismienniki 1917–1990: Davyednik* (Minsk, 1994); *Belarus: Entsyklapedychny davyednik* (Minsk, 1995); *Kto jest kim w Białorusi* (Białystok, 2000).

ARSENNEVA Natalya [also spelled Arsen'neva Natal'lia] (20 September 1903, Baku–25 July 1997, Rochester, N. Y.), Belorussian poet. Arsenneva spent her childhood and youth in Vilnius. In 1921 she graduated from a Belorussian gymnasium in Vilnius, and she completed a course for teachers. Between 1921 and 1922 she studied in the Art Department of Stefan Batory University in Vilnius. In 1922 she married Franciszek Kuszal, a Belorussian activist and an officer in the Polish Army. Until September 1939 she lived in Słonim and in Chełmno. In the autumn of 1939, as a Polish officer's wife, she was arrested, along with her two sons, and she was deported to Kazakhstan. Released from exile thanks to the endeavors of **Janka Kupała**, she settled in Minsk. During the German occupation she worked in the editorial offices of the *Belaruskaya gazeta*. Her husband was a commander in an officers' school that was preparing cadres for the Belorussian military formations fighting on the side of Germany. In 1944 she and her family left for Germany, and in 1950, for the United States. She worked in the editorial offices of the émigré newspaper *Byelarus*, Radio Svaboda, and the Belorussian Institute of Literature and Arts in New York. In 1920 she made her debut with the poem “Nasha Dumka,” published in a Vilnius newspaper. The first collection of her poems, *Pod sinim nebam* (Beneath the blue sky), appeared in Vilnius in 1927; the second, *Siahodnia* (Today), in Minsk in 1944. She wrote love poems and lyric poetry inspired by Belorussian nature. The war left a deep mark on her writing. The motives of people who were destroying the world were beyond her comprehension. She wrote patriotic poems for which music was composed. In 1979 an anthology of her émigré writings, *Mizh berahami* (Between the banks), appeared in the United States. Its recurrent motifs are the idea of freedom and a nostalgia for Belorussia. She also wrote stage works such as *Svaty* (1955) and librettos for operas by Mykola Kulikovich, *Lasnoie Oziero* (Forest Lake) and *Usiaslau Charadzei*. She translated librettos for operas by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Georges Bizet, Johann Strauss, and Pyotr Tchaikovsky into Belorussian. (EM)

Sources: B. Sachanka, *S'niatstsa sny ab Bielarusi . . .* (Minsk, 1990); *Bielaruskiya pis'mienniki 1917–1990: Daviednik* (Minsk, 1994); *Entsyklapedyia historyi Bielarusi*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1993); Jan Zaprudnik, *Historical Dictionary of Belarus* (Lanham, Md., 1998).

ARTUKOVIĆ Andrija (29 November 1899, Klobuk, near Ljubuska–16 January 1988, Zagreb), Croatian nationalist activist. Born into a peasant family in Bosnia Herzegovina, Artuković graduated from a French gymnasium in Široki Brijeg (Lištica) and in law from the university in Zagreb in 1924. While a student, he began to associate with Croatian extremist nationalists. After the royal coup of 1929 he joined the Ustaša movement. He took part in an assassination attempt at the gendarmerie post in Brušane in the mountains of Velebit in 1932, and then he fled from Yugoslavia. In Italy he was one of the closest associates of **Ante Pavelić** in the preparations for the assassination of King **Alexander Karadjordjević** in Marseilles (1934). The French extradited Artuković to Yugoslavia on condition that he would not be interrogated about all the details of his activities. In April 1935 he was convicted on a trivial offense. Released in 1936, he went to Austria and then to Berlin, where the Ustaša general headquarters was moved in 1937. On 15 April 1941 he returned to Croatia as minister of interior of the Ustaša government. In that capacity he organized concentration camps and the mass killing of Serbs and Jews. At that time he became notorious for issuing a law forbidding “Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, and dogs” to enter public places. From the beginning of October 1942 he was minister of justice and religious affairs, and from April 1943 he again served as minister of interior. When **Nikola Mandić** became prime minister, Artuković was transferred to the less important post of chancellor of the seal (*državni prabilježnik*).

After the war Artuković managed to escape from Yugoslavia. For a short time he stayed in France, then in Switzerland and Ireland, and in 1948 he arrived in the United States and settled in Seal Beach, California. In August 1945 a Communist Yugoslav court declared him a war criminal; however, the American authorities considered him a political exile. In 1981 the Yugoslav authorities demanded his extradition as a war criminal. He was arrested but was soon released under pressure from Croatian organizations in the United States. After a long effort, in February 1986 he was finally handed over to Yugoslavia, and after a one-month trial, at which he denied accusations of having taken part in genocide, he was sentenced to death. The execution was postponed due to his ill health. He died in prison. (WR)

Sources: *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 1 (Zagreb, 1983); L. Hory and M. Broszat, *Der Kroatische Ustascha-Staat 1941–1945* (Stuttgart, 1964); Ivo Omrčanin, *Dramatis personae and finis of the Independent State of Croatia in British and American Documents* (Bryn Mawr, 1983); Bogdan Krizman, *Ustaše i Treći Reich* (Zagreb, 1983), vols. 1–2; Bogdan Krizman, *Ante Pavelić i Ustaše* (Zagreb, 1983); Djordje Ličina, *Dossier Artuković* (Zagreb, 1986); Jovo

Popović, *Sudenje Andriji Artukovicia i sto nije receno* (Zagreb, 1986); *New York Times*, 19 January 1988.

ASKENAZY Szymon (23 December 1865, Zawichost–22 June 1935, Warsaw), Polish historian, politician, and diplomat. Askenazy came from an intellectual Jewish family. He favored assimilation and was a Polish patriot, advocating the independence of Poland. In about 1888 he became affiliated with Warsaw Freemason circles. He was not a formal member of any lodge but enjoyed the support of several Freemasons. Having graduated in historical studies, in 1902 he became a lecturer and then a professor at the University of Lwów (Lviv). From 1907 he was a member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences. He represented a neo-Romantic trend in Polish historiography, a reaction to the dominant conservative Kraków school. He was particularly interested in the partitions of Poland and with Napoleonic times. He argued with the theory of Polish guilt for the partitions at the end of the eighteenth century, and he glorified Polish armed struggles for independence. He placed the Polish cause in the European context—for instance, in *Przymierze polsko-pruskie* (The Polish-Prussian Alliance; 1900) and *Rosya-Polska* (Russia-Poland; 1907). In *Książę Józef Poniatowski, 1763–1813* (Prince Józef Poniatowski; 1905) and *Łukasiński* (2 vols.; 1908) he restored the myth of these heroes of the struggle for freedom, and in *Napoleon a Polska* (Napoleon and Poland, 3 vols.; 1918–19) he popularized the Napoleonic legend. Among his other works should be mentioned *Gdańsk a Polska* (Danzig and Poland; 1923) and *Rękopisy Napoleona w Polsce 1793–1795* (Napoleon’s manuscripts in Poland, 1793–1795; 1929). Askenazy created his own historical school, and his best-known students were Władysław Konopczyński, **Marian Kukiel**, Henryk Mościcki, and Adam Próchnik.

During World War I Askenazy went abroad and was allied with the so-called activists, supporting the Central Powers. Despite his support for the pro-Austrian Chief National Committee, he collaborated with representatives of the opposite orientation. Along with **Henryk Sienkiewicz**, he established in Switzerland the Committee for Aid to War Victims in Poland. After Poland regained independence, he served as the first minister plenipotentiary at the League of Nations (1920–23). He gave up this post as a result of his conflict with Foreign Minister **Roman Dmowski**. Until the end of his life Askenazy was subjected to attacks from the nationalist right on account of his sympathies for freemasonry and his alleged anti-Polish activities. Owing to the anti-Semitic attitude of a part of the academic community, he did not return to Lwów University, and, despite efforts, he failed to gain a chair at

Warsaw University. In 1928 he received only an honorary professorship at Warsaw University. (MC)

Sources: *Wielka Encyklopedia PWN*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 2001); Józef Dutkiewicz, *Szymon Askenazy i jego szkoła* (Warsaw, 1958); *Historycy warszawscy ostatnich dwóch stuleci*, eds. Aleksander Gieysztor, Jerzy Maternicki and Henryk Samsonowicz (Warsaw, 1986); Ludwik Hass, "W ujarzmionej stolicy—bez łoży (1831–1905)," www.arsregia.home.pl; "Szymon Askenazy," www.arsregia.home.pl; *Słownik biograficzny szachistów polskich*, Part 1, www.dig.com.pl/pdf/Szachy.pdf.

ASPĀZIJA [pseudonym of Elza Pliekšāne, née Rozenberga] (16 March 1865, Zaļenieku, Courland–5 November 1943, Riga), Latvian poet and playwright. Aspāzija came from a rich peasant family. In 1884 she graduated from a high school for girls in Riga. In 1879 she wrote her first poem in German, and in 1888 her first drama, *Atrabēja* (Avengeress). Her works, reflecting social conflicts at the turn of twentieth century, were not welcomed by the conservative element of the Latvian intelligentsia but brought her recognition in modernist and leftist circles. From 1891 she worked as a private teacher, and in 1893–95, in a Latvian theater in Riga. Later she joined the movement for women's rights. After her first marriage ended, she made friends with and in 1897 married the poet **Jānis Rainis**. From 1897 to 1903 she voluntarily joined him in exile in Russia. She also periodically lived in Riga, where she worked at the daily *Dienas Lapa*. It was then that she wrote her best-known plays, *Zaudētās Tiesības* (Lost rights; 1894) and *Sidra šķidrauts* (Silver veil; 1905). In 1905 she took part in the revolution, and after its suppression she emigrated with her husband to Switzerland and continued her literary work. In April 1920 via Poland she returned with Rainis to Latvia, where they received an enthusiastic welcome. In 1920–22 she was a deputy to the Latvian Constituent Assembly on behalf of the Social Democratic Party. After her husband's death in 1929 she continued her literary work, becoming a leading figure in Latvian cultural life. She continued to write and publish plays and collections of poems, in which she frequently referred to her memories from childhood, as well as to Latvian history and mythology. She also translated *Quo Vadis*, by **Henryk Sienkiewicz**, into Latvian. She survived the fall of independent Latvia and the Soviet occupation and died after the German invasion. She is buried in Riga. (EJ)

Sources: *Raiņa un Aspazijas gadagrāmata 1968. gadam* (Vesterosa, 1967); Saulcerīte Viese, *Aspazija* (Riga, 1975); B. Amoliņa, *Aspazija—spēks un daiļums, un mūžam nerimstošais gars* (Riga, 1990); *Raiņa un Aspazijas gadagrāmata* (Riga, 1990); Saulcerīte Viese, *Gājēji uz Mēnesdārzu* (Riga, 1990); M. Butevica, *Aspazija* (Riga, 1993); Andrejs Plakans, *Historical Dictionary of Latvia* (Lanham, Md., 1997).

ASTRA Gunārs (22 October 1931, Riga–6 April 1988, Leningrad), Latvian dissident, victim of communism. Astra graduated from a technical high school and then studied Latvian philology. Afterwards he worked as a technician in the VEF factory in Riga. In 1961 he was arrested and sentenced to fifteen years in a labor camp for "anti-Soviet activities" since he had taken pictures of bridges and other facilities recognized by the authorities as secret. He was imprisoned in the Mordovian camps. Released in 1976, he became a blue-collar worker in Riga. In 1983 he was arrested again, this time for possession of the uncensored (illegal) novel *Piecas dienas* (Five days), which described everyday life in Soviet Latvia; for distributing copies of works by George Orwell and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn; and for possessing recordings of Western broadcasts. Sentenced to seven years in prison and five years of forced settlement, Astra, in his last words before the court, openly criticized Russification policies and Russian colonization in Latvia. The text of his speech was widely distributed in Latvia and abroad in secret. He was imprisoned in the labor camps of the Perm region. Released on the basis of an amnesty in December 1988, he died in hospital after an operation. (EJ)

Sources: *Biographical Dictionary of Dissidents in the Soviet Union, 1956–1978* (The Hague, 1982); *Wielka Encyklopedia PWN*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 2001); Māris Ruks, *Gunārs Astra* (Riga, 1998); Biruta Eglīte, *Kas jūs bijāt, Gunār Astra?* (Riga, 1998); *Policy of Occupation Powers in Latvia, 1939–1991*, ed. Elma Pelkhaus (Riga, 1999).

ASTROUSKI Radaslau (6 November 1887, Zapole, near Slutsk–17 October 1976, Benton Harbor, Michigan), Belorussian social activist and politician. Astrouski took part in anti-tsarist demonstrations during the revolution of 1905. Between 1908 and 1913 he studied mathematics at St. Petersburg University. Arrested in 1911 for his activities in the Russian revolutionary movement, he completed his studies at the University of Dorpat (Tartu). In 1914 he taught mathematics at a gymnasium in Częstochowa, and in 1915–17, at the Minsk Teachers' Institute. After the February 1917 revolution he was appointed commissar of Slutsk county and headmaster of a gymnasium in Slutsk. He introduced the use of the Belorussian language in the schools. In June 1917 he joined the Central Committee of the Belorussian Socialist Hromada, the most influential Belorussian party. After the Bolshevik revolution he opposed recognition of the new Russian government and advocated the establishment of Belorussian state authorities. In December 1917 he was a delegate to the All-Belorussian Congress, which passed a resolution to establish national state authorities. He fought in the army

of General Anton Denikin against the Bolsheviks, and in November 1920 he took part in the Slutsk uprising. After the war he settled in Wilno (Vilnius), where he was one of the key Belorussian figures, serving as headmaster of a Belorussian gymnasium (1924–36), president of the Belorussian School Society (1924–25), and headmaster of the Belorussian Cooperative Bank (1925–26).

In 1926 Astrouski became deputy president of the Central Committee of the Belorussian Peasants' and Workers' Hromada and a member of the Communist Party of Western Belorussia. Arrested in January 1927, he denied any ties with the Communists. From 1928 he promoted cooperation with the Polish government. In 1930 he co-founded the Central Union of Belorussian Cultural and Economic Organizations (Centrsayuz). Politically and socially ostracized by Vilnius Belorussian organizations, he left for Łódź, where he taught mathematics at a local school. In 1940 he became president of the Belorussian Committee in Łódź, and he established close cooperation with the Germans. Between the fall of 1941 and the fall of 1943, on behalf of the Germans, he served as mayor of Smolensk, Brańsk, and Mahilyow (Mogilev) successively. In December 1943 the Germans promoted him to the post of president of the Belorussian Central Council (BCC). The council aspired to be the Belorussian government in exile. In June 1944 the council, under Astrouski's leadership, convened the Second All-Belorussian Congress in Minsk, which, in agreement with the Germans, proclaimed the creation of the Belorussian state. A few days later the Red Army seized Minsk. Astrouski left for Germany, where on 25 March 1948 he formally reestablished the BCC as an émigré government of Belorussia. However, his opponents in exile claimed that the only legal Belorussian representation was the government of the Belorussian People's Republic, which had existed since 1918. Astrouski continued his political activities in the United States, where he arrived in 1956. He gathered some war émigrés who supported the legality of the BCC as the only representation of the Belorussian nation. (EM)

Sources: *Bielaruskaia Sovietskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 1, 1969; *Entsyklapiedyia historyi Bielarusi*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1994); Nicholas P. Vakar, *Belorussia: The Making of a Nation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956); V. Kalush, *In the Service of the People for a Free Byelorussia: Biographical Notes on Professor Radaslau Ostrowski* (London, 1964); Vitaut Kipel and Zora Kipel, eds., *Byelorussian Statehood* (New York, 1988); Jerzy Turonek, *Białoruś pod okupacją niemiecką* (Warsaw, 1993); Jan Zaprudnik, *Historical Dictionary of Belarus* (Lanham, Md., 1998).

ATANASOV Georgi (25 July 1933, Pravoslaven, Plovdiv district), Bulgarian Communist activist. Atanasov gradu-

ated in history from Sofia University. In 1956 he joined the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP). From 1958 he was active in the youth movement, participating in various functions in the Dimitrov Communist Youth League (DCYL) and attaining the post of first secretary of the DCYL Central Committee (1965–68). At the same time, he rose in the party hierarchy. He began as a member of the BCP Town Committee in Sofia. Next, he served as candidate member and then member of the CC of the BCP (1966–90), head of the Department of Science and Education of the CC of the BCP (1968–76), head of the Administrative Department of the CC of the BCP (1976–78), secretary of the CC of the BCP (1977–86), candidate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, head of the Organization Department of the CC of the BCP (1984–86), and member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP (March 1986–February 1990). He also occupied high posts in the government administration. He was the first deputy of the president of the State Planning Committee (1980–81), president of the State Control Committee and the People's Control Committee, and deputy president of the State Council (1981–84). From 1966 to 1990 he was MP and served (among other capacities) as a member of the committee established in August 1987 to prepare changes in the constitution. Furthermore, he served as a member of the National Council of the Patriotic Front. From 21 March 1986 he was prime minister. Under the pressure of demonstrations, in mid-December 1989 he agreed to roundtable talks with the opposition. On 3 February 1990 he stepped down as a result of criticism at the Extraordinary Fourteenth Congress of the BCP. After the fall of the regime, in April 1992 he was arrested, and on 3 November 1992 the Supreme Court sentenced him to ten years in prison for the embezzlement of 200,000 leva from a fund for orphans. After 333 days in prison he was released owing to ill health. (JJ)

Sources: *Koy koy e v Bulgariya* (Sofia, 1998); *Entsiklopediya Bulgariya* (Sofia, 1978); James F. Brown, *Bulgaria under Communist Rule* (New York, 1970).

ATANASOV Nedyalko [originally Mochurov] (8 July 1881, Slomer, near Turnovo [now Veliko Turnovo]–12 February 1960, Sofia), Bulgarian peasant politician and teacher. Having graduated from a gymnasium in Shumen in 1899, Atanasov worked as a teacher for fourteen years. From 1908 he was a member of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU), and from 1911 he was an MP representing this party. He was also an MP in 1914–17, 1919–20, and 1920–23. In the government of **Aleksandur Stamboliyski**, he served as minister of construction, roads, and spatial management (February–May 1920);

minister of trade, industry, and labor (April–May 1920); and minister of post and telegraph (May 1920–June 1921 and March–June 1923). After the military coup of June 1923 he was arrested, tried, and acquitted in April 1924. He emigrated to Yugoslavia, where between 1924 and 1925 he was a member of the foreign representation of the BANU. After a split in the leadership of the peasant movement in exile he joined the leadership of its moderate, centrist wing. Atanasov was also one of the leaders of a group called *Tselski Glas* (Voice of the Village) and editor of a newspaper of the same name. From 1935 to 1944 he had an ambivalent attitude toward the tsarist Bulgarian regime, holding a parliamentary seat in 1938–39. After the Communist coup of 9 September 1944 he was one of the leaders of the BANU opposition led by **Nikola Petkov** (1945–47), and he was an MP on behalf of this party. Because of his opposition activities, in 1949 he was imprisoned in a concentration camp in Belene, where he was a “dean” of the so-called brigade of deputies, which consisted of deputies to the Sixth Grand National Assembly. Released in 1955, Atanasov joined the Fatherland Front. He was the author of the following works: *Tsanko Tserkovski: Lichni spomeni* (Tsanko Tserkovski: Personal diaries; 1921); *Zemedelski besedi* (Village talks; 1930); and *Po trudnija pyt: BZNS na vlast* (On a tough path: The BANU in power; 1931). (JJ)

Sources: *Entsiklopediya Bulgariya*, vol. 1 (Sofia, 1978); Zygmunt Hemmerling, *Ruch ludowy w Polsce, Bułgarii i Czechosłowacji 1893–1930* (Warsaw, 1987); Tasho V. Tashev, *Ministrte na Bylgariia 1879–1999* (Sofia, 1999).

AVAKUMOVIĆ Jovan (1 January 1841, Belgrade–11 August 1928, Belgrade), Serbian lawyer and politician. Avakumović graduated in law in Germany and France, and then he practiced as a defense attorney and was active in the Liberal Party. In 1880 he was minister of justice, and from August 1892 to April 1893 he was Serbian prime minister and minister of foreign affairs. From the end of the nineteenth century he, along with other liberals, remained in opposition to King **Alexander Obrenović**, demanding a universal voting franchise, a territorial self-government, and more independence from Austria-Hungary. After King Alexander was assassinated, on 11 June 1903 Avakumović resumed the position of prime minister until 4 October 1903. A leading expert in penal law, he authored the first Serbian handbook on the subject: *Teorija kaznenog prava* (Theory of penal law; 1877); he also wrote *Sticaj zločina* (Circumstances of a crime; 1883) and *Pokusaj* (Attempt at murder; 1884).

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vol. 1 (Zagreb, 1955); Chedomille Mijatovic, *A Royal Tragedy* (London, 1906); Michael B. Petrovich, *A History of*

Modern Serbia 1804–1918, vol. 2 (New York, 1976); Željko E. Šuster, *Historical Dictionary of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia* (Lanham, Md., 1999).

AVERESCU Alexandru (9 March 1859, Ismail, Bessarabia–3 October 1938, Bucharest), Romanian marshal and politician. After finishing high school, between 1878 and 1881 Averescu studied at a military school in Mănăstirea Dealu, and between 1882 and 1886 he attended the Military College in Turin, Italy. In 1894–95 he was a commander of the Military College in Bucharest, and from 1895 to 1898 he served as military attaché in Berlin. In 1907 he became a general, and between March 1907 and March 1909 he was minister of war in the government of **Dimitrie Sturdza**. In that capacity he commanded military units that suppressed a peasant revolt in Moldavia, Muntenia, and Oltenia. This claimed the lives of over ten thousand peasants.

During the Second Balkan War (1913) Averescu commanded the Romanian Army in Bulgaria. From Romania’s entry into World War I until 1918, he commanded the Second Army and consolidated the defenses in Moldavia. During the heaviest battles, between late 1916 and August 1917, the lines of defense successfully resisted the attacks of the Central Powers. For example, Averescu won a victory over the Germans at Mărăști in July 1917. Between 29 January and 5 March 1918 Averescu served as premier and minister of foreign affairs. He negotiated peace with the Central Powers on behalf of the royal court and the National Liberal Party (NPL). On 7 May 1918 a peace treaty was concluded in Bucharest, but the treaty was humiliating for Romania, which lost much territory, including southern Dobruđa and the Carpathian passes. Disagreements about political events led to mutual accusations between Averescu and the royal court; the latter accused him of “republicanism,” while he accused his predecessor, Premier **Ion I. C. Brătianu**, of implementing a policy that proved disastrous for Romania. In 1918 in Iași Averescu set up his own People’s Party (Partidul Poporului [PP]), in opposition to the ruling NPL. He was head of the PP until his death. In December 1919 he temporarily served as minister of the interior, and between 13 March 1920 and 17 December 1921 he was prime minister and minister of the interior, simultaneously serving as minister of industry and trade from November 1920. During his rule important social and political reforms were introduced—an agrarian reform (1921) and a social security reform (1920–21). The centralization of the government and the unification of the country was also carried out. Romania joined the Little Entente and signed an alliance treaty with Poland on 3 March

1921. In 1920 Averescu gained international recognition for the incorporation of Bessarabia into Romania. Averescu was fascinated with the experiment of Benito Mussolini in Italy.

On 30 March 1926 Averescu again became premier. He strengthened Romania's international position, concluding alliance treaties with France and Italy (1926). However, he was still perceived as a "republican" by the royal court and had bad relations with Ion I.C. Brătianu. Shortly before the death of King **Ferdinand**, on 7 June 1927, Averescu resigned as premier. In 1930 he was appointed marshal, but the same year he came into conflict with the new king, **Charles II**. However, in 1938 he became his adviser, supporting a royal dictatorship. In February and March 1938 he served as minister of state in the Government

of National Unity of Patriarch **Miron Cristea**. Averescu authored (among other works) *Răspunderile* (Responsibility; 1918), *Cauza politică* (Political issue; 1927), and a book of memoirs, *Notițe zilnice de război* (Daily notes from the war; 1937). (FA/TD)

Sources: David Mitrany, *The Land and the Peasant in Rumania* (New Haven, 1930); R.W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Roumanians* (Archon Books, 1963); Holger H. Herwig and Neil M. Heyman, *Biographical Dictionary of World War I* (Westport, Conn., 1982); Juliusz Demel, *Historia Rumunii* (Wrocław, 1986); Constantin Kirițescu, *Istoria războiului pentru întregirea României 1916–1919*, 2 vols. (Bucharest, 1989); Andrea Schmidt-Rösler, *Rumänien nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994); Keith Hitchins, *Rumania 1866–1947* (Oxford, 1994); Vasile Alexandrescu, Costică Prodan and Dumitru Preda, *În apărarea României Mari: Campania Armatei Române 1918–1919* (Bucharest, 1995).

B

BABIĆ Milan (26 February 1956, Kukor, near Knin—5 March 2006, The Hague), leader of Serb separatists in Croatian Krajina. A dentist by profession, Babić had an office in Knin. Active in the Communist Party, in the late 1980s he became the mayor of Knin. In 1989 he co-founded the Serbian Democratic Party (Srpska Demokratska Stranka [SDP]), which in the first free elections of April–June 1990 won five mandates in the Croatian parliament. From early 1990 Babić strove for Serb autonomy in Croatia, but until the summer of 1990 he was in the shadow of the SDP leader, Jovan Rašković, who was ready to make a compromise with the Zagreb authorities. The radicalization of the Serbs and the creation in June 1990 of a Community of Serb-Administered Areas without consent from Zagreb, strengthened Babić's position. In July 1990 he became chairman of the Serbian National Council (SNC), a quasi-parliament of Serbs from Krajina that in December 1990 proclaimed secession from Croatia (it introduced the Cyrillic script, gave up paying taxes to Zagreb, and armed a local militia). In February 1991 Krajina proclaimed independence from Croatia, confirmed in a referendum among Serbs in the spring of 1991. When in June 1991 Croatia proclaimed independence, Serbs from Krajina, supported by the federal army, took a quarter of Croatian territory by force and proclaimed the Republic of Serbian Krajina, including other areas inhabited by a Serb majority—Slavonia, Baranya, and Srem.

This was a pyrrhic victory for Babić. Striving for the rapid unification of Krajina with the rest of Serb territories within a new Yugoslav federation, or Greater Serbia, he stood in the way of different plans proposed by **Slobodan Milošević**. In February 1992 Babić was removed from the SNC leadership and replaced by Goran Hadžić, who accepted UN peacekeeping forces in Krajina (the Cyrus Vance Plan). Babić tried to regain power in the presidential elections of December 1993, but he lost to the commander of the Krajina militia, Milan Martić, who was supported by Belgrade. For a few weeks, during the Croatian offensive in the summer of 1995, Babić was prime minister of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, but he failed to prevent the defeat and emigration of most of the Krajina Serbs from Croatia (he too emigrated). In January 2004 the Trial Chamber of the International Tribunal for War Crimes in Former Yugoslavia found him guilty of crimes against humanity during the Serbian offensive of 1991. He was found dead in his prison cell. (AW)

Sources: Robert Stallaerts and Jeannine Laurens, *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Croatia* (Metuchen and London, 1995); Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrot, eds., *Politics, Power and the Struggle for Democracy in South-East Europe* (Cambridge, 1997); Leszek Podhorodecki, *Jugosławia: Dzieje narodów, państw i rozpad federacji* (Warsaw, 2000); *Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States 1992* (London, 1992); Bugajski.

BABITS Mihály (26 November 1883, Szekszárd—4 August 1941, Budapest), Hungarian writer, translator, and historian of literature. Born into a family with roots in the gentry, from his early years Babits was fascinated by ancient cultures and native literature. After graduating from high school in Pécs in 1901, he studied Hungarian and classical philology at the University of Budapest (1901–5). He wrote poems and other short pieces from an early age and published them in literary magazines. His first collections, *Levelek Irisz koszorújából* (Leaves from the wreath of Iris; 1909) and *Herceg, hátha megjön a tél is?* (My prince, and if winter comes as well?; 1911), already showed his formal mastery and intellectual depth. Babits considered art a phenomenon free from social implications. After his studies, he started working as a teacher, and he became the editor (from 1939 editor-in-chief) of the biweekly *Nyugat*, the leading literary magazine of interwar Hungary. He translated a lot from Dante Alighieri, William Shakespeare, Johann Wolfgang Goethe, and Charles Baudelaire. He also wrote novels, such as *A gólya kalifa* (The stork caliph; 1916), in which he applied the theories of Sigmund Freud; *Kártyavár* (House of cards; 1923), a satire on contemporary Hungary written from the point of view of a small town; and *Halál fia* (Convicts; 1927), which was a family saga set against the background of social and cultural change at the turn of the twentieth century.

Babits was involved in the republican revolution of late 1918 and then, as a member of the Directorate of Writers, in the Hungarian Soviet Republic. After its fall he denied any connections with communism but nevertheless was forced to leave the University of Budapest, where he taught contemporary literature. From the late 1920s he was seriously ill with throat cancer. Losing his voice, he continued to write, publishing, among other things, a futurist novel on the coming destruction of humanity, *Elza pilóta vagy a tökéletes társadalom* (Woman pilot Elza, or the perfect society; 1933), and a two-volume collection of essays, *Az európai irodalom történelem* (History of European literature; 1934–35). His intellectual poetry and prose, as well as his translations, made him one of the outstanding Hungarian writers of the interwar period. (MS)

Sources: Aurél Kárpáti, *B. M. életműve* (Budapest, 1941); *Babits Emlékkönyv* (Budapest, 1941); Paul Ignatus, *Hungary* (London, 1972); *Mały słownik pisarzy węgierskich* (Warsaw, 1977); Tibor Hajdu, *The Hungarian Soviet Republic* (Budapest, 1979); *Mint különös hírmondó: Tanulmányok és dokumentumok* (Budapest, 1983).

BABIUCH Edward (28 December 1927, Grabocin), Polish Communist activist. The son of a miner, Babiuch graduated from the Higher Party School at the Central Committee (CC) of the Polish United Workers' Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza [PUWP]) and from the Central School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw. In 1946 he joined the Polish Workers' Party, and in 1948, the PUWP. In 1949–55 he worked in the apparatus of the Polish Youth Union and from 1955 to 1959 in the CC apparatus; in 1959–63 he was secretary of the Warsaw Provincial Committee of the PUWP; from 1963 to 1965 he was deputy head of the CC Organization Department and editor of the party periodical, *Życie Partii*. Between 1965 and 1970 he was head of the CC Organization Department and from 1964, a member of the PUWP CC. After the fall of **Władysław Gomułka**, in December 1970 he entered the CC Secretariat and Politburo as one of the closest associates of **Edward Gierek**, but he preferred to remain in the shadows. From 1969 he was an MP; from 1972, a member of the Council of State; and from 1976 to February 1980 he was deputy chairman of the latter body. After the fall of **Piotr Jaroszewicz**, on 18 February 1980 Babiuch was made prime minister. He could not prevent the deepening social and economic crisis and the wave of summer strikes. His clumsy response to the Baltic Coast strikes, feeble authority, and badly received speech of mid-August led to his dismissal on 24 August 1980. He also gave up his position in the State Council. In October 1980 he was dismissed from the PUWP CC, and in December 1980 he gave up his parliamentary seat. In a resolution of the Eleventh PUWP Extraordinary Congress in July 1981, Babiuch was deemed in part responsible for the state and party crisis. On the basis of a decision of the Military Council of National Salvation, on 13 December 1981, Babiuch, along with a group of higher officials of the Gierek regime, was interned for propaganda reasons. Released after a few months, he retired from public life. (PK)

Sources: Mołdawa; *Słownik polityków polskich XX w.* (Poznań, 1998); Michał Czajka and Marcin Kamler, *Leksykon historii Polski* (Warsaw, 1995).

BACHYNSKYI Lev (14 February 1872, Serafinsti, near Horodenka—4 October 1930, Heilenstadt Grimmenstein, Austria), Ukrainian politician and lawyer. Bachynskyi

came from a teacher's family. He graduated from high school in Kolomyia and in law in Tschernowitz (Chernivtsi). In 1897 he was arrested for taking part in an anti-Austrian demonstration. After his release he started practicing law in Stanisławów (Ivano-Frankivsk). As a representative of the Ukrainian Radical Party (URP), from 1907 to 1918 he was a member of the Chamber of Deputies of the Council of State in Vienna, where he represented the Pokutye region of the Hutsul people. Engaged in the struggle of Ukrainian students against the Polish authorities of Lwów (Lviv) University, he advocated Ukrainization of this university. On 16 December 1907, protesting the refusal of the chamber presidium to present a resolution of Ukrainian deputies concerning recent incidents at the university, he threw his reading desk at the speaker but hit and wounded someone else. In 1915–16 he was deputy chairman of the General Ukrainian Council in Vienna, and in 1918–19, deputy chairman of the Council (Rada) of the Western Ukrainian National Republic (WUNR). He prepared two laws passed by this Ukrainian parliament: one concerned the unification of the WUNR with the Kiev Ukrainian National Republic (3 January 1919), and the other concerned land reform. From 1918 until his death he was the leader of the URP (later the Ukrainian Social Radical Party) in Galicia. In 1928–30 he was MP of the Polish parliament. He advocated seeking support for the Ukrainian left in the Second International. (TS)

Sources: *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1985); Czesław Partacz, *Od Badeniego do Potockiego: Stosunki polsko-ukraińskie w Galicji w latach 1888–1908* (Toruń, 1996); *Postawie i senatorowie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1919–1939. Słownik biograficzny* (Warsaw, 1998).

BACHYNSKYI Yulian (1870, Lviv—1940, USSR), Ukrainian politician and journalist, victim of Stalinist persecution. The son of a Greek Catholic clergyman, at the beginning of the 1890s Bachynskyi joined the Galician Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party, which was formed in 1890. He became involved with the so-called young faction (of Viacheslav Budzynovskyi, Mykola Hankevych, and Volodymyr Okhrymovich), which, unlike the moderates, the so-called old faction (of **Ivan Franko** and Mikhailo Pavlyk), evolved toward Marxism. In 1895 Bachynskyi published his famous book, *Ukraiina irredenta*, in which, for the first time in the modern history of the Ukraine, an independent and unified Ukrainian state was postulated. In 1914 he published *Ukraińska emihratsia v Ziedynenykh Derzhavakh Ameryky* (Ukrainian emigration in the United States of America), which was the fruit of his stay overseas in 1905–6.

In the fall of 1918 Bachynskyi joined the Ukrainian National Council in Lviv (Lwów), taking part in a proc-

lamation of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (WUPR) in Eastern Galicia on 9 November 1918. After the unification of both Ukrainian states in January 1919, he headed the Ukrainian mission in Washington. In May 1921 he returned to Europe and became allied with the followers of **Yevhen Petrushevych**, the former dictator of the WUPR and prime minister of its government-in-exile. In this group he represented pro-Soviet views, favoring the agreement with the Kremlin; therefore in 1933 the Soviet authorities allowed him to come to the USSR. Traveling through Polish territory, he was arrested and held in prison for one year. After his arrival in Kharkiv in the summer of 1934 he worked in the editorial offices of the *Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia*. On 4 November 1934 he was arrested during a wave of persecutions of Ukrainian intellectuals. He was tried, along with **Antin Krushelnytsky**, and on 28 March 1935 he was sentenced to ten years in prison. He died in a labor camp. His publications include *Podil Ukrainy* (The division of the Ukraine; 1897) and *Bolshevytska revolutsiia i Ukraintsi* (The Bolshevik Revolution and the Ukrainians; 1928). (TS)

Sources: *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1984); Yaroslav Hrytsak, "Molodi' radykaly v suspilno-politychnomu zhytti Halychyny," *Zapysky naukovohto tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, vol. 222 (Lviv, 1991); John-Paul Himka, "Young Radicals and Independent Statehood: The Idea of a Ukrainian Nation-State, 1890–1905," *Slavic Review*, vol. 41 (Summer 1982).

BACILEK Karel (12 October 1896, Chotiansky, near Poděbrady–19 March 1974, Bratislava), Czechoslovak Communist activist. The son of a Slovak bricklayer, in his youth Bacilek worked as a blacksmith and railroader. In 1915–18 he served in the Austrian army and between the end of 1918 and December 1919, in the Czechoslovak army. In 1921 he joined the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC). He was swiftly promoted, becoming the organizational secretary of the party in Slovakia (1930) and joining the CPC Central Committee (CC) in 1931. Sent to the USSR, he completed studies at a Comintern school in 1935. After the German invasion of March 1939 he left for Moscow. From December 1940 to March 1941 he stayed in Slovakia, organizing the Communist underground. After his return to the USSR he was attacked for his inability to win over Slovak comrades to the Kremlin's policies. He was arrested and sent to a labor camp in the Mordovian ASSR. Released in April 1943, he started working for Soviet intelligence. Dropped beyond the front lines near Warsaw, he managed to get to Slovakia. In August 1944, as secretary of the party, he organized the Slovak national uprising in Banská Bystrica. After the failure of the uprising he commanded a guerrilla unit.

After the Communist coup in February 1948 Bacilek was quickly promoted. In 1949 he joined the Secretariat of the CC of the Communist Party of Slovakia, and in 1950 he became the Slovak prime minister. In September 1951 he was appointed minister of state control. From January 1952 to September 1953 he headed the Ministry of State Security of Czechoslovakia, playing an important role in a purge related to the case of **Rudolf Slansky** and the Slovak activists led by **Gustav Husak**. In January 1953 he was appointed deputy prime minister of Czechoslovakia. He was also promoted to general, and in September 1953 he became secretary general of the Communist Party of Slovakia. In this capacity he counteracted attempts at a "thaw." On 4 April 1963 he was ousted from the party executive. This was related to the rehabilitation of the imprisoned Slovak activists. Since it was impossible to uncover all Communist crimes, Bacilek served as a political scapegoat. Even the reasons for his withdrawal were not officially explained. In 1966 he left the CC, and in 1968 he was finally expelled from the party. However, he was never brought before a court for his crimes. His publications include *Poučenie z procesu z vedením protištátného špionažneho a sprisahaneckého centra na čele s Rudolfom Slánskym* (Lessons from the trial of the anti-state, spy, and conspiracy center headed by Rudolf Slansky; 1953) and *Leninské učenie: Kompas na naše ceste k socializmu* (Lenin's teachings: A compass on our road to socialism; 1954). (WR)

Sources: Lazitch; *SBS*, vol. 1; Edward Taborsky, *Communism in Czechoslovakia 1948–1960* (Princeton, 1961); Eugen Loebel, *Stalinism in Prague* (New York, 1969); Jiří Pelikán, *The Czechoslovak Political Trials 1950–1954* (Stanford, 1971).

BAČKIS Audrys (1 February 1937, Kaunas), Archbishop of Vilnius (Wilno). From early childhood Bačkis lived abroad, where his father worked in the diplomatic corps, first in Paris, then in Washington, D.C. He studied theology in St. Sulpice Seminary in Paris in 1954–57, in St. Casimir College in Rome in 1957–61, and in the Pontificia Academia Ecclesiastica in Rome in 1961–64. In March 1961 he was ordained, and in 1964 he received a Ph.D. in canon law at the Lateran University in Rome. In 1964 he also assumed the position of attaché in the papal nuncio's Office in Manila, the Philippines, and in 1965 he was consecrated titular bishop of Meta and appointed secretary of the papal nunciature in San Jose, Costa Rica. From 1968 he held the same office in Ankara, Turkey, and from 1970 in Nigeria. After his return from Africa, from 1973 he worked as auditor of nunciatures at the Secretary of State of the Council for Public Affairs of the Holy See. In 1979 he became undersecretary of state in this council, and in 1988, as archbishop,

he assumed the position of papal nuncio in the Netherlands. On 24 December 1991 Pope John Paul II appointed him archbishop of the newly established Vilnius province, and in 1995–96 he presided over the Conference of the Lithuanian Episcopate. He moderated nationalistic tendencies among the clergy and encouraged the Lithuanian Christian Democrats to adopt a more open attitude toward neighboring countries. On 21 February 2001 he was elevated to the rank of cardinal. (WR)

Sources: *EL*, vols. 1 and 6; Algimantas P. Taškūnas, ed., *Lithuania in 1991* (Sandy Bay, Tasmania, 1992); Anatol Lieven, *The Baltic Revolution* (New Haven, 1993); *Annuario Pontificio*, 2001.

BACZYŃSKI Krzysztof Kamil, pseudonym “Jan Bugaj” (4 August 1921, Warsaw–4 August 1944, Warsaw), Polish poet. Baczyński, whose family was from the intelligentsia, wrote his first poems while at the Stefan Batory Gymnasium in Warsaw, where he passed his final exams in 1939. During the Nazi occupation he was connected with a leftist youth conspiracy. From 1943 he attended secret Polish studies at the university level and joined the Scouting Shock Troops, which were organized into the Home Army battalion *Zośka*. He graduated from an underground reserve cadet school, *Agrykola*. He took part in the Warsaw Uprising and was killed in the first days of fighting in Warsaw Theater Square. His wife, Barbara, whom he married in 1942, was killed at the same time elsewhere in Warsaw. Baczyński’s poetic creativity developed fully during the occupation, which became the background of most of his poems, even love lyrics devoted to his wife. He published two collections secretly: *Wiersze wybrane* (Selected poems; 1942) and *Arkusze poetycki* (Poetic sheet; 1943). His whole output, five hundred poems and prose pieces, was preserved in manuscript and was published for the first time after the war in 1962 as *Utwory zebrane* (Collected works; 1962). Full of intense feelings of the moment and of symbolic visions, his poems combine reflections on the fate of the nation and personal responsibility with intimations of terror and threats to the sense of life. During the occupation critics already appreciated his poems. In the course of time he was recognized as the most outstanding poet of the war generation and was compared to Juliusz Słowacki. He even became the object of a cult of the generation coming of age in the 1960s and 1970s. His great talent and his tragic fate prompted one of his first critics, Kazimierz Wyka, to state that it was the fate of the Poles “to shoot at the enemy with diamonds.” (WR)

Sources: *Literatura polska: Przewodnik encyklopedyczny*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1984); Zygmunt Wasilewski, ed., *Żołnierz, poeta, czasu*

kurz. . . *Wspomnienia o Krzysztofie Kamile Baczyńskim* (Kraków, 1979); Kazimierz Wyka, *Baczyński i Różewicz* (Kraków, 1994); Stefan Zabierowski, *Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński: Biografia i legenda* (Wrocław, 1990).

BADZIO Yuriy (24 April 1936, Kopynivka, near Mukachevo), Ukrainian specialist in literary theory and dissident. Badzio came from a large peasant family. In 1958 he graduated in Ukrainian philology at Uzhgorod University, and then he worked as a teacher and school director in the Transcarpathian countryside. Beginning in 1961 he worked at the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev, and in 1961–64 he participated in the Council of Creative Youth Club, one of the first informal organizations of the generation of the 1960s (*shestidesiatniki*). In September 1965 he took part in a protest against the arrests of intellectuals. Removed from the Communist Party and fired from his job, he also was not allowed to publish. In 1971 he wrote a letter to the Sixth Congress of the Association of Ukrainian Writers, criticizing the uneven treatment of Ukrainian culture in the Ukrainian SSR. In 1972 he started working on a huge project demystifying Soviet totalitarianism—*Pravo zhyty* (The right to live). As a result of KGB searches, he twice (in 1977 and 1979) lost big portions of the manuscript. In April 1979 he was arrested, and in December 1979 he was sentenced to seven years in a special severe labor camp and to five years of exile. In March 1980 he was imprisoned in a Mordovian camp, where he protested against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and against the holding of the Olympics in Moscow. His wife and son were also subject to repression. From 1986 Badzio lived in exile in the village of Khandyga in Yakutia. He refused to ask for an earlier release. Freed in December 1988, he joined in the creation of an independent Ukraine. In May 1990 he wrote a manifesto for the Democratic Party of Ukraine, and in December 1990 he was elected its leader. Soon he withdrew from political life and returned to research at the Institute of Philosophy in Kiev. In 1996 he published *Pravo zhyty*, based on the manuscript that he was given back. He authored many works on contemporary Ukrainian politics, including *Vlada—opozyttsiya—derzhava v Ukraini syohodni* (Power—opposition—state in contemporary Ukraine; 1994) and *Natsionalna ideya i natsionalne pytannia* (The national idea and the national question; 2000). (TS)

Sources: Kharkiv Group for the Defense of Human Rights; *Visnyk represiy v Ukraini* (New York), 1981, nos. 5 and 8; 1984, nos. 2, 9, and 10; Volodymir Baran, *Ukraina pislya Stalina: Naris istoriyi 1953–1985 rr.* (Lviv, 1992); Heorhiy Kasyanov, *Nezhodni: Ukrainska intelihentsiya w rusi oporu 1960–80 rokiv* (Kiev, 1995); Anatoli Rusnachenko, *Natsionalno-vyzvolnyi rukh v Ukraini* (Kiev, 1998).

BAGIŃSKI Kazimierz (15 March 1890, Warsaw–27 July 1966, Phoenix, Arizona), Polish peasant politician. Having graduated from high school in Warsaw, Bagiński studied at the Polytechnic College in Lwów (Lviv) (1911–14). From 1914 he was active in the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), and he commanded a unit of the Polish Military Organization (Polska Organizacja Wojskowa) in the Lublin region. In 1915 he co-organized the Polish Peasant Party, Liberation (PSL Wyzwolenie), and from February 1919 he was a member of the Executive Board of the party. He served as a volunteer in the Polish-Soviet war. From March 1921 he was secretary of the Executive Board of the PSL Wyzwolenie; from March 1923, its vice president; and from 1925 to 1929, secretary general of the party. In 1919–28 he was an MP, representing the PSL Wyzwolenie. Co-organizer of the center-left opposition (Centrolew), in September 1903 he was arrested and imprisoned in the Brześć fortress. Released on bail, he co-organized a unified peasant movement in the form of the Peasant Party (Stronnictwo Ludowe [SL]), founded in 1931. From March 1931 he was a member of the Chief Council of the party and secretary of its Chief Executive Committee (CEC). On 15 January 1932 he was sentenced in a trial in Brześć to two years' imprisonment. After the validation of the verdict, at the end of September 1933 he left for Czechoslovakia, where he maintained contact with (among others) **Wincenty Witos** and the Czech Agrarians. Following the partition of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, Bagiński returned to Poland and was imprisoned in Płock. Released on 8 April 1939, in May 1939 he assumed the post of secretary of the CEC of the SL.

After the German invasion of Poland in September 1939 Bagiński went to Volhynia. In mid-1942 he returned to Warsaw and was active in an underground peasant movement called Roch. In 1943 he was editor-in-chief of its newspaper, *Wieś*. He represented the SL Roch in the Council of National Unity (Rada Jedności Narodowej [RNJ]), and from March 1944 he was director of the Interior Department of the Government Delegation for the Homeland. At that time he used a pseudonym, "Dąbrowski." In September 1944 he became deputy president of the RJN. During the Warsaw Uprising he was temporarily president of the Central Committee of the Peasant Movement. After the capitulation of the rising, Bagiński left Warsaw with the whole civilian population. Arrested on 28 March 1945 by the NKVD, he was taken to Moscow, and on 21 June 1945 he was sentenced to one year in prison in the Trial of the Sixteen. Released in November 1945, he returned to Poland and became one of the leaders of the Polish Peasant Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe [PSL]), organized by **Stanisław Mikołajczyk**. A member of the CEC and of the Chief Council of the PSL, as well as head of the Press and Propaganda Department of the party,

on 11 October 1946 Bagiński was arrested and in April 1947 sentenced to eight years by a military court in Warsaw. In July 1947 he was released under an amnesty agreement. Fearing another arrest, in October 1947 he secretly went with Mikołajczyk to the United States, where they initially cooperated, but in 1949 their paths parted. Bagiński stood on the side of the Political Council (Rada Polityczna), and along with **Stefan Korboński** he set up the PSL National Unity Faction (PSL Odłām Jedności Narodowej), in which he was active until his death. (WR)

Sources: Kunert, vol. 1; Bogdan Czaykowski, Bolesław Sulik, *Polacy w Wielkiej Brytanii* (Paris, 1961); Wincenty Witos, *Moje wspomnienia*, vols. 1–3 (Paris, 1964–65); *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 1966, no. 10; *Roczniki Dziejów Ruchu Ludowego*, 1966, vol. 8; Stefan Korboński, "Wspomnienie o Kazimierzu Bagińskim," *Wiadomości*, 1967, no. 19.

BAGRIANOV Ivan (27 November 1891, Voden–1 February 1945, Sofia), Bulgarian politician. In 1912 Bagrianov graduated from a military academy in Sofia. In the Balkan Wars and during World War I he served as an officer of artillery. After the war he completed law studies in Sofia and agriculture studies in Leipzig and Vienna. He was a member of the Agrarian Party and was in the close circle of political friends of Tsar **Boris III**. From 1938 Bagrianov was an MP, and from November 1938 to February 1941, minister of agriculture and of state property. He was considered a supporter of an agreement with Great Britain and resigned in disapproval of Bulgaria's adhesion to the Axis powers. When the regents attempted to unite Bulgaria with the Allies after the tsar's death, Bagrianov became prime minister on 1 June 1944. Tolerated by the Germans, he yielded to their pressure regarding anti-Jewish legislation, but in June 1944 he agreed to the opening of the Soviet consulate in Varna. On 17 August 1944 he announced a break with the "previous policy of chauvinism and war" and proclaimed the neutrality of Bulgaria. As a result of the uncompromising attitude of the USSR, which rejected this declaration, he failed to advance negotiations with the Allies, and on 1 September 1944 he resigned from his post. After the coup of 9 September 1944 he was arrested and, in accord with the directives of the Communist leadership, sentenced to death for "anti-national policies" in a major trial of the leaders of tsarist Bulgaria. He was immediately executed. (WR)

Sources: *Entsiklopediya Bulgariya*, vol. 1 (Sofia, 1978); Ilcho Dimitrov, "Vnyshnata politika na pravitelstvoto na Ivan Bagrianov, 1 juni–1 septemvri 1944 g.," *Godishnik na Sofiiskiiia Universitet. Filozofsko-Istoricheski Fakultet*, 1967, vol. 61; Marshall Lee Miller, *Bulgaria during the Second World War* (Stanford, 1975); Jerzy Jackowicz, *Partie opozycyjne w Bułgarii 1944–1948* (Warsaw, 1997).

BAHDANKEVICH Stanislau (1 January 1937, Shapovaly, near Valozhyn), Belorussian economist and politician. In 1964 Bahdankevich graduated from the All-Union Financial and Economic Institute in Moscow. From 1956 he worked in the Soviet State Bank in Belorussia, gradually advancing in its management. In 1981 he took a chair in the Belorussian Institute of the National Economy, and in 1991 he became a professor of economics. In 1994 he assumed the position of deputy chairman of the International Eurasian Academy of Sciences. From 1991 to 1995 he was chairman of the National Bank of Belorussia. He was dismissed by President **Alyaksandr Lukashenka** for his opposition to a plan for the unification of the financial systems of Belorussia and Russia. From 1995 he was deputy to the Supreme Council, which was outlawed by Lukashenka in 1996 but was recognized by European countries as the only legal parliamentary assembly in Belorussia. In 1995–2000 Bahdankevich was chairman of the United Civic Party of Belorussia (Abjadnanaja Hramadzianskaja Partija Bielarusi), which was liberal in character. From 1998 he presided over the Commission for Economic Policy of the opposition National Executive Committee, which served as a shadow cabinet. (EM)

Sources: *Bielaruskaia entsyklapiedyia*, vol. 11 (Minsk, 1996); Jan Zaprudnik, *Historical Dictionary of Belarus* (Lanham, Md., 1998); *Kto iest kto w Respublike Belarus* (Minsk, 1999); David R. Marples, *Belarus: A Denationalization of a Nation* (Amsterdam, 1999).

BAHDANOVICH Maxim (9 December 1891, Minsk–25 May 1917, Yalta), Belorussian poet, critic, and translator. Bahdanovich's first work, an allegorical parable, *Muzika* (Music), was published in 1907. In 1908 he fell ill with tuberculosis. At that time he was living in Yaroslavl in Russia; from there he sent his works to the newspaper *Nasha niva*. Despite his illness, optimistic notes prevailed in his poetry. He completed high school in Yaroslavl, and in the fall of 1916 arrived in Minsk, where he worked as a secretary for a food committee of the *guberniya* (province). Seriously ill, in February 1917 he went for treatment to the Crimea. He died and was buried there. His collection of poems, *Vianok* (The garland; 1913), the only work published in his lifetime, has been considered a paradigm of classical poetics in Belorussian. Bahdanovich was a pioneer in writing about the history of Belorussian literature; he was the author of *Karotkaia historyia bielaruskai pismiennastsii da XVI staletsia* (Short history of Belorussian literature until the sixteenth century) and *Novy peryod u historyi bielaruskai litaratury* (A new period in the history of Belorussian literature). He was also a translator of poetry, especially Slavic poetry. He also translated the

works of Heinrich Heine, Friedrich Schiller, Horace, Paul Verlaine, and poems from various nations of the world. Central in his works were social and national ideals, the concepts of equality and brotherhood among people, and a poetic vision of nature. He also originated Belorussian lyrical love poetry. At the end of the twentieth century many patriotic demonstrations were organized near his monuments. A complete collection of his works was published in 1991–95 under the title *Bahdanovich Maksim Adamovich, 1891–1917: Pouny zbor tvorau* (Bahdanovich Maksim Adamovich, 1891–1917: A complete collection of works). (AS/SA)

Sources: *Belarus: Entsylapedychny daviednik* (Minsk, 1995); *Arhiunyia materyialy da zyttsia i tvorchastsi Maksima Bahdanovicha* (Minsk, 1996–97); *Batskaushchyna: Zbornik histarychnai litaratury* (Minsk, 1992); *Belarusian Children's Publications* (Minsk, 1993–95); A.V. Maldzis, ed., *Bielaruskiya pismienniki: Bibliografichny slounik* (Minsk, 1993–95); Jan Zaprudnik, *Historical Dictionary of Belarus* (Lanham, Md., 1998).

BAJCSY-ZSILINSZKY Endre (6 June 1886, Szarvas–24 December 1944, Sopronkőhida), Hungarian politician. Bajcsy-Szilinszky's ancestors were Slovak peasants. In 1904 he graduated from a Calvinist high school in Békéscsaba and in 1908 from law studies at the University of Kolozsvár (Cluj). From 1910 he practiced as a defense attorney. In May 1911, he and his brother sued a Socialist Agrarian politician, **András Áchim**, for slandering their father. During a fight, Áchim was badly wounded and died. A Budapest court acquitted the Zsilinszky brothers, stating that they had acted in self-defense. During World War I, Bajcsy-Zsilinszky fought as an officer on the Serbian and Russian fronts; in 1916 he was seriously wounded, and in 1917 he returned to the Russian front. From November 1918 he was back in Hungary, supporting the nationalist right and co-founding the Hungarian National Defense Association and the Hungarian Race Research Society. In 1919 he fought against the Hungarian Soviet Republic, and after its fall he cooperated with **Gyula Gömbös** as editor (1919–22) and later editor-in-chief (1922–26) of an anti-Semitic daily, *Szózat*. In 1922 he was elected to the parliament on behalf of the government Party of Unity. In view of the growing conflict between Prime Minister **István Bethlen** and the nationalists, in 1923 Bajcsy-Zsilinszky left the party and co-founded (with Gömbös, among others) the Hungarian National Independence Party (HNIP). In 1925 he received the prestigious title of “hero” (*vitész*) and changed his name to Bajcsy-Zsilinszky by adding his mother's maiden name.

After the lost election of 1926, Bajcsy-Zsilinszky

parted company with Gömbös, and in the fall of 1927 he left the HNIP. From 1928 to 1932 he edited the periodical *Előrs*. After the elections of 1929, when, owing to electoral fraud by the authorities Bajcsy-Zsilinszky was defeated, he became increasingly critical of the political system and of the German threat. In 1930 he founded the opposition National Radical Party, and in 1931 he won a mandate on its behalf. After Hitler's takeover in Germany, he warned against the Nazi threat and attacked the Gömbös government for its pro-German policy. He favored a pro-French orientation and recommended reconciliation with Yugoslavia. In 1935 the authorities prevented him from winning a parliamentary seat. In response he gave up the title of "hero," and in 1936 he led his party into the Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP). Elected to the parliament again in 1939, he edited an anti-German weekly, *Független Magyarország* (1939–41), and the periodical *Szabad Szó* (1941–44), which condemned laws of 1938, 1939, and 1941 that limited the citizenship rights of Jews.

When in June 1941 Hungary went to war against the USSR and in December 1941 against Great Britain and the United States, Bajcsy-Zsilinszky sharply criticized Prime Minister **László Bárdossy**. In the parliament and in letters to Regent **Miklós Horthy** he demanded Hungary's withdrawal from its alliance with Germany. He protested the Hungarian murders of Serbs in Voivodina in January 1942, demanding a severe punishment for those responsible. After the fall of the Mussolini regime in 1943 he, along with ISP leader **Zoltán Tildy**, sent a memorandum to Prime Minister **Miklós Kállay** in which they demanded Hungary's withdrawal from the war, a proclamation of neutrality, and the rescinding of anti-Jewish legislation; they encouraged reconciliation with neighbors and called for resistance to the potential German occupation of Hungary. Bajcsy-Zsilinszky was known for his support for Poland. On 19 March 1944, SS soldiers raided his apartment, badly wounded him, and took him prisoner. He tried to commit suicide in prison. In October 1944 he was transferred to the Hungarian authorities, which set him free during an attempt by Regent Horthy to withdraw from the war. When the Arrow Cross Party took over power, Bajcsy-Zsilinszky went into hiding. On 5 November 1944 he became leader of the Hungarian National Insurgent and Liberation Committee, composed of a coalition of opposition parties. Because of a betrayal, on 23 November he was arrested. On 6 December 1944 he was put on trial before military court in Budapest. Because Soviet troops were advancing, he was transferred to Sopronkőhida, sentenced to death by an Arrow Cross court, and executed. (JT)

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; *Magyar Nagylexikon*, vol. 3 (Budapest, 1994); *Nagy Képes Milleniumi Arcképcsarnok* (Budapest, 1999); *Új Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 2001); *Magyarország 1944–1956*, CD-ROM (Budapest, 2001); Paul Ignotus, *Hungary* (London, 1972); Sándor Tidrenczel, *Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Endre és politikai pátriája* (Nyiregyhaza, 1986); Károlyi Vigh, *Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Endre, 1886–1944: A küldetéses ember* (Budapest, 1992).

BAJRAKTARI Muharrem (1 May 1896, Domaj–21 January 1989, Brussels), Albanian politician. Bajraktari was from Kosovo. He graduated from a high school in Kolesjan, and in 1917–18 he studied in a military academy in Vienna. In March 1920 he was one of the leaders of an anti-Serb uprising in the region of Stiqnit. Back in Albania in 1921, he served as an officer in the military police in Krume. In 1924 he supported **Ahmet Zogu**, as a result of which he was promoted to the rank of major. He worked in the military court in Shkodër and then as a commander of the military police in the Dibra region in Peshkopi. In December 1926 he led a punitive expedition suppressing rebellion in the region of Dukagjini. Accused of an abuse of power, he was transferred to Tirana. In 1929 he took over command of the military police in the capital, in 1931 he became an aide-de-camp to Zogu, and then he was transferred to control the region of Lumë. Suspected of an anti-government plot, in 1935 he was called to the capital. Fearing for his life, he escaped to Yugoslavia and from there to France, where he joined the National Union (Bashkimi Kombëtar) and remained in opposition to the king. In 1939 he moved to Italy, where he was offered a ministry in the collaboration government or leadership of the Albanian Fascist Militia, but he declined. He returned to Albania and, along with Gani Kryeziu, he led preparations for an anti-Italian uprising in northern Albania organized by British intelligence. The plan was abolished in December 1940.

During the German invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941, Yugoslav officers wanted to gain Bajraktari's cooperation, but the rapid fall of Yugoslavia put an end to these plans. The region of Lumë remained under the control of Bajraktari's troops until March 1942, when an Italian operation, supported by Catholic Mirdytes, dispersed these troops. In the spring of 1943 major resistance groups negotiated with Bajraktari, who promised support but refused to subordinate his troops to any larger group. He opposed the armed resistance of the Communist guerrillas, which led to an intensification of repression. In 1944 he participated in talks with partisans from the Communist Fifth Brigade of the National Liberation Army, but at the end of 1944 open conflict erupted between them. After the Communist takeover, Bajraktari became affiliated with royalist troops operating between Peshkopi and Kukës, but he acted on

his own, controlling the region of Lumë and exercising his own notions of justice. In September 1946 he was forced to flee to Greece with a small group of his followers. In exile he co-initiated the Committee of Free Albania, created in Paris in August 1949, and worked for it until its end in 1953. In 1994 President **Sali Berisha** posthumously awarded him with the order of Për veprimtari patriotike (For Patriotic Activity). (TC)

Sources: Çejku Lufti, *Luma neper sfidat e historisë–gjakfolurit e varrhumburit (7 prill 1939–10 gusht 1988)* (Prizren, 1997); Bernd J. Fischer, *King Zog and the Struggle for Stability in Albania* (New York, 1984); Pallushi Petrit, *Muharrem Bajraktari ne vitet 1945–1946* (Tirana, 1998); Sh. Hoxha, *Muharrem Bajraktari gjatë pushtimit italian (1939–shtator 1943)* (Tirana, 2001).

BAKARIĆ Vladimir (8 March 1912, Velika Gorica, near Zagreb–16 January 1983, Zagreb), Yugoslav Communist activist of Croatian nationality. After graduating from high school and law studies in Zagreb in 1935, in 1937 Bakarić received a Ph.D. In 1933 he joined the then illegal Communist Party of Yugoslavia. From 1936 to 1941 he worked as a defense attorney in Zagreb, contributing to the legal periodicals *Izraz* and *Naše novine*. Arrested three times, from 1937 he was head of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party of Croatia (CPC), and from 1940 he was a member of the CPC CC. From the end of 1941 he cooperated with the partisans of **Josip Broz Tito**, directing their operations in Croatia. He became a member of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (Antifašističko Vijeće Narodnog Oslobođenja Jugoslavije [AVNOJ]), founded in November 1942. Political commissar of the general staff of the National Liberation Army, from October 1944 he was secretary of the CPC.

In April 1945 Bakarić became prime minister of the Croatian republic, supervising the repression of Ustasha activists and of people accused of collaborating with them. In 1946 he was a member of the Yugoslav delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. In January 1948 he took part in Moscow talks with the Soviet leadership, which did not ease the conflict between Tito and Stalin. After the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties condemned Yugoslavia in June 1948, Bakarić gave Tito strong support, and after the dismissal of **Andrija Hebrang** he took over the leadership of the Croatian party. From 1950 he supported the new economic policy, including decollectivization and a system of self-government in ownership and management in industry. He also helped in the purge of opponents of this policy. He headed the Croatian government until 6 February 1953, and on 18 December 1953 he became speaker of the Croatian parlia-

ment. At the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) in 1948 Bakarić became a member of its CC, and from the Sixth Congress he was a member of the Executive Committee of the Union of Yugoslav Communists. In the 1960s he showed some understanding of Croatian national feelings, but in 1971–72 he supported Tito in his purges of Croatian Communists accused of nationalism and counterrevolution. In 1974 he was the co-author of a new constitution that decentralized power in the Yugoslav federation. After Tito's death he became a member of the collective leadership of Yugoslavia. Bakarić was a theoretician of the Yugoslav model and authored several works in this field, including *O poljoprivredi i problemima sela* (On agriculture and problems of the countryside; 1960), *Socijalistički samoupravni sistem i društvena reprodukcija* (The Socialist system of self-management and social reproduction; 1974), and dozens of articles on ideological and constitutional issues. He was a member of the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences. (WR)

Sources: *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vol. 1 (Zagreb, 1955); *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 1 (Zagreb, 1983); Vladimir Dedijer, *The Battle Stalin Lost* (New York, 1970); Stephen Clissold, ed., *Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, 1939–1973* (Oxford, 1975); *Vladimir Bakarić, 1912–1983* (Zagreb, 1983); Miko Tripalo, *Hrvatsko proljeće* (Zagreb, 1989); www.rulers.org.

BALABANOV Aleksandur (18 January 1879, Štip–30 November 1955, Sofia), Bulgarian philologist and journalist. The son of a merchant, Balabanov studied classical philology in Leipzig, and then he received a Ph.D. in Erlangen, Germany. He already distinguished himself during his studies, mastering all the major European languages and Latin. In 1904–12 he taught in a high school in Sofia and lectured at Sofia University, where he established the chair of classical philology. In 1908 he became associate professor and in 1917, full professor. He authored a handbook of classical literature (1914) and translated *Faust*, by Johann Wolfgang Goethe, and a whole series of classical Greek works. Co-founder of the periodicals *Hudozhnik* and *Razvigor*, contributor to the daily *Vreme*, and friend and adviser to Tsar **Boris III**, Balabanov included the classical work of Bulgarian literature, *Zapiski po bulgarskite vystanniya* (Notes from Bulgarian uprisings), by Zakhari Stoyanov, in the compulsory school reading list. Balabanov was the author of *Lyubov i poeziya* (Love and poetry; 1939), the memoirs *I az na tozi swiat* (I am in this world as well; 1955), and many other works. After the Communist takeover, he was pushed into oblivion and isolated in his attempts to maintain links with European culture. It was with humor that he suffered the fate of a

“bourgeois scholar,” as he was described by the official propaganda. (JW)

Sources: *Enciklopediya Bulgariya*, vol. 1 (Sofia, 1976); *Aleksandur Balabanov i Simeon Radev v spomenite na suvremennitsite si* (Sofia, 1986).

BĂLAN Ioan (11 February 1880, Teiuș—4 August 1959, Bucharest), Romanian Greek Catholic bishop. After graduating from the theological seminar in Blaj, Bălan studied theology in Budapest and Vienna. In 1903 he was ordained in Blaj and returned to Vienna to continue studies. In 1906 he received a Ph.D. in theology there. In 1906 he started his ministry in Bucharest. From 1909 to 1920 he was vicar general of Bucharest, and in 1919 he moved to Blaj, where he was appointed metropolitan canon and (in 1921) rector of the Blaj Greek Catholic Theological Academy. In 1927–29, appointed by Pope Pius XI, he was a member of a special commission to elaborate canon law for the eastern churches. In 1936 he was consecrated Bishop of Blaj. After the Communist takeover and the formal liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church, Bălan refused to join the Orthodox Church. Arrested on 28 October 1948 along with five other Romanian Greek Catholic bishops, he was placed in the Dragoslavele Monastery, the summer residence of Romanian Orthodox patriarchs, now converted into a prison. In early 1949 he was moved to the prison in the Căldărușani Monastery, and in 1950 to Sighet Marmăției Prison. He was kept there without trial until 1955, when, on the orders of **Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej**, he was released with two other (still living) bishops, **Iuliu Hossu** and **Alexandru Rusu**. He was put under house arrest in the Curtea de Argeș Monastery, which soon became a place of Greek Catholic pilgrimages. Communist Speaker of the Parliament **Petru Groza** visited the bishops and tried to convince them that their church did not exist in Romania, but in 1956 they sent a memorandum to the government demanding the reconstruction of the Greek Catholic Church. The memorandum was signed by many people, so the authorities separated the bishops to reduce their influence. Bălan was placed in the Ciorogârla Monastery, where he lived in isolation. Seriously ill, in 1959 he was put in a Bucharest hospital, where he soon died. He was buried in the Catholic Bellu Cemetery in Bucharest. His beatification is under way. (LW)

Sources: Józef Darski, *Rumunia: Historia, współczesność, konflikty narodowe* (Warsaw, 1995); Paul Caravia, Virgiliu Constantinescu, and Flori Stănescu, *The Imprisoned Church of Romania, 1944–1989* (Bucharest, 1999); Dennis Deletant, *Communist Terror in Romania* (New York, 1999); www.bru.ro.

BALANTIĆ France (21 November 1921, Kamnik—24 November 1944, Grahovo), Slovenian poet. After high

school Balantić studied linguistics in Ljubljana. In 1941 he was arrested by the Italian occupation authorities. Sent to a concentration camp in Gonars, after his release he joined the anti-Communist Countryside Guard and in 1943, the nationalist Homeland Guard, which cooperated with the Italians. He was killed in a Communist guerrilla attack on Grahovo. Balantić was influenced by the traditions of Slovene Social Catholicism, and he combined formal expressionism with a metaphysical message. He wrote his first collection, *Sonetni venec* (Wreath of Sonnets), in 1940. *V ognju grozy plapolam* (I Struggle through the fire of terror) was published after his death in 1944. Despite his great talent, his works were totally ignored in Communist Yugoslavia for political reasons. A major collection of his poems, *Izbrano delo* (Selected works), was published in Buenos Aires in 1976. In Yugoslavia, a volume of his poems that was ready for print in 1964 could not appear until 1984, when there was a relative easing of censorship. It was only after Slovenia gained independence that Balantić's poetic mastery was acknowledged. (WR)

Sources: *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, vol. 1 (Ljubljana, 1987); F. Pibernik, “Zgodnij Balantić,” *Nova Revija*, 1986, no 5; Leopoldina Plut-Pregelj and Carole Rogel, *Historical Dictionary of Slovenia* (Lanham, Md., 1996).

BALCEROWICZ Leszek (19 January 1947, Lipno), Polish economist and politician. In 1970 Balcerowicz graduated from the Foreign Trade Department of the Central School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw (CSPS; now the Warsaw School of Economics—Szkoła Główna Handlowa [WSE]), and in 1974 he received an MBA from St. John's University in New York. From 1969 to 1981 he belonged to the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP). In 1970–80 he was a researcher at the CSPS Institute of International Economics, and from 1978 to 1980, at the Economic Policy Department of the Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism at the PUWP Central Committee. In 1975 he received a Ph.D. at the CSPS. From 1980 he was research secretary at the CSPS Institute of Economic Development, and in 1981 he was an expert at the Sieć (Network) community in Solidarity, elaborating systemic reforms. During the period of martial law he led an independent seminar on economic systems at the CSPS. In 1989–90 he was a member of the Civic Committee of the chairman of Solidarity.

From September 1989 to December 1991 Balcerowicz was deputy prime minister and minister of finance in the government of **Tadeusz Mazowiecki** and chairman of its Economic Committee. He elaborated and implemented a plan for the rapid stabilization and transformation of the Polish economy, which was in deep structural crisis.

The plan consisted of the removal of all price and wage controls, the introduction of a single rate of exchange for the Polish złoty, an economic opening to the West, and the curbing of high inflation by a special tax on excessive wage increases. During the first three months of 1990 the monthly rate of inflation fell from 76 percent to 6 percent, but the reform deepened the recession, and hidden unemployment surfaced. Balcerowicz's "shock therapy" became a point of reference for all economic reforms in post-Communist countries. Thanks to this policy, Poland was the first post-Communist country to overcome the recession during transition. In 1990 Balcerowicz received a postdoctoral degree and in 1992 he assumed a professorship at the WSE and was a visiting professor to many foreign universities. Among other works, he authored *The Soviet Type of Economic System and Innovativeness* (1988); *Systemy gospodarcze: Elementy analizy porównawczej* (Economic systems: Elements of comparative analysis; 1989); *800 dni: Szok kontrolowany* (800 Days: A shock under control; 1992); *Macropolicies in Transition to a Market Economy: A Three Year Perspective* (1995); *Socialism, Capitalism, Transformation* (1995); *Wolność i rozwój: Ekonomia wolnego rynku* (Freedom and development: Free market economics; 1995); and *Państwo w przebudowie* (The state under reconstruction; 1999). He has received many honorary doctorates and other awards.

From 1992 to 2000 Balcerowicz presided over the Board and Research Council of the Center for Social and Economic Research (CASE). From April 1995 to December 2000 he was chairman of the Union of Freedom (Unia Wolności [UF]). In the parliamentary elections of September 1997 he gained the best results in the Silesian region of Katowice. From October 1997 to June 2000 he was deputy prime minister, minister of finance, and head of the Economic Committee of the government of **Jerzy Buzek**. He resigned in when the UF left the ruling coalition. From December 2000 he was chairman of the National Bank of Poland (Narodowy Bank Polski). His top priority was curbing inflation. (IS WR)

Sources: *Wielka encyklopedia PWN*, vol. 3 (Warsaw, 2001); *Kto jest kim w Polsce* (Warsaw, 2001); Janusz A. Majcherek, *Pierwsza dekada III Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1999); Antoni Dudek, *Pierwsze lata III Rzeczypospolitej 1989–2001* (Kraków, 2002); Wojciech Roszkowski, *Historia Polski 1914–2001* (Warsaw, 2002).

BALICKI Zygmunt (30 December 1858, Lublin–12 September 1916, Petrograd), Polish publicist and nationalist politician. Balicki graduated from high school in Lublin. While a student in St. Petersburg, he joined the Commune of Polish Socialists. In 1880 he arrived in Warsaw, but,

fearing arrest, he moved to Lwów (Lviv), where along with **Bolesław Limanowski** he founded a Socialist association called Lud Polski (Polish People). In 1881 the association issued a manifesto with a program of independence—the first such program since the failure of the January uprising of 1863. Balicki was arrested by the Austrian authorities. Facing the threat of extradition to Russia, in 1883 he went to Switzerland. He acquired Swiss citizenship and did his military service there. In 1886 he secretly returned to Warsaw. After talks with the supporters of the national movement, in January 1887 he left for Kraków, where he set up the Union of Polish Youth, popularly called Zet. In January 1888 this organization became subordinated to the Polish League (Liga Polska). Acting with the Polish League, in 1889 Balicki founded the Association of Polish Emigration (Związek Wychodźstwa Polskiego). In 1890 he began a cooperation with **Roman Dmowski**, as a result of which the National League (Liga Narodowa) was founded in 1893. Although for two years Balicki was formally still a member of the Foreign Union of Polish Socialists, in fact he had already rejected socialism in favor of nationalism. In 1896 in Geneva he earned a doctorate in law. At the National League Congress in Budapest in 1896 he was elected a member of the league's Central Committee. From 1898 he lived in Kraków, founding units of the league in Upper Silesia and in Greater Poland. He was also active in the Society of People's Schools and in the Gymnastic Society Sokół (Falcon). In 1902 he published *Egoizm narodowy wobec etyki* (National egoism against ethics), in which he justified Polish nationalism and outlined a program of national education. Balicki favored the ethics of the nation to individual ethics and considered the rights of the nation as natural rights.

In 1905, along with Dmowski and Jan Ludwik Popławski, Balicki moved to Warsaw. He backed the pro-Russian shift in Dmowski's orientation; as a result the National League broke off ties with the Union of Polish Youth. Between 1908 and 1914 Balicki edited *Przegląd narodowy*, explaining the objectives of the anti-German and pro-Russian policy of the league. He was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for the publication of the article "Program Szymona Konarskiego" (The program of Szymon Konarski; 1908). He served his sentence in Włocławek and was released in June 1910. Two years later he published *Psychologia społeczna* (Social psychology), a work he had begun in prison. His lively attitude and didactic talents won him great popularity and affection among the young. After the outbreak of World War I Balicki became a member of the Polish National Committee (Komitet Narodowy Polski [KNP]) in Warsaw, and in 1915 he moved along with the KNP to Petrograd.

There he became involved in organizing the Polish Legion. It was to fight on the side of the Russian army in counterbalance to the Polish Legions (Legiony Polskie) of **Józef Piłsudski**, which were fighting on the side of Austria-Hungary. Balicki was buried in St. Catherine's Church. In 1918 the Bolsheviks removed his body and buried it in a common grave. (WR)

Sources: *PSB*, vol. 1; Stanisław Bukowiecki, "Zygmunt Balicki," *Kurier Warszawski*, 1916, no. 271; Marian Seyda, *Polska na przełomie dziejów* (Poznań, 1927); Władysław Pobóg-Malinowski, *Narodowa Demokracja 1887–1918* (Warsaw, 1933); Roman Wapiński, *Narodowa Demokracja 1893–1939* (Wrocław, 1980); Bogumił Grott, *Zygmunt Balicki: Ideolog Narodowej Demokracji* (Kraków, 1995).

BALITSKY Anton (17 September 1891, Baliche, near Hrodna [Grodno]–31 October 1937?), Belorussian politician. In 1913 Balitsky graduated from a teachers' seminary in Svisloch. For a short time he worked as a teacher. He began to study at the Vitebsk Teachers' Institute but was mobilized into the army. During the February 1917 revolution he was in St. Petersburg, where he joined the Bolsheviks. Until 1919 he fought with the Red Army on the southern front. In November 1919 he became a member of the Bolshevik party. He took part in the formation of the Soviet government in Odessa. In 1921–26 he was deputy commissar and then (1926–29) commissar for education of the Belorussian SSR. His name is associated with the process of the Beloruthenization of education in the Belorussian SSR. In 1929, as the struggle against so-called national democratism intensified, Balitsky was strongly suspected of Belorussian nationalism. In 1930 he was accused of being a member of a conspiratorial (in fact nonexistent) organization called the Belorussian Liberation Union. In March 1931 he was sentenced to ten years in labor camps. As a result of a retrial in 1937 his sentence was changed to death, and he was executed. (EM)

Sources: Ivan S. Lubachko, *Belorussia under Soviet Rule, 1917–1957* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1972); Vitaut Kipel and Zora Kipel, eds., *Byelorussian Statehood* (New York, 1988); *Entsyklapiedyia historyi Bielarusi*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1993); N. Vasilieuskaia, *Abvinavachvaietstva u natsionaldemokratyzmie* (Minsk, 1995).

BALLUKU Beqir (14 February 1917, Tirana–1975 Tirana?), Albanian Communist activist. Balluku was born into a poor Muslim family. After graduating from a technical school in Tirana, in 1935–39 he worked in a metal factory in Tirana. He took part in anti-Italian demonstrations in April 1939, and from 1940 to 1942 he served in the army. In the Shkodër garrison he entered into contact with a radical group of youth. Demobilized in 1942, he joined the Communist resistance. He co-initiated the formation

of local cells of the Communist Party and assumed the position of political commissar of the Third Brigade of the **Enver Hoxha** guerrillas. At the end of the war he was political commissar of the First Corps. As a member of a special people's tribunal to try "war criminals and enemies of the people," he was responsible for the prosecution of political opponents. From 1945 he was deputy chairman of the Democratic Front, and in 1947 he became commander of an infantry division with the rank of colonel. In February 1948 he was promoted to general, and until 1953 he was chief of staff of the army. A member of the Central Committee and Politburo of the Albanian Labor Party and MP from 1948, in 1952–53 he studied at the Voroshilov Military Academy in Moscow.

In 1953–74 Balluku was minister of defense and from 1954, also one of the deputy prime ministers, responsible for the control and indoctrination of the populace. In the 1950s he became famous for saying proudly that the Albanian army had in fact become a part of the Soviet army. In accordance with the Hoxha line, in September 1960 he nevertheless sharply criticized Soviet policy at the congress of the North Vietnamese party in Hanoi. In March 1961 in Warsaw he represented Hoxha at the last meeting of the Warsaw Pact in which the Albanian delegation participated. After the breach with the USSR, he became an equally zealous supporter of the Chinese line. In September and October 1968 he gained Mao Zedong's assurance that China would defend Albania in the case of a threat to its sovereignty. In July 1974 Balluku was dismissed under mysterious circumstances. Officially he was accused of neglect in the armed forces and of attempted rebellion. According to one source, he is believed to have opposed Hoxha's idea of defending Albania by means of thousands of bunkers. According to another source, he was to write a report, which Hoxha called the "black thesis," on the disastrous situation in the army. It is also possible that Balluku had simply become too strong a rival of the dictator. At first Balluku was interned at Roskovec, near Fieri, and then he was imprisoned, sentenced to death, and executed. (TC)

Sources: Stavro Skendi, *Albania* (New York, 1956); William E. Griffith, *Albania and the Sino-Soviet Rift* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963); Peter R. Pifti, *Socialist Albania since 1944: Domestic and Foreign Developments* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978); Arshi Pipa, *Albanian Stalinism: Ideo-Political Aspects* (New York, 1990); Gjergji Titani and Hasani Proleter, *Personalitete ushtarake shqiptare në vite 1912–1997*, vol. 1 (Tirana, 1997); Bardho Hysen, *Beteja dhe duele: Esse dhe kujtime* (Athens, 2000).

BALODIS Janis (20 February 1881, Trikatas–8 August 1965, Saulkrasti), Latvian general and politician. In 1898 Balodis joined the Russian army, and in 1902 he gradu-

ated from the military academy in Vilnius (Wilno). He was decorated for his service in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5). Balodis was wounded during World War I in East Prussia and taken captive by the Germans. In November 1918 he returned to Latvia, and he joined the Latvian army in the making as a captain. He was soon promoted, at first to command a battalion, next a brigade, and then a division. After the death of Colonel Oskar Kolpaks, from March to June 1919 Balodis commanded the Latvian army fighting the Bolsheviks, the White Russians, and the Germans in southern Latvia. On 16 October 1919 he was officially appointed commander-in-chief of the Latvian Army. On 30 December 1919 he signed a treaty of military cooperation with Poland in the liberation of Latgalia. The operation began on 3 January 1920 with an attack by the Polish-Latvian group under the command of General **Edward Rydz-Śmigły**. In January 1920 Balodis was appointed general. In July 1921 he went into the reserves. From 1925 he was an MP associated with the Peasant Union of **Kārlis Ulmanis**, and from 1931 he served as defense minister. In this role he significantly advanced preparations for the coup d'état of 15–16 May 1934. The army's commander-in-chief, General Martins Penkis, was not informed of the plot, and Balodis neutralized the army. The most significant role in the coup was played by Aizsargs, a paramilitary organization of the Peasant Union. On 16 May, together with Ulmanis, Balodis signed a program manifesto for the new government. In it, they presented evidence that the country was on the verge of ruin as a result of widespread corruption, unstable government, and the imminent threat of civil war because of the activities of the radical right and left wings. From 1936 Balodis served as vice president and defense minister. Although he was ready to accept Ulmanis's dictatorial methods of government and even his cult status as "the leader of the nation," Ulmanis dismissed him on 5 April 1934 because he had demanded that Ulmanis fulfill a promise made in 1934 to convene the parliament and pass a new constitution.

After the Red Army entered Latvia in July 1940, together with a group of independence activists, Balodis attempted to put forward a list of non-Communist candidates in the elections to the National Assembly, but he was prevented from doing so by a special deputy from the Kremlin, Andrei Wyshynsky. Balodis was then arrested by the NKVD, and after many years in prisons and forced labor camps, he returned to Latvia, where he died. He was decorated with many Latvian orders and with the Polish Virtuti Militari Cross. (WR/EJ)

Sources: Arnolds Spekke, *History of Latvia* (Stockholm, 1951); Adolf Blodnieks, *The Undeclared Nation* (New York,

1960); Piotr Łossowski, *Kraje bałtyckie na drodze od demokracji parlamentarnej do dyktatury (1918–1934)* (Wrocław, 1972); Adolfs Šilde, *Latvijas Vēsture* (Stockholm, 1976); Visvaldis Mangulis, *Latvia in the Wars of the 20th Century* (Princeton Junction, N.J., 1983).

BALOGH István (30 March 1894, Stájerlak [now in Romania]–21 July 1976, Budapest), Hungarian Catholic priest and political activist. After high school Balogh graduated from a theological seminar in Temesvár (Timișoara) and was ordained in 1918. In 1921–25 he studied philosophy at the universities in Budapest and Szeged, and in 1929 he received a Ph.D. in philosophy. From 1926 to 1946 he was vicar in Szeged. He co-initiated summer festivals in this town, and in 1934 he was elected to the local government on behalf of the government Party of Unity. He founded and edited the *Szegedi Katolikus Tudósító* (1927–35) and a periodical for country folk, *Tanyai Újság* (1936–38). In 1930–32 he edited the daily *Szegedi Hírlap*, and from 1938 to 1944 he was co-owner of a liberal daily, *Délmagyarország*, and two presses.

In November 1944 Balogh took over the leadership of the Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP) organization in Szeged, although he had not belonged to this party. In December 1944 he took part in the creation of the Hungarian National Independence Front (HNIF), which included the ISP, Communists, Social Democrats, and the National Peasant Party. Until May 1945 he presided over the HNIF cell in Szeged and belonged to the preparatory commission of the Provisional National Assembly. From December 1944 to May 1947 he was secretary of state for political affairs in the government, and until the summer of 1945 he headed the government Press Bureau. He was a signatory to the Hungarian-Soviet armistice of 20 January 1945. In 1945–46 he was a government commissioner of abandoned property. From August 1945 he was a member of the ISP national leadership. After the arrest of **Béla Kovács**, in February 1947 Balogh was elected secretary general of the party. After the ISP prime minister, **Ferenc Nagy**, was forced to resign, Balogh also gave up his ministerial position, and in early June 1947 he left the ISP. With Communist support, a month later he founded the Independent Hungarian Democratic Party, which gained 5.2 percent of the vote and eighteen parliamentary seats in the elections of 31 August 1947. From 1947 he was a member of the Hungarian-Soviet Cultural and Educational Society. As a result of his political involvement, in September 1948 Balogh was suspended as a Catholic priest. In February 1949 he led his party into the Communist-controlled Hungarian Independence People's Front and soon was elected to the presidium of its national board. From August 1949 to December 1951 he was a member of the Presidential

Council of the Hungarian Republic. In 1950 he co-initiated a “peace movement” of the Catholic clergy, and later he became a member of the National Peace Council and the National Council of the Popular Patriotic Front. In 1951 he moved out of Budapest but returned in 1953. Later, until his death, Balogh was allowed to work in Budapest as a priest and from 1968, as a titular abbot. (JT)

Sources: *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon*, vol. 3 (Budapest, 1981); *Magyar Nagylexikon*, vol. 3 (Budapest, 1994); *Magyarország 1944–1956*, CD-ROM, 1956-os Intézet (Budapest, 2001); *Új Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 2001).

BANACH Kazimierz (4 March 1904, Korytkowo, near Opoczno–29 August 1985, Warsaw), Polish political activist. Banach graduated from the Free Polish University (1932). From 1922 he belonged to the Polish Peasant Party Liberation (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe Wyzwolenie) and from 1931, to the Peasant Party (Stronnictwo Ludowe [SL]). Active in the peasant youth movement, chairman of the Academic Union of Peasant Youth (1929–30), chairman of the Central Board of the Peasant Youth Association Wici (1931–32), and a member of the presidium of the Slavonic Union of Peasant Youth, in 1935–39 Banach was active in the Wici organization in Volhynia. In March 1940 he co-organized the underground peasant movement SL Roch and was chief of staff of the Supreme Command of the Peasant Battalions (Bataliony Chłopskie); then he edited peasant underground periodicals and served as a delegate of the Polish government in exile in Volhynia. In 1944 he took part in the Warsaw Uprising. In 1945 he joined the Polish Peasant Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe [PSL]) of **Stanisław Mikołajczyk**. At first a member of the PSL Chief Executive Committee and Supreme Board, he represented the party in the Communist-controlled Home National Council (Krajowa Rada Narodowa). He advocated a conciliatory attitude toward the Communists. In the parliamentary elections of January 1947 he won a seat, having organized a splinter group called PSL-Left. Excluded from the PSL in April 1947, after the escape of Mikołajczyk in the fall 1947, he took part in the takeover of the party by a pro-Communist faction and its merger with the Communist-controlled Peasant Party into the United Peasant Party (Zjednoczone Stronnictwo Ludowe [ZSL]) in November 1949. In 1950–55 he was marginalized and worked in the cooperative movement. From 1956 he became one of the ZSL leaders. He was a member of the Chief Committee, editor of ZSL periodicals, chairman of the People’s Press Cooperative (1951–71), MP (until 1972), a member of the Council of State (until 1971), deputy chairman of the Communist war veterans’ Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy (1956–74), and

a long-time member of the Communist-controlled International Federation of Resistance Movements. (AP)

Sources: Mołdawa; *Słownik Biograficzny Działaczy Ruchu Ludowego* (Warsaw, 1989); Roman Buczek, *Stronnictwo Ludowe w latach 1939–1945* (London, 1975); Krystyna Kersten, *Narodziny systemu władzy: Polska 1943–1948* (Poznań, 1990); Andrzej Paczkowski, *Stanisław Mikołajczyk, czyli klęska realisty* (Warsaw, 1991).

BANACH Stefan (30 March 1892, Kraków–31 August 1945, Lwów [Lviv]), Polish mathematician. In 1910–14 Banach studied at the Lwów Polytechnic, but with the outbreak of World War I he had to break off his studies. In 1919 he, along with **Hugo Steinhaus**, published his first scholarly work. From 1920 he worked at the Lwów Polytechnic as an assistant professor. In the same year he received a Ph.D.; in 1922 he received a postdoctoral degree, and he became full professor. From 1924 he was a member of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences. In the mid-1920s he already had international standing as a mathematician; he co-established the Lwów school of mathematics and was the discoverer of a new branch of mathematics: functional analysis, known at that time as the theory of linear operations. In 1929, along with Steinhaus, he founded the periodical *Studia Mathematica*, which in a short time won worldwide recognition. In 1932 he published his major work, *Théorie des opérations linéaires* (Theory of linear operations), which was the first handbook of functional analysis. In it he introduced the concept of the “Banach space.” Along with Alfred Tarski, he also presented the theorem of the paradoxical factoring of a sphere. In 1939 he was elected chairman of the Polish Mathematical Association. The outbreak of World War II found him in Lwów, which was taken by the Red Army. In 1940–41 he was dean of the Soviet-controlled University of Lwów. After the seizure of the city by the Germans, he lost his job and worked as a feeder of lice in an institute producing anti-typhoid vaccine. When the Soviet army returned in the summer of 1944, Banach returned to scholarly work at the university. He intended to move to Kraków, but he died before he could. His main works were published in *Oeuvres avec des commentaires* (Works with commentary, 2 vols.; 1967–79). (WR)

Sources: Hugo Steinhaus, “Stefan Banach,” *Studia Mathematica*, 1963, no 1; *Polacy w historii i kulturze krajów Europy Zachodniej*, ed. Krzysztof Kwaśniewski and Lech Trzeciakowski (Poznań, 1981); Roman Kałuża, *Stefan Banach* (Warsaw, 1992); S. Wagon, *The Banach-Tarski Paradox* (Cambridge, 1993); Roman, Kałuża *Thought a Reporter’s Eye: The Life of Stefan Banach* (Boston, 1996); J. Koziół, *Banach-geniusz ze Lwowa* (Warsaw, 1999).

BAŃCZYK Stanisław (25 October 1903, Lubiszów, near Opoczno–16 April 1988, Washington, D.C.), Polish peasant politician. Bańczyk graduated from a training school in Sieradz. From 1919 he belonged to the Polish Peasant Party Wyzwolenie (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe Wyzwolenie), and from 1931 to the Peasant Party (Stronnictwo Ludowe [SL]). He was one of the top leaders of the Peasant Youth Association Wici, and he co-organized the peasant strike of 1937. He favored cooperation with the Polish Socialist Party and supported a united front of the left with the Communists; he was arrested several times. During the German occupation he was a member of the underground SL Roch, and then he co-organized the SL Wola Ludu (Will of the People), on whose behalf he became a member of the Communist-controlled Home National Council (Krajowa Rada Narodowa). In 1945 he was chairman of the Chief Executive Committee of the pro-Communist SL, but he advocated its autonomy and cooperation with the Polish Peasant Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe [PSL]) of **Stanisław Mikołajczyk**. In November 1945, with a group of followers, Bańczyk moved to the PSL, where he became deputy chairman of its Chief Executive Committee. He won a parliamentary seat in the fraudulent elections of January 1947. He supported Mikołajczyk's policies, and after Mikołajczyk's escape he resigned and secretly left Poland as well. One of the top PSL leaders in exile, in 1954 Bańczyk opposed Mikołajczyk and, along with Stanisław Wójcik, he took the lead of a separate PSL. Later he resigned from it, since one of his chief aides proved to be an agent of Communist intelligence. In 1964 he joined the **Kazimierz Bagiński** group, and in 1968–75 he was the head of the PSL in exile, after most splinters groups were again reunited. The party split again in 1975, and Bańczyk ceased to play a significant role in the political life of Polish émigrés. (AP)

Sources: Mołdawa; *Słownik Biograficzny Działaczy Ruchu Ludowego* (Warsaw, 1989); Roman Buczek, *Stronnictwo Ludowe w latach 1939–1945* (London, 1975); Krystyna Kersten, *Narodziny systemu władzy: Polska 1943–1948* (Poznań, 1990); Andrzej Paczkowski, *Stanisław Mikołajczyk, czyli kłeska realisty* (Warsaw, 1991).

BANDERA Stepan (1 January 1909, Uhryniv Staryi, near Kalush–15 October 1959, Munich), Ukrainian nationalist politician. The son of a Greek Catholic priest, Bandera graduated from high school in Stryi. As a student of agronomy at the Lwów (Lviv) Polytechnic, in 1927 he joined the Ukrainian Military Organization (Ukrajinska viiskova orhanizatsiia [UVO]). He also belonged to the Union of Nationalist Ukrainian Youth (Soyuz Ukraïnskoi Natsionalistichnoi Molodi). From 1929 he was a

member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Orhanizatsiia Ukraïnskykh Natsionalistiv [OUN]), and from 1931 he was head of the propaganda section of the OUN Executive Department. With the support of the young, radically anti-Polish members at the OUN leadership (*provid*) meeting in Prague on 6 June 1933, he was appointed the OUN leader (*providnyk*). On his recommendation the OUN continued terrorist actions against Polish authorities—for example, the assassination of the minister of interior, **Bronisław Pieracki**. Arrested on 14 June 1934, in January 1936 Bandera was sentenced to death. The sentence was then commuted to life imprisonment. He was held in the Święty Krzyż, Rawicz, Wronki, and Bereza Kartuska prisons.

Released in early September 1939 along with a group of young nationalists, Bandera attempted to resume power in the OUN. In view of the resistance of the followers of **Andriy Melnyk**, on 10 February 1940 the organization split. Bandera took over the leadership of the revolutionary OUN faction, named the Bandera faction after him (OUN-B); it took over most of the organizational network in the Ukraine and acted mostly against Soviet power. Counting on a German-Soviet war, the OUN-B formed military units cooperating with the German Wehrmacht and special troops aimed at taking over power in the territory taken by the Germans. On 30 June 1941 in German-controlled Lviv, Bandera's followers announced the creation of an independent Ukraine with a government headed by **Yaroslav Stetsko**. Bandera was probably to become the head of state. The Germans refused to recognize the Stesko government and demanded a withdrawal of the declaration of independence. When the OUN-B refused, its activists were arrested. Bandera was placed in the Sachsenhausen-Zellenbau concentration camp as a special prisoner. He made contact with the commander-in-chief of the Polish Home Army, General **Stefan Grot-Rowecki**, also kept there, but no details of these contacts are known.

Changes in the German policy toward the Ukraine led to Bandera's release in mid-September 1944. His position toward the Third Reich in the last months of the war is not clear. Probably he gradually distanced himself from the German authorities. After the war he remained in the Western occupation zones of Germany, heading Foreign OUN Groups (Zakordonnnye Chastyny OUN [ZCh OUN]). Differences grew between Bandera and OUN activists connected with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukrainska Povstanska Armia [UPA]) and its political superstructure, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council. In particular Bandera questioned a resolution of the Third OUN Congress that rejected democratization of the organization. He also refused to recognize the council's leadership in exile.

He supported a continuation of the UPA armed struggle, leaving the choice of methods to its commander-in-chief, **Roman Shukhevych**. Discrepancies within the ZCh OUN led to a split in the organization in 1948. Activists connected with the council questioned Bandera's power and established the so-called OUN-Z, led by **Lev Rebet** and Zinoviy Matla. Attempts by Shukhevych to ease the tension between the factions failed. Representatives of both factions sent to the Ukraine were caught by the Soviets. Bandera's representative, the head of the ZCh OUN Security Service, Myron Matviyenko, disclosed important secrets of the organization to the Soviets. His arrest, as well as the creation of an OUN network controlled by the Polish Communist security apparatus, further weakened Bandera's position. Nevertheless, as a long-term prisoner, for many Ukrainians he was still a symbol of the national struggle for independence. For this reason the head of the Soviet KGB, Aleksander Shelepin, ordered his assassination. On 15 October 1959 Bandera was murdered by a KGB agent, Bohdan Stashynskyi. Bandera was buried in Munich. In 1978 a collection of his works, *Perspektyvy ukraïns'koy revoliutsii* (Prospects of the Ukrainian revolution), appeared in Munich. (GM)

Sources: *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1984); Petro Mirczuk, *Bandera: Symvol revoliutsionnoy bezkompromisovnosti* (New York and Toronto, 1961); *Murdered by Moscow: Petlura, Konovalts, Bandera: Three Leaders of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement* (London, 1962); Karl Anders, *Mord auf Befehl- der Fall Staschynskij* (Tübingen, 1963); *Moskovsky vbiivtsy Bandery pered sudom* (Monachium, 1965); Ryszard Torzecki, *Polacy i Ukraińcy: Sprawa ukraińska w czasie II wojny światowej na terenie II Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1993); *Ubiivstvo Stepana Bandery* (Lviv, 1993); Wasyl Kuk, *Stepan Bandera 1909–1999* (Ivano-Frankovsk, 1999).

BÁNFFY Dezső (28 October 1843, Kolozsvár [Cluj]–24 May 1911, Budapest), Hungarian politician. After graduating from law and administration studies in Cluj, Berlin, and Vienna, Bánffy was governor of Szolnok-Doboka Province (1876–90) and then of Beszterce-Naszód Province (1890–92). He was a conservative of a peremptory nature. Speaker of the parliament on behalf of the Liberal Party (1892–95), from January 1895 to February 1899 he was prime minister at the time of the culmination of the Hungarian nationalist offensive, the so-called struggle for culture. Bánffy's personal engagement and his skillful policies helped his government to force a modernization of the civil law. He also made a number of decisions to consolidate a strong national state. For instance, the celebration of the millennium of Hungarian statehood in 1896 strengthened national consciousness and pride among Hungarians and transformed Budapest into a modern European capital. Bánffy's nationalist policies led

to a long-term crisis of the Dual Monarchy. In 1904 he returned to politics, becoming an MP and chairman of the conservative New Party (Új párt), which, however, failed to play a significant role. He was the author of *Magyar nemzetiségi politika* (Hungarian national policy; 1902) and *A horvát kérdéstről* (On the Croatian question; 1907), in which he presented an uncompromising attitude toward national minorities (MS)

Sources: *Bánffy Dezső nemzetiségi politikája* (Budapest, 1899); Lajos Bíró, "Bánffy Dezső," *Husadik Század*, 1912, no. 23; Steven Béla Varga, *Historical Dictionary of Hungary* (Lanham, Md., 1997).

BANGERSKIS Rūdolfs (21 July 1878, Taurupe, Livonia–25 February 1958, Oldenburg, Germany), Latvian general. After high school Bangerskis served in the Russian army from 1895. In 1901 he graduated from the infantry cadet school in Petersburg and served as an officer in the Ninety-Third, Ninety-Sixth, and Thirty-Sixth Regiments. He took part in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. In 1912–14 he studied in the Academy of the General Staff but broke off his studies at the outbreak of World War I. In December 1916 he was a colonel in the staff of the Fourteenth Corps and later of the Thirty-First Corps; from January 1917 he commanded the Seventeenth Regiment of Siberian Riflemen. Demobilized in March 1918, he went to Yekaterinburg, where he joined the anti-Bolshevik Siberian Army of General Aleksander Kolchak. Chief of staff of a division and later commander of a division, he was promoted to lieutenant-general. From October 1919 he commanded a corps and then a group of armies. In December 1920 he returned to Latvia. From 1924 he was commander of a division of the Latvian Army and headed higher military courses. From December 1924 to December 1925 and from December 1926 to January 1928 he was minister of war. In 1925 he was confirmed as general, and in 1936 he retired. After the Soviet invasion of 1940 he avoided arrest, although he was listed for deportation. During the German occupation, in 1942–43 he worked in the General Juridical Administration of the Latvian government. From April 1943 a general inspector of the Latvian Legion in the rank of Gruppenführer SS, he withdrew with the German army to the west and was elected chairman of the Latvian National Committee in Potsdam in February 1945. From June 1945 he was in a British POW camp. Released in December 1946, he settled in Oldenburg. He wrote a four-volume memoir, *Mana mūža atmiņas* (Memoirs of my life; 1958–60). He was killed in a car crash. (EJ)

Sources: *Es viņu pazīstu* (Riga, 1939); Adolfs Blodnieks, *The Undefeated Nation* (New York, 1960); Ēriks Jēkabsons and U. Neiburgs,

“Generālis Rūdolfs Bangerskis,” *Vīri*, 1995, no. 4; Andrejs Plakans, *Historical Dictionary of Latvia* (Lanham, Md., 1997); *Latvijas armijas augstākie virsnieki: Biogrāfiska vārdnīca* (Riga, 1998).

BANUSHI Ireneo Ilia (18 August 1906, Shkodër–25 November 1973, Lushnjë), Albanian Orthodox bishop. In 1925 Banushi graduated from Iliricum, a Franciscan high school in Shkodër and in 1931, from the Orthodox theological seminary in Cetinje. In 1938 he graduated in theological studies in Belgrade. After returning to Albania, he lectured in a theological seminary, and he taught Latin and history in a high school in Tirana. During the Italian occupation he was imprisoned in Shkodër as a “political suspect” and was later interned near Mantua in Italy. Released in June 1940, he returned to Tirana. From October 1941 to January 1942 he again taught in a high school. In January 1942 he was appointed archimandrite of Shen Naum Monastery, and the following month he was consecrated bishop. In June 1942 the Holy Synod reorganized the church administration, taking into consideration territories included in Italian-occupied Albania. Banushi took over the Struga-Prespa diocese. He sympathized with the Communist guerrillas but remained passive.

At the end of World War II Banushi dedicated himself to writing pastoral works. In July 1945 he became ordinary bishop of the Gjirokaster diocese, but he resided in Tirana because the Communists prevented him from coming to Gjirokaster, wishing to place one of their priests there. On 28 October 1946 Banushi was arrested, and in April 1947 he was sentenced to five years for “collaboration with the occupiers.” Released owing to an amnesty on 28 April 1949, he recovered from tuberculosis, which he had acquired in prison. Interned in the Shen Vlashi Monastery in Durrës, he took part in the Third Congress of the Albanian Orthodox Church in February 1950. He was pressed to give up his consecration as bishop. Since he refused, on 22 August 1952 he was arrested again, and on 9 April 1953 he was sentenced to five years in prison. After his release, in 1958 he was interned in the Ardenice Monastery near Lushnjë. In 1967, when all religious practice was prohibited by Albanian law, he was allowed to settle and work as a blue-collar laborer in Lushnjë. He worked in railway construction, as a storekeeper, and as an accountant. He died of tuberculosis. (TC)

Sources: Beduli Dhimiter, *Kisha orthodoxe autoqefale e Shqipërise gjer në vitin 1944* (Tirana, 1992); Beduli Kristofor, *Episkop Irine Banushi: Martir i Kishës Orthodoxke Autoqefale te Shqipërise* (Tirana, 2000).

BARADULIN Ryhor (24 February 1935, Verasovka, Vitebsk region), Belorussian poet, critic, and translator.

From 1954 to 1959 Baradulin studied philology at the Belorussian State University in Minsk. Later he worked for the periodicals *Sovetskaya Byelorussiya*, *Byarozka*, *Belarus*, and *Polymya*. In 1996 he became editor-in-chief of the monthly *Mastatskaya literatura*. In 1990–99 he was chairman of the Belorussian PEN club, and in 1995–97, a member of the board of the Belorussian Soros Foundation. He made his literary debut in 1953. The major collections of his poems include the following: *Meladzik nad stepami* (New moon over the steppes; 1959); *Adam i Yeva* (Adam and Eve; 1968); *Vyartannie u pyershy snieh* (Return to the first snow; 1972); *Absiah* (The range; 1978); *Amplituda smielastsi* (The amplitude of braveness; 1983); *Mauchannie pieruna* (The silence of thunder; 1986); and *Samota palomnitstva* (The solitude of pilgrimage; 1990). His poems have been translated into eleven languages. Baradulin also translated the works by García Lorca, Aleksandr Voznesenskiy, Omar Chajjam, Pablo Neruda, William Shakespeare, George Byron, Adam Mickiewicz, and Władysław Broniewski into Belorussian. It is believed that he authored the anonymous poems *Raskaz pra Lysuyu Haru* (The tale of Bald Mountain) and *Luka Mudishchau*, the former being a satire of the Soviet system and the latter of President **Alyaksandr Lukashenka**. Baradulin won numerous national and international awards. (EM)

Sources: *Entsyklapedyia litaratury i mastatstva Belarusi*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1984); *Bielaruskiya pismienniki: Biyabibliografichny slounik*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1992); Jan Zaprudnik, *Belarus: At a Crossroads in History* (Boulder, Colo., 1993); *Bielaruskiya pismienniki 1917–1990: Davednik* (Minsk, 1994); Jan Zaprudnik, *Historical Dictionary of Belarus* (Lanham, Md., 1998); *Kto iest kto w Respublike Belarus* (Minsk, 1999).

BARÁK Rudolf (11 May 1915, Blansko–12 August 1995, Prague), Czech Communist activist. Between 1930 and 1945 Barák was a laborer in his home, Blansko. In 1945 he joined the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC), and as an obedient executor of orders, he was soon promoted in the party hierarchy. He advanced from membership on a factory committee to the party secretariat in the district of Blansko, and after the coup in February 1948 he became the chair of the Regional National Committee in Blansko. Owing to the support of the equally swiftly promoted **Antonín Novotný**, in October 1950 Barák was appointed head of the CPC in Brno and in December 1952 deputy member, and soon thereafter member, of the CPC Central Committee. At the beginning of 1953 he was briefly deputy prime minister, and in September 1953 he assumed the post of interior minister. In this role he headed the state terror. Over a hundred Czechoslovak concentration camps fell within his power. From June 1954

he was a member of the Politburo of the CC and chaired a special committee for investigating the political trials of 1948–53; the committee was created after Stalin's death in the first stages of collective leadership in Czechoslovakia. The committee covered up most of the Stalinist crimes, and its report was never made public. However, Barák collected a great deal of evidence incriminating his political rivals. Along with Novotný, he played a major role in holding back de-Stalinization and prevented its spread to Czechoslovakia from neighboring countries. He directed the program Return, in which postwar emigrants were encouraged to return to Czechoslovakia. From 1959 he was deputy prime minister and enjoyed great popularity among the party masses, especially after the amnesty of 9 May 1960, through which many political prisoners were released.

When unrest connected with a bad economic situation and Khrushchev's "second thaw" in the USSR began in 1961, Barák was most frequently mentioned as Novotný's successor. Alarmed by the independence of Barák's policies and by the fact that Barák knew about Novotný's role in the trial of **Rudolf Slánský**, Novotný counterattacked. In June 1961 Barák was dismissed from the Ministry of Interior and was assigned a marginal post as plenipotentiary for a local administration a month later. On the night of 23–24 January 1962 President Novotný, Prime Minister **Viliam Široký**, and Minister of Interior **Lubomir Štrougal** personally arrested Barák under the pretext of his having embezzled \$1,000. On Novotný's motion the CC Plenum of 6–7 February 1962 denounced Barák for his activities in the ministry and his "manipulations of state property." On 20 June 1962 he was sentenced to fifteen years of prison. Released and rehabilitated by the Supreme Court during the Prague Spring in May 1968, he did not return to political life. (WR)

Sources: ČBS; *Who's Who in the Socialist Countries* (New York, 1978); William E. Griffith, ed., *Communism in Europe*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1966); Edward Taborsky, *Communism in Czechoslovakia 1948–1960* (Princeton, 1961); Eugen Loebel, *Stalinism in Prague* (New York, 1969); Jiří Pelikán, *The Czechoslovak Political Trials 1950–1954* (Stanford, 1971).

BARANIÁK Antoni (1 January 1904, Sebastianów, near Śrem–18 August 1977, Poznań). Polish archbishop. Born into a peasant family, after primary school in Sebastianów Baraniak studied in schools run by the Order of St. Francis Salesius in Oświęcim and Kraków, where he passed his graduation exams and took vows in May 1924. In August 1930 he was ordained. From 1927 to 1933 he studied in Warsaw and at the Gregorian University in Rome, where he received a Ph.D. in canon law. From 1933 he was per-

sonal secretary to the Primate of Poland, **August Hlond**, and later to Primate **Stefan Wyszyński**. On 26 April 1951 he was appointed auxiliary bishop of the Gniezno bishopric and was consecrated on 8 July 1951. He kept working in the secretariat of the Primate of Poland, acting as bishop in western and northern dioceses, where the Communist authorities had removed the apostolic administrators.

As Baraniak was a close aide to Primate Wyszyński, on 25 September 1953 Communist security officers arrested him in Warsaw. He was tortured physically and mentally in a Warsaw prison. (For instance, he was kept naked in a wet and cold cell.) His forced confessions were to serve as a foundation for the trial of Primate Wyszyński, but he refused to testify against the primate. On 21 December 1955 Baraniak was released and transferred to a Salesian convent in Marszałki, near Ostrzeszów, where he was kept in strict isolation. He was set free in October 1956. Imprisonment had ruined his health. On 30 May 1957 Pope Pius XII appointed him archbishop of Poznań, which was perceived as a sign of solidarity between the Pope and the persecuted bishop. Baraniak took over the Poznań archbishopric on 2 July 1957. He established a number of new parishes and reactivated the collegiate church in Środa; he participated in the Second Vatican Council and in the synods of bishops in 1969 and 1971. In 1968 he also organized a diocesan synod. Thanks to his endeavors, the Papal Theological Department was created in Poznań. Baraniak was known as an outstanding preacher; he frequently spoke in defense of the rights of believers and priests harassed for building churches without special permission from the Communist authorities. (AGr)

Sources: Piotr Nitecki, *Biskupi Kościoła w Polsce: Słownik biograficzny* (Warsaw, 1992); *Leksykon duchowieństwa represjonowanego w PRL w latach 1945–1989*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 2002); Marian Przykucki, "Z kalendarium życia i pracy ks. arcybiskupa Antoniego Baraniaka metropolity poznańskiego," in *W służbie Kościoła Poznańskiego* (Poznań, 1974); Andrzej Micewski, *Kardynał Wyszyński: Prymas i mąż stanu* (Paris, 1982); Antoni Dudek, *Państwo i Kościół w Polsce w latach 1945–1970* (Kraków, 1995); Jan Żaryn, *Stolica Apostolska wobec Polski i Polaków w latach 1944–1958* (Warsaw, 1998).

BARANKOVICS István (13 December 1906, Polgár–13 March 1974, New York), Hungarian Christian Democratic politician. Barankovics was born into a teacher's family. In 1925 he passed his high school final examinations at the Cistercian Gymnasium in Eger, and then he entered the law department of the university in Budapest. He interrupted his studies in order to concentrate on journalism. It was only in 1944 that he obtained his degree in political science. In 1928 he was elected secretary general of the National Union of Hungarian Catholic College Students.

A committed Christian sensitive to social problems, Barankovics found an ally in the person of Count Gyula Dessewffy, the president of the Ferenc Deák Society. In 1937 Dessewffy founded a political periodical, *Az Ország útja*, and asked Barankovics to join him as co-editor. In 1943 the magazine ceased publication, and Barankovics became editor-in-chief of the nationwide daily *Magyar Nemzet*. In it, he outlined his political program in the spirit of Christian Democracy. After the German occupation of Hungary (March 1944), *Magyar Nemzet* was suspended.

When the Arrow Cross Party took over power in October 1944, Barankovics went into the underground and was active as secretary general of the Christian Democratic People's Party of Count József Pálffy. In April 1945 the party officially appeared as the Democratic People's Party (DPP). Barankovics wanted to transform the party into a modern Christian Democratic party with a program based on papal social encyclicals. He recognized the republican state, and in the face of the postwar situation, he considered it necessary to maintain good relations with the USSR. Because of this he came into conflict with Cardinal **József Mindszenty** and also with Count Pálffy, who enjoyed the support of the cardinal. In the summer of 1945 the party split in two. In the elections of November 1945 Barankovics's wing gained two seats under an electoral agreement with the Smallholders' Party (SP). Despite electoral fraud, in the elections of 1947 Barankovics entered parliament, and the DPP obtained sixty seats, becoming the second largest faction. After the split, the SP became a base for middle-class forces. Although he was ready for compromise, Barankovics could not lead the opposition for long. In his last parliamentary speech in December 1948, he sharply criticized the concentration of power and the government policies of economic planning and collectivization. Under political pressure, on 2 February 1949 Barankovics issued a statement in which he announced the dissolution of the party, and then he fled the country. At first he lived in Austria, where he was head of the office for the affairs of refugees in Salzburg. In 1951 he settled in the United States. In 1954, together with a group of his supporters, he revived the DPP. From 1958 he was a member of the Hungarian Committee and president of the Christian Democratic Union of Eastern Europe in New York. (JT)

Sources: Ferenc Nagy, *The Struggle behind the Iron Curtain* (New York, 1948); *Prominent Hungarians Home and Abroad* (Munich, 1966); Imre Kovacs, ed., *Facts about Hungary: The Fight for Freedom* (New York, 1966); *Magyar Nagylexikon*, vol. 3 (Budapest, 1994); *A magyar forradalom és szabadságharc enciklopédiája*, CD-ROM, 1956-os Intézet (Budapest, 1999).

BARCIKOWSKI Kazimierz (22 March 1927, Zglechów, near Mińsk Mazowiecki), Polish Communist activist. Born

into a peasant family, Barcikowski was active in the Peasant Youth Association Wici during his studies. In 1950 he graduated from the Central School of Farming in Łódź. In 1953 he joined the Polish United Workers' Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza [PZPR]). In 1954–56 he was deputy editor-in-chief of the state publishing house Iskry; in 1956 he became secretary of the Supreme Board of the Polish Youth Association, and from 1957 to 1960 he was vice president of the Supreme Board of the Peasant Youth Association (Związek Młodzieży Wiejskiej [PYA]). In 1960–62 he studied at the Higher School of Social Sciences at the PUWP Central Committee (CC), where he received a Ph.D. in 1962. From 1963 to 1965 he presided over the PYA Supreme Board; from 1965 to 1968 he was deputy head of the Organization Department of the PUWP CC and editor-in-chief of the party organ, *Życie Partii*. From 1964 a deputy member and from 1968 to 1990 a member of the PUWP CC, in 1965–89 he was MP. From 1968 to 1970 he was first secretary of the PUWP Provincial Committee in Poznań, and from December 1970 to February 1974, he was CC secretary for agriculture and contacts with the parliament. From 1971 he was a deputy member of the party Politburo. From February 1974 to December 1977 he was minister of agriculture, and later, until February 1980, he was first secretary of the PUWP Provincial Committee in Kraków. After that he returned to the government, assuming the position of deputy prime minister (February–October 1980). Then, until November 1985, he was PUWP CC secretary again.

During the Baltic coast strikes of August 1980, Barcikowski headed a government commission to negotiate with the Inter-Factory Strike Committee in Szczecin headed by **Marian Jurczyk**. On 30 August 1980, without full coordination with the party leadership, Barcikowski signed an agreement with the committee. A few days later, after **Edward Gierek** was toppled, Barcikowski became a member of the Politburo and remained in this position until July 1989. In September 1980 he became a member of the newly founded Joint Commission of the Government and Episcopate. Co-chairman of the commission from 1980 to 1989 and co-author of legislation regulating relations between the state and the church, he was the CC secretary responsible for the control of the church and of satellite parties. He played a significant role in the introduction of martial law, and on 14 December 1981 he joined the so-called directorate, an informal political team to rule Poland. In 1980–85 he was the head of the PUWP parliamentary caucus. From 1980 to 1989 he was a member of the Council of State, and in 1985–89 he was its deputy chairman. From 1989 chairman of the Chief Cooperative Council, Barcikowski published the memoirs *Na szczytach władzy* (At the top of power; 1998). (PK)

Sources: Mołdawa; Włodzimierz Janowski and Aleksander Kochański, *Informator o strukturze i obsadzie personalnej centralnego aparatu PZPR 1948–1990* (Warsaw, 2000); Antoni Czubiński, *Dzieje najnowsze Polski 1944–1989* (Poznań, 1992); Andrzej Paczkowski, *Droga do “mniejszego zła.” Strategia i taktyka obozu władzy, lipiec 1980–styczeń 1982* (Kraków, 2002).

BÁRDOSSY László (10 December 1890, Szombathely–10 January 1946, Budapest), Hungarian politician. The son of a white-collar worker, in 1912 Bárdossy graduated in law from the University of Budapest. In 1913 he chose an administrative career, taking a job in the Ministry of Religious Denominations and National Education. He was promoted when he moved to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1922. He became deputy head and (in 1927) head of the Press Department of the Foreign Ministry. From 1930 he was a councillor in the embassy in London, and in 1934–41, ambassador in Bucharest. After the sudden death of István Csáky, in February 1941 Bárdossy was appointed minister of foreign affairs, and after Prime Minister **Pál Teleki** committed suicide, on 3 April 1941 Bárdossy became prime minister, retaining the position of head of diplomacy.

Bárdossy believed in the victory of the Third Reich, and driven by a desire to recover Voivodina for Hungary, he agreed to the movement of German troops through Hungarian territory after Hitler decided to attack Yugoslavia. After the proclamation of “independent” Croatia—in agreement with Regent **Miklos Horthy**—on 11 April 1941 Bárdossy decided to join in the German attack. As a result, the Hungarian army took Voivodina. After the German invasion of the USSR on 22 June 1941, Bárdossy broke off relations with the Soviet Union. Four days later, he submitted to the government Horthy’s decision to join the war against the USSR, and the next day he announced this decision in the parliament without asking it for consent. Under German and Italian pressure, in the absence of Horthy and without the consent of the cabinet, after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, on 11 December 1941 Bárdossy announced that Hungary was also at war with Great Britain and the United States. In domestic policy Bárdossy represented the extreme right. In 1941 the so-called third anti-Jewish law was passed, which prohibited marriages between Jews and gentiles and declared sexual relations between them a race crime. In January 1942 Bárdossy contributed to the creation and shipment of the Second Army, numbering some two hundred thousand soldiers, to the eastern front, and he allowed the recruitment of about twenty thousand Hungarian Germans to the Waffen-SS. In 1943 the Second Army suffered heavy losses on the Don River. One out of four soldiers was killed, and some twenty-eight thousand were taken by the

Soviets. Bárdossy’s submission to the Germans eroded his position and that of his government, while pro-Western conservatives demanded his dismissal. His position was additionally weakened by his conflict with Horthy, who wanted to create the position of deputy to the regent and saw his son as a candidate. Bárdossy was opposed, but the regent achieved his goal in February 1942.

On 7 March 1942 Bárdossy was forced to resign, but he remained one of the key leaders of the extreme right. In 1943 he took over the lead of the radical United Christian National League. In 1944 he became MP. After the Arrow Cross took power in October 1944, Bárdossy remained MP. At the end of the war he escaped to Bavaria. Arrested by the Americans, in October 1945 he was handed over to Budapest. A month later, the People’s Court in Budapest sentenced him to death for war crimes, and he was soon executed. (JT)

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; *Magyar Nagylexikon*, vol. 3 (Budapest, 1994); *Nagy Képes Milleniumi Arcképcsarnok* (Budapest, 1999); *Új Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 2001); *Magyarország 1944–1956*, CD-ROM (Budapest, 2001); John F. Montgomery, *Hungary: The Unwilling Satellite* (New York, 1947); Nicholas Horthy, *Memoirs* (Paris, 1954); *Bűnös volt-e Bárdossy László* (Budapest, 1996); Steven Béla Várdy, *Historical Dictionary of Hungary* (Lanham, Md., 1997); Pál Pritz, *A Bárdossy-per* (N.p., 2001).

BARKAUSKAS Antanas (20 January 1917, Paparchiai), Lithuanian Communist activist. After the Soviet invasion of Lithuania in June 1940 Barkauskas joined the Communist youth organization Komjaunimas and took a job in the Soviet administration in Kaunas. When the Third Reich attacked the USSR, in June 1941 he joined the Red Army and in 1942, the Soviet Communist Party. After the war he resumed his work in the administration of the Lithuanian SSR, supporting Sovietization and Stalinist policies. He graduated from a higher party school in Moscow. From 1950 he was a functionary of the Vilnius committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania (CPL), supporting collectivization and the extermination of the remaining freedom fighters. In 1953–55 he lectured at the Polytechnic Institute in Kaunas, and from 1959 he was head of a department of the CPL Central Committee (CC). From 1961 to 1975 he was a member of the CC Secretariat, and from 1962 to 1966, of the CPL CC Politburo. During the administration of Leonid Brezhnev Barkauskas became one of the leading supporters of the Kremlin policy of Sovietization. In 1982 he published a Soviet version of Lithuanian history, *Lithuania: Years and Deeds*. From 1975 to 1985 and from 1988 to the beginning of 1990 he was chairman of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian SSR, ineffectively trying to prevent *perestroika* and *glasnost*. (WR)

Sources: *The International Who's Who 1984/85* (Europa 1985); Romuald J. Misiunas and Rein Taagepera, *The Baltic States: Years of Dependence 1940–1990* (Berkeley, 1993).

BĂRLĂDEANU Alexandru (25 January 1911, Comrat, Moldavia–13 October 1997, Bucharest), Romanian Communist activist. In 1936 Bărlădeanu joined the Communist Party of Romania (Partidul Comunist din România [CPR]). In 1937 he graduated in law from the university in Iași. In 1937–40 he was assistant professor and held the chair of political economy at this university, and in 1940 he received a Ph.D. in economics there. From 1940 to 1946 he worked at a research institute in Chișinău, the capital of the Moldavian SSR since 1940, created from the formerly Romanian Bessarabia. In 1946 he moved to Romania, already under Communist control. From 1946 to 1947 he was an economic expert of the Romanian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. From 1946 to 1951 he held a chair in the Institute of Economics. Appointed professor in 1949, he was deputy minister of the national economy in 1946–48 and minister of foreign trade from 1948 to 1954. In 1955–56 he was deputy chairman and then chairman of the State Planning Commission. He implemented the Stalinist economic concepts of **Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej**—for instance, he supervised the construction of a metallurgical plant in Galați. From 1955 he was a member of the Central Committee (CC) of the Romanian Workers' Party (as of 1965 the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]). In 1955 he became a deputy to the National Assembly; in 1962–65 he was a deputy member and in 1965–68 a member of the RCP CC Politburo. From 1955 to 1965 (with a break in 1956) he was deputy prime minister for economic affairs, and then until 1967, first deputy prime minister. At a Comecon meeting on 15 February 1963 he protested the imposition of Comecon plans on Romania.

After the takeover of power by **Nicolae Ceaușescu** in 1965, as a close aide of Gheorghiu-Dej, Bărlădeanu was gradually moved to the shadows. In 1968 he was forced to give up all his posts, excluded from the RCP, and placed under house arrest, in which he stayed until the fall of Ceaușescu in December 1989. From the mid-1980s he is believed to have been in touch with other high RCP officials who had been removed by Ceaușescu and who were considering a return to power with Soviet support. On 10 March 1989 the BBC broadcast a letter signed by Bărlădeanu and five other former Gheorghiu-Dej aides protesting the Ceaușescu dictatorship and its economic policies. After the fall of the dictator Bărlădeanu belonged to a close circle of leaders constituting the provisional government of the National Salvation Front (Frontul Sălburi Naționale [NSF]). After the parliamentary elec-

tions of May 1990 he was the speaker of the Senate until 1992, and in 1990–91 he co-chaired the National Assembly. In 1992 he was dismissed from the NSF in view of his unreformed Communist views on the economy, and he joined the extreme nationalist Greater Romania Party (Partidul România Mare), attracting many former Communists. From 1955 he was a member of the Romanian Academy of Sciences, and from 1990 to 1994 he was its deputy chairman. (LW)

Sources: *Dictionar Enciclopedic*, vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1993); Ghita Ionescu, *Communism in Romania 1944–1962* (London, 1964); Ion Rațiu, *Contemporary Romania* (Richmond, 1975); Juliusz Stroynowski, ed., *Who's Who in the Socialist Countries of Europe* (Munich, London, and Paris, 1989); Józef Darski, *Rumunia: Historia, współczesność, konflikty narodowe* (Warsaw, 1995); Dorina N. Rusu, *Membrii Academiei Române 1866–1999* (Bucharest, 1999); Ion Alexandrescu, Ion Bulei, Ion Mamina, and Iona Scurtu, *Enciclopedia de istorie României* (Bucharest, 2000).

BARLICKI Norbert, pseudonyms “Grzela,” “Betani,” and others (6 June 1880, Sieciechów, near Koziernice–27 September 1941, Auschwitz), Polish Socialist politician, lawyer, and journalist. Barlicki initially was an adherent of **Józef Piłsudski**; in 1902–6 he was a member of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), then the PPS-Left (1906–14), and then the PPS-Revolutionary Faction. Between 1917 and 1918 he was a member of the Central Workers' Committee and the Peasant Union, and in 1919 he returned to the PPS. Between 1919 and 1939 he was a member of the Chief Council of the PPS and in 1920–26, a member of the Central Executive Committee (CEC); between 1926 and 1931 he served as president of the CEC. From November 1918 to January 1919 he was deputy minister of interior in the government of **Jędrzej Moraczewski**. In 1919–33 he was an MP, and between 1920 and 1926 he served as president of the Union of Polish Socialist Deputies (Związek Polskich Posłów Socjalistycznych). In 1920 he was a member of the State Defense Council. From February to April 1926 he was minister of public works. After the coup of May 1926 he joined the opposition to the *sanacja* regime. Co-organizer of the center-left opposition (Centrolew), in 1930 Barlicki was arrested and imprisoned in the Brześć fortress. In January 1932 he was sentenced to two and one-half years' imprisonment. After his release in 1933 he became quite radicalized, favoring cooperation between the PPS and the Communist Party of Poland (KPP). From 1936 to 1937 he was editor-in-chief of *Dziennik popularny*. In his political journalism Barlicki propagated the ideas of a united people's front. In 1937 he was elected mayor of Łódź, but he was not approved by the state authorities. From 1939 to 1940 he co-organized leftist Socialist groups. In 1940 he edited

an underground newspaper, *Chłop i robotnik*. Arrested in 1940 by the Germans, he perished in the Auschwitz concentration camp. He authored *Aleksander Dębski: Życie i działalność, 1857–1935* (Aleksander Dębski: Life and activity, 1857–1935; 1937) and *Proletariat* (1947). (JS)

Sources: *Słownik polityków polskich XX wieku* (Poznań, 1998); Jan Tomicki, ed., *Norbert Barlicki: Wybór przemówień i artykułów z lat 1918–1939* (Warsaw, 1964); Jan Tomicki, *Norbert Barlicki, 1880–1941: Działalność polityczna* (Warsaw, 1968); Norbert Barlicki, *Muszę zamilknąć spory na lewicy: Wybór pism* (Warsaw, 1980); Marian Leczyk, ed., *Sprawa brzeska* (Warsaw, 1987).

BARONS Krišjānis (31 October 1835, Strutele, Courland–8 March 1923, Riga), Latvian folklorist, journalist, and writer; one of the originators of the Latvian national awakening. Barons was the son of a provincial official. In 1855 he graduated from a gymnasium in Mitava (Jeglava), and in 1856–60 he studied mathematics and astronomy at the university in Dorpat (Tartu), where he took part in the social life of Latvian students. In 1856 he published his first story and soon after a geography textbook. In 1862 he moved to Petersburg, where until 1865 he co-edited the magazine *Pēterburgas avīzes* (from 1862 he was its editor-in-chief). Later, he worked as a translator in the Russian Ministry of Education. He was the author of the first Latvian bibliography. He wrote articles on social and political issues, stories, and poems. From 1867 he worked as a private tutor and later as a German teacher in Moscow. He was affiliated with the Moscow Society of Friends of the Natural Sciences, Anthropology, and Ethnography. In 1893 he returned to Riga and continued working on a compilation and scholarly edition of Latvian folk song texts, a project that began in 1878. He was a precursor of the Latvian science of folklore. Between 1894 and 1915, 217,996 folk songs edited by Barons were published in eight volumes. In independent Latvia Barons enjoyed great respect as one of the main developers of Latvian cultural life. (EJ)

Sources: A. Baumanis, *Krišjānis Barons* (Riga, 1935); *Krišjāņa Barona piemiņai* (Riga, 1962); K. Arājs, *Krišjānis Barons un latvju dainas* (Riga, 1985); *Atmiņas: Stāsta K. Barons un laikabiedri* (Riga, 1985); R. Pussars, *Pie dižozola saknēm* (Riga, 1985); S. Viese, *Mūža raksts* (Riga, 1985); *Krišjānis Barons: Bibliogrāfiskais rādītājs* (Riga, 1990).

BARTEL Kazimierz (3 March 1882, Lemberg [Lwów, Lviv])–26 July 1941, Lwów), Polish politician and mathematician. The son of a railway worker, Bartel was trained as a metalworker, and in 1901 he graduated from high school in Lwów. From 1902 to 1907 he studied machine construction at the Lwów Polytechnic and until

1909, philosophy and mathematics at Lwów University. Then he continued studies at the university in Munich. After returning home, he started working at the Lwów Polytechnic, where he got a chair in descriptive geometry in 1913. In 1917 he became professor. During World War I he served in the Austrian army, and in November 1918 he organized a Polish railway regiment to fight against the Ukrainians in Lwów. In 1919 he took command of the railway troops, and then he took part in the Polish-Soviet war. In December 1919 he became minister of railways in the government of **Leopold Skulski**. He continued to serve in this capacity in the subsequent government until December 1920. In 1922 he won a parliamentary seat on behalf of the Polish Peasant Party Liberation (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe Wyzwolenie), but in 1925, in protest against its plans to expropriate large estates without compensation to their owners, he withdrew from the party and founded the Club of Labor, supporting **Józef Piłsudski**.

After the coup of May 1926, Bartel was prime minister five times (15 May–4 June 1926, 8 June–24 September 1926, 27–30 September 1926, 27 June 1928–13 April 1929, and 29 December 1929–29 March 1930) and deputy prime minister once (2 October 1926–27 June 1928). Until January 1927 he was also minister of religious denominations and public education. His major task as head of government after the coup was to stabilize the country and gain social support. The state of emergency was abolished, construction of the port of Gdynia was accelerated, and food prices were regulated. After **Ignacy Mościcki** was elected president, Bartel created a new cabinet, which prepared an amendment to the constitution strengthening the role of the president, and introduced personnel changes in the state administration. As a result of a parliamentary crisis, in September 1926 his government had to resign, but he was given the task of creating another cabinet. Since its composition was exactly the same as that of the preceding cabinet, relations between the ruling circle and the parliament grew tense. When Piłsudski became prime minister, Bartel was practically the acting head of government and mediated between Piłsudski and the parliament. When the conflict with the parliament became aggravated and Piłsudski resigned, Bartel created another government. Seen as Piłsudski's moderate follower, he also faced strong opposition in the government, where advocates of a hard line criticized him for liberalism and subjection to the parliament. In April he resigned, but he soon became head of government again. During his fifth term he got involved in a sharp conflict with the parliament, which passed a vote of no confidence on several of his ministers. As a result Bartel himself resigned. The Piłsudski tactics of manipulating Bartel were known as “Bartelling,” since

despite his formally high position Bartel did not belong to the inner circle of Piłsudski aides.

Leaving the political scene, Bartel gave up his parliamentary mandate and returned to the Lwów Polytechnic. In 1930 he became its rector. As an opponent of confrontation with the opposition, in the Brześć trial he testified as a witness for the defense. In 1937 President Mościcki appointed him senator, but Bartel did not return to politics. In 1926–38 he belonged to the Great National Lodge. After the outbreak of World War II and the entry of the Soviet army, he worked at the Lwów Polytechnic, adopting a submissive attitude toward the Soviets. When the Germans entered the city, on 21 July 1941 he was arrested and soon shot. He was the author of (among other works) *Geometria wykreślna* (Descriptive geometry; 1919); *Perspektywa malarska* (Perspectives in painting, 2 vols.; 1928–58); and *Mowy parlamentarne* (Parliamentary speeches; 1928). (PU)

Sources: Adam Próchnik, *Pierwsze piętnastolecie Polski niepodległej* (Warsaw, 1983); Władysław T. Kulesza, *Koncepcje ideowo-polityczne obozu rządzącego w Polsce w latach 1926–1935* (Wrocław, 1985); *Prezydenci i premierzy Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1992); *Kto był kim w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1994); Ludwik Malinowski, *Politycy II Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 2 (Toruń, 1995); *Encyklopedia historii Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1999).

BARTÓK Béla (25 March 1881, Nagyszentmiklós [Sinicolau Mare]–26 September 1945, New York), Hungarian composer, pianist, and ethnographer. Bartók inherited his musical interest and talent from his mother, the pianist Paula Voit. In 1892–96 he studied with László Erkel in Pozsony (Bratislava), and from 1899 he studied piano at the Musical Academy in Budapest, from which he graduated in 1903 and where he worked from 1907. In 1903 he made his first tour as a pianist (Vienna, Berlin, Pozsony). His first compositions (the symphonic poem *Kossuth* in 1903 and a suite for orchestra in 1905–7) bear the marks of inspiration from the works of Johannes Brahms and Richard Strauss. Influenced by his friendship with **Zoltan Kodály**, Bartók was increasingly interested in folklore (not only Hungarian folklore), and he collected it as he traveled through the Carpathian region, the Balkans, and North Africa. Drawing from the motifs, rhythms, and harmonies of folk music, as well as from Kodály's works, Bartók created his own Hungarian style. Initially Hungarian audiences received his works with reserve. As a result he went through a crisis and withdrew from public life for a couple of years.

Despite the crisis Bartók worked uninterruptedly, and he wrote music for three stage works—an opera, *A*

kékszakállú herceg vára (Bluebeard's castle; 1911), and the ballets *A fából faragott királyfi* (The wooden prince; 1914–16) and *A csodálatos mandarin* (The miraculous Mandarin; 1919). During the Soviet Hungarian Republic (1919) Bartók joined the Directorate of Musicians, so after the counterrevolution he was not allowed to teach for a year. In 1923 he divorced his wife, Marta Ziegler, and married a student, Ditta Pásztory. In the 1920s he toured Germany, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Italy. In 1928 he went to the United States and the Soviet Union. His growing foreign reputation increased his popularity in Hungary and resulted in a commission in 1923 to compose a suite commemorating the five hundredth anniversary of the establishment of Budapest. Because of Bartók's unwillingness to publicly support Hungarian claims to territories lost as a result of World War I, there was antipathy against him among nationalist circles. Preaching international reconciliation, he composed the *Cantata Profana* (1930). In 1934 he left the Musical Academy in Budapest to focus on the source materials he had gathered. This resulted in the work *Népzeneink és a szomszéd népek népzeneje* (Our folk music and our neighbors'; 1934). In 1936 he made his last ethnographic trip, this time to Turkey.

Bartók was at the height of his creativity in 1926–39. His formal discipline and great taste in combining elements of classical music with stylized folk motifs resulted in such works as his first and second piano concertos (1926, 1930–31), the *Sonata for Two Pianos and Percussion* (1937), and the *Second Violin Concerto* (1937–38). In reaction to the ban on his music in the Third Reich and Italy and fearing the growing influence of the Fascists in Hungary, in 1940 Bartók emigrated with his family to the United States, where he taught as visiting professor at Columbia University in New York. It was then that he composed the *Concerto for Orchestra* (1943) and—upon the request of Yehudi Menuhin—the *Sonata for Violin* (1944). He died of leukemia a few months after World War II. His ashes were brought to Hungary in 1988. After the war, both under communism and later, he was recognized as the most outstanding Hungarian pianist and composer, as well as an untiring seeker of a synthesis in music of East and West. His work as a musical ethnographer, as well as his creative talent, contributed greatly to the survival and popularization of the most typical features and motifs of East and Central European musical cultures. At the same time he was one of the pioneers of modern art of the early twentieth century. (MS)

Sources: János Deményi, *Bartók élete és művei* (Budapest, 1948); Witold Rudziński, *Warsztat kopozytorski Beli Bartoka* (Kraków,

1964); *Béla Bartók Letters* (London, 1971); Tedd Crow, ed., *Bartok Studies* (Detroit, 1976); *Béla Bartók: Mit Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten* (Hamburg, 1977); Malcolm Gillies, *Béla Bartók Essays* (Lincoln, Neb., 1993); *Bartok Remembered* (London, 1991); *Béla Bartók, 1881–1945* (Paris, 1993); Benjamin Suchoff, ed., *Így látták Bartókot* (Budapest, 1995); Peter Laki, ed., *Bartok and His World* (Princeton, 1995); Ernő Lendvai, *Bartók és Kodály harmóniavilága* (Budapest, 1997).

BARTOSZEWSKI Władysław (19 February 1922, Warsaw), Polish historian, diplomat, and social and political activist. During the Nazi occupation Bartoszewski was imprisoned in the Auschwitz concentration camp (1940–41). From 1941 to 1944 he studied Polish philology at the underground Warsaw University, and he graduated in 1949. He worked for the Front of Polish Renaissance, a secret Catholic organization, and from 1942, in the Office of Information and Propaganda (Biuro Informacji i Propagandy [BIP]) of the High Command of the Home Army (Komenda Główna Armii Krajowej [KG AK]). Engaged in saving the Jews, from 1942 he belonged to the Provisional Committee of Assistance to Jews, Żegota. From 1943 he was deputy head of the Jewish section of the Department of Interior of the Homeland Delegation of the Government-in-Exile. He took part in the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, and in 1945 he was secretary of the BIP KG AK *Biuletyn Informacyjny*. He belonged to the underground organization Nie and worked in the Homeland Delegation of Armed Forces.

In 1945 Bartoszewski started working in the Chief Commission to Investigate German Crimes in Poland. In 1946–82 he belonged to the Association of Polish Journalists. In 1946 he joined the Polish Peasant Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe [PSL]) of **Stanisław Mikołajczyk** and worked in the editorial staff of *Gazeta Ludowa*. Arrested during the repression of the PSL, he spent 1946–48 and 1949–54 in prison. Rehabilitated in 1955, he worked for the Association of Polish Librarians and from 1957 to 1960, at the weekly *Stolica*. From 1957 he wrote for the *Tygodnik Powszechny*, and in 1961–62 he was active in the political discussion group, the Crooked Circle Club. From 1963 he was a secret correspondent for Radio Free Europe (RFE). In 1966 he received the medal of Righteous among Nations. In 1970 he was repressed (his home was searched, he was investigated, and a few years' ban was placed on his publications) for his work for RFE and for opposition activities (for example, the preparation of the "Letter of 34," from intellectuals to the prime minister concerning censorship). From 1972 to 1984 he was secretary general of the Polish PEN club; from 1973 to 1985 he lectured at the Catholic University of Lublin, and in 1974–75 he held a secret seminar in

Warsaw on the recent history of Poland. A participant in the Polish Independence Agreement, in 1978 he co-founded the Society of Scientific Courses and lectured there on World War II history and Polish-Jewish relations. He appealed many times to the Communist authorities to respect human rights, arguing, for example, for a pardon for **Andrzej** and Benedykt **Czuma** in 1974 and the limitation of censorship in 1978. In the summer of 1980 he supported striking workers.

Bartoszewski was engaged in the creation of the free trade union Solidarity. Interned during the period of martial law from December 1981 to April 1982, he was released under pressure from international public opinion. Active in underground publishing activities, in 1983–90 he also lectured in Germany. In 1986 he received the prestigious Peace Award of German Booksellers. In 1987 he was invited by Lech Wałęsa to participate with a group of intellectuals to sign a declaration of goals for the Polish opposition. President of the International Council of the State Museum in Oświęcim (Auschwitz) from 1990, in 1991 Bartoszewski received honorary citizenship from the State of Israel. In 1995 he received the Order of the White Eagle. In 1990–95 he was ambassador to Austria; from March 1995 to December 1996 and from July 2000 to October 2001 he was minister of foreign affairs. Senator from 1997 to 2001, he played an important role in the improvement of Polish-German and Polish-Jewish relations. In 2003 he criticized German plans to erect a Center of the Expelled (Vetriebene) in Berlin, arguing against a selective interpretation of the fate of war victims. An honorary doctor at several universities, he authored *Prawda o von dem Bachu* (The truth about von dem Bach; 1962); *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej: Polacy z pomocą Żydom 1939–1945* (Righteous among nations: How Poles helped the Jews, 1939–1945, co-authored with Zofia Lewinówna; 1967); *Warszawski pierścień śmierci* (Warsaw death ring; 1967), *Palmiry* (1969); *1859 dni Warszawy* (1859 Days of Warsaw; 1974), *Polskie państwo podziemne* (The Polish underground state; 1979); *Die Warschauer Ghetto: Wie es wirklich war* (The Warsaw ghetto: How it really was; 1983); the memoirs *Warto być przyzwoitym* (It is worth being an honest person; 1990); *The Convent of Auschwitz* (1991); and the collections of speeches and interviews *Above Divisions* (2001) and *Common European Responsibility* (2001). (PK)

Sources: *Kto jest kim w Polsce: Informator biograficzny* (Warsaw, 1984); *Opozycja w PRL: Słownik biograficzny 1956–1989* (Warsaw, 2000); *Władysław Bartoszewski: Życie i twórczość* (Warsaw, 1999); *Prawda i Pojednanie. W 80. Rocznicę urodzin Władysława Bartoszewskiego* (Warsaw, 2002); Roman Kuźniar and Krzysztof Szczepanik, eds., *Polityka zagraniczna RP 1989–2002* (Warsaw, 2002).

BAŠAGIĆ-REDŽEPASIĆ Safetbeg (6 May 1870, Nevesinje, Herzegovina–9 April 1934, Sarajevo), Bosnian poet, historian of literature, and politician. Born into a Muslim family belonging to the Ottoman elite, Bašagić-Redžepasić was the son of a poet writing in Turkish. After moving to Sarajevo, he went to a local high school (1885–95). In 1899 he graduated from Oriental studies at Vienna University. In 1910 he received a Ph.D.; his thesis was, *Die Bosniaken und Herzegovcen auf dem Gebiete der islamischen Literature* (Bosnians and Herzegovinians in Islamic literature). He taught Arabic in a high school in Sarajevo (1900–1906) and established a number of cultural and social organizations, including Gayret, El-Kame, and a Muslim club (1903–7). Elected to the Bosnian Assembly, after the death of Ali Hodzha bey Firdus in 1910 he became its speaker. He supported both the Habsburgs and broad autonomy for Bosnians in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He also cooperated with conservative Hungarian politicians. He wrote for such periodicals as *Behar* and *Ogledalo*, and he published many works on the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as on the history of literature. He translated classical Arabic works and published a couple of collections of his own poems. After World War I he withdrew from politics. From 1919 he worked as a custodian in a museum in Sarajevo. He amassed a significant collection of books in the field of Oriental studies. At the end of his life he advocated a rapprochement of Bosnians with Croats, which was reflected in his work *Znameniti Hrvati, Bosnjaci i Hercegovci u Turskoj carevini* (Outstanding Croats, Bosnians, and Herzegovinians in the Turkish state; 1931). In 1971 his *Izabrana djela* (Selected works) were published in Sarajevo. (MC)

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; Ante Čuvalo, *Historical Dictionary of Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Lanham, Md., 1987); “Safvet Beg Basagic-Redzepasic,” bosna.com/basagic.html; “Safetbeg Basagic-Redzepasic,” uni/koeln.de/phil/fak/soeg/ethnos/inhalte/inhalte2dzaja.htm.

BASANAVIČIUS Jonas (23 November 1851, Ožkabaliai, near Vilkaviškis–16 February 1927, Wilno [Vilnius]), Lithuanian doctor, ethnographer, and politician. The son of a peasant, in 1873 Basanavičius started to study history at the University of Moscow, but after a year he moved to its medical department. He graduated in 1878, and two years later he left for Bulgaria, where he practiced as a doctor and directed a hospital in Lom Polanka. In 1891 he adopted Bulgarian citizenship. In 1892 he assumed the position of director of a hospital ward in Varna, and in 1894 he became the personal physician of Prince Ferdinand. At that time he was a member of the Bulgarian Democratic Party, but he was always interested in his homeland. Dur-

ing his many trips to Germany and Austria he studied source materials concerning Lithuanian history. He also collected folktales and folk songs, which he published in *Mitteilungen der Litauischen Literarischen Gessellschaft* (1880–85), edited in Tilsit in so-called Lithuania Minor, belonging to Germany. In 1883 he was co-founder of the first periodical in Lithuanian, *Aušra*. He edited a number of collections of legends, tales, and folk songs, including *Ožkabalių dainos* (Songs from Ožkabaliai, 2 vols.; 1902); *Lietuviškos pasakos* (Lithuanian tales, 2 vols.; 1898–1902); *Iš gyvenimo lietuviškų vėlių ir velnių* (From the life of Lithuanian devil spirits; 1903); and *Lietuviškos pasakos ivarios* (Various Lithuanian tales, 4 vols.; 1903–5). All together he published about 1,000 stories and 300 folk songs, as well as a description of about 280 plants typical of the Lithuanian flora. Historical works in which he tried to prove a Tracian-Phrygian origin of the Lithuanians were of less importance.

When Basanavičius reached retirement age in January 1905, he asked the Russian Ministry of Interior for consent to return to Lithuania. He could not wait to receive a reply, and in April 1905 he secretly crossed the Russian border and came to Vilnius at a time of growing revolutionary tensions. On 29 October 1905 he appealed in *Vilniaus Žinios* for the convention of an all-Lithuanian congress in Vilnius. During the Great Assembly in Vilnius (4–5 December 1905) he called for unity among all political groups in the struggle for freedom, demanding an autonomous Lithuania with a parliament in Vilnius and the introduction of Lithuanian in the schools, churches, and offices. A major problem was that Lithuanians were a minority in the Vilnius area. After the suppression of the revolution the Russian authorities eased their policies toward the Lithuanians, so in February 1907 Basanavičius established the Lithuanian Research Society (LRS) in Vilnius and presented it with his own huge collections. He also edited the periodical *Lietuvių Tauta*. He represented a conciliatory attitude toward Russia and an increasingly confrontational attitude toward the Poles. On his initiative, in 1912 Lithuanian priests sent a letter to the Holy See demanding the elimination of Polish from the church ministry in Lithuania. In 1913, along with **Martynas Yčas**, he went to the United States, where he collected funds for the construction of LRS headquarters. The outbreak of World War I made such construction impossible, while the donated funds soon lost their value.

Basanavičius spent World War I years in Vilnius. In July 1917 he gained German consent for the organization of a conference of Lithuanian delegates on local self-government. When on 22 September 1917 the Lithuanian Council was created, he, as its senior member, was the first to sign

the declaration of Lithuanian independence on 16 February 1918. He stayed in Vilnius during Bolshevik rule at the turn of 1919, as well as after the town was taken over by the Poles, first in April 1919 and then in October 1920. In the Lithuanian elections of June 1920 he ran on the list of the (nationalist) Party of National Progress, but he lost. Until the end of his life he demanded the incorporation of the Vilnius area to Lithuania. He also continued with his ethnographic explorations and journalism. He authored memoirs titled *Autobiografija*, published in *Lietuvių Tauta* in 1928. (WR)

Sources: *EL*, vol. 1; Saulius Sužiedelis, *Historical Dictionary of Lithuania* (Lanham, Md., 1997); R. Mackevičius, *Jonas Basanavičius* (Vilnius, 1930); Jerzy Ochmański, *Litewski ruch narodowo-kulturalny w XIX wieku* (Białystok, 1965); Alfred E. Senn, *Jonas Basanavičius: The Patriarch of the Lithuanian National Renaissance* (Newtonville, Mass., 1980); Adolfas Nezabitauskas, *Jonas Basanavičius* (Vilnius, 1990); Henryk Wisner, *Litwa: Dzieje państwa i narodu* (Warsaw, 1999).

BATA István (5 March 1910, Tura–17 August 1982, Budapest), Hungarian Communist activist. Bata graduated from primary school, and in 1935–38 he worked as a tramway conductor in Budapest. In 1930 he joined the Social Democratic Party. From 1939 he was a member of the leadership of the Trade Union of Tramway Workers. In 1942 he was briefly arrested and later kept under police surveillance. From 1945 he was a member of the leadership of the Trade Union of State Workers and a member of the Hungarian Communist Party (HCP). From 1947 to 1949 he was HCP secretary of the Third Quarter of Budapest. In 1949 he was accepted into the army as a colonel, and then he was sent for training to the Military Academy in Moscow. After his graduation, in 1950 he became commander of the National Air Defense with the rank of general. In October 1950 he was appointed Chief of the General Staff (until August 1953). In 1951–53 he was a deputy member of the Central Committee (CC) of the Hungarian Workers' Party (HWP), and in June 1953 he became a CC member and a deputy member of the HWP Politburo. In July 1953, after the dismissal of **Mihály Farkas**, he was appointed minister of national defense, and in 1954 he was promoted to the rank of general of the army. In May 1955 he belonged to the Hungarian delegation that signed the Warsaw Pact. At the HWP CC meeting on the night of 23–24 October 1956 he was dismissed from all his posts. Four days later he left for Moscow. On 4 November, the day of the second Soviet invasion, he returned to Hungary, but the Kádár government did not accept his return, and in February 1957 the CC of the new Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) extended the term of his exile. In September 1958 he was allowed to return. Excluded from the HSWP and deprived of his military

rank in February 1959, he returned to his early trade. He became director of a tramway depot, and later he worked as head of the Department of Traffic Safety in the Budapest Transportation Company. In 1972 he retired. (JT)

Sources: *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon (1978–1991)* (Budapest, 1994); *Magyar Nagylexikon*, vol. 3 (Budapest, 1994); *Magyarország 1944–1956*, CD-ROM, 1956-os Intézet (Budapest, 2001); *Új Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 2001).

BAT'Ā Tomáš (3 April 1876, Zlín–12 July 1932, Otrokovice), Czech entrepreneur. Bat'ā was apprenticed to his father, a shoemaker. At the age of eighteen, along with his brother Antonín and his sister Anna, he founded his own shoe company, which was bequeathed to Antonín. The firm expanded thanks to its introduction of light and cheap footwear to the market. In 1904 Bat'ā began the machine production of shoes, founding the first factory of this kind in Austria-Hungary. To gain experience, he left for the United States, where he got a job with Ford, the first company to introduce assembly-line production methods. In the 1920s, thanks to the introduction of similar innovations in his factories and to a reduction in the cost of raw materials, Bat'ā became a monopolist in the domestic market (he controlled 80 percent of the production of footwear), while Czechoslovakia became the world leader in footwear production in 1928. In order to avoid the high duties imposed on the import of his products in other countries, from 1929 to 1931 Bat'ā founded branches in Germany, Switzerland, Poland, and India. At the beginning of the 1930s he was the largest entrepreneur in light industry in Czechoslovakia, employing sixteen thousand workers in thirty-two factories. He introduced modern methods of management and organization, as well as an innovative system, called *batismus*, that motivated workers. In 1931 his industrial plants were transformed into a joint-stock company, and after World War II they were nationalized by the Communist authorities. Bat'ā was killed in an air accident. In 1942 his memoirs, *How I Began*, were published; in 1986 came *Úvahy a projevy* (Comments and speeches), and in 1992, *Knowledge in Action: The Bata System of Management*. (PU)

Sources: *ČBS*; J. T. Pagač, *Bat'ā a 30 let jeho podnikatelské práce* (N.p., 1926); A. Cekota, *Bat'ā-Myšlenky, činy, život, práce* (N.p., 1929); *Kto bol kto za I. ČSR* (Bratislava, 1993); *Politická elita meziválečného Československa 1918–1938: Kdo byl kdo za první republiky* (Prague, 1998).

BATTĚK Rudolf (2 November 1924, Bratislava), Czech sociologist and political activist. At the end of World War II Battěk took part in the resistance movement, and in 1952 he graduated from the Higher Political and Social School

in Prague. In 1951–61 he worked as an economist in the communal administration; from 1961 to 1965, in the railways; and in 1965–69, in the Sociological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. During the Prague Spring of 1968 he co-founded the Club of Engaged Non-Party Members (Klub Angažovaných Nestraníků). From July 1968 to November 1969 he was a deputy to the Czech National Council. In the spring and summer of 1969 he opposed the so-called normalization, demanding a debate on the political situation in the council. In September 1969 he was stripped of immunity and arrested, and two months later he was deprived of the parliamentary mandate. In 1969–70 he was in prison, accused of an attempt to overthrow the republic. After his release he worked as a doorkeeper in the State Statistical Office. In 1971 he was arrested again, accused of distributing leaflets before an election, and sentenced to three and a half years in prison. After his release in 1974 he took a job as a turner, and then as a shop window cleaner. In 1977 he signed Charter 77, and in 1978 he co-founded the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted (Výbor na Obranu Nespravedlivě Stíhaných [VONS]). In 1980 he became the spokesman for Charter 77. Arrested for the third time and falsely accused of assault on a social worker and in 1981 additionally of an “attempt to overthrow the republic,” he was sentenced to five and a half years in prison. He was released in 1985. From 1983 he was an honorary member of the Executive Committee of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy in exile in Zurich.

In 1988 Battěk belonged to the founders of the Movement for Civic Freedom (Hnutí za Občanskou Svobodu), and in November 1989 he took part in the creation of the Civic Forum (Občanské Fórum [OF]). From January 1990 to June 1992 he was a deputy in the House of Commons of the Federal Assembly and from June 1990, its speaker and deputy speaker of the Federal Assembly. In 1989–90 he was deputy chairman of the preparatory committee of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (Československá Sociální Demokracie [ČSSD]), but before the elections of June 1990 he organized the Social Democratic Club within the OF and was excluded from the ČSSD. In 1992 he founded the movement Democrats 92, whose aim was to defend the Czechoslovak state, but in the elections of June 1992 he lost and retired from political life. He devoted himself to journalism. In 1994 he became chairman of the European Movement in the Czech Republic, and in 1996 he lost in the election to the senate, running as an independent candidate. (PU)

Sources: ČBS; *Českoslovenští politici: 1918–1991* (Prague, 1991); *Kdo byl kdo v našich dějinách ve 20. století*, vol. 1 (Prague, 1998); *Who's Who in the Socialist Countries of Europe*, vol. 1 (Munich, 1989); *Kdo je kdo 91/92 Česká Republika: Federální orgány ČSFR*, vol. 1 (Prague, 1991).

BAZHAN Mykola (9 October 1904, Kam'yanets Podil'skyy [Kamieniec Podolski]–23 November 1983, Kiev), Ukrainian poet, translator, and Soviet activist. Born into a military family, Bazhan was brought up in Uman. In 1921 he began to study at the Institute of Foreign Affairs in Kiev, but he did not complete his studies. In the 1920s he was involved in cinematography and edited the magazine *Kino*. In 1925 he made his literary debut with a futurist poem, *Aeromarch*. He was one of the co-founders of the Free Academy of Proletarian Literature (Vaplite). He also was affiliated with a group called Nova Heneratsiia (New Generation) and with the magazine *Literaturnyi iarmarok*. Abandoning the futurism and constructivism in the collection *17-i patrol* (Seventeenth patrol; 1926), he became a romantic expressionist in his collections *Budivli* (Buildings; 1929) and *Chyslo* (Number; 1931). A leading figure in the cultural revival of the Ukraine in the 1920s, Bazhan created his own style, marked by a dynamic imagination; monumentalism; and a richness of language, metaphors, and rhymes. In the collection *Rozmova serdets* (Conversation of hearts) he criticized the traditions of Russia. The above-mentioned volumes, as well as his subsequent collections, *Doroha* (Path; 1930), *Poezii* (Poems; 1930), and *Sliptsi* (The blind; 1933), served as grounds to accuse him of “detachment from Socialist reality,” abstractionism, idealism, and Ukrainian nationalism.

Bazhan gained official recognition at a time of mounting Stalinist terror. Between 1935 and 1937 he published a trilogy, *Bezsmertia* (Immortality), dedicated to Sergey Kirov; he also translated from the Georgian the poem *Shota Rustavele Vitiaz' v tigrovii shkuri* (Knight in tiger's skin; 1937), and he published the collections *Bat'ky i syny* (Fathers and sons; 1938) and *Iamby* (Iambs; 1940), which were written in the spirit of Stalinist patriotism. From 1943 to 1948, within the framework of Stalin's policy of winning over the Ukrainians, Bazhan served as deputy president of the USSR Council of Ministers. He was a long-term member of the CC of the Communist Party of the Ukraine (Bolshevik) and of the Supreme Soviets of the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR. In 1941–45 he wrote works on war themes. He received a Stalinist award for the collection *Kliatva* (Oath; 1941). After the war he published several works of propaganda. After Stalin's death he remained in the public realm: he presided over the Union of Ukrainian Writers (1953–59); from 1951 he was a full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and from 1958 he was head of the publishing house Ukrain's'ka Radians'ka Entsyklopedia. He wrote a series of verses and poems in which he more extensively drew on the European cultural heritage. These works include the poems *Mitskevych v Odesi: 1825 rik* (Mickiewicz in

Odessa: The year 1825; 1957); *Italiis'ky zustrichi* (Italian meetings; 1961); *Bohy Hretsii* (Gods of Greece; 1968); and translations of the poetry of Cyprian Kamil Norwid. Bazhan received the Shevchenko Award for *Polit kriz' burii* (Flight in the storm), and he based the philosophical volume of lyrical poetry *Chotyry opovidannia pro nadiiu* (Four stories of hope; 1967) on the motifs in the poetry of Rainer Maria Rilke. The last volumes he wrote also received wide recognition: *Umans'ki spohady* (Memoirs from Uman; 1970) and *Nichni rozдумы staroho maistra* (Night reflections of an old master; 1974). (TS)

Sources: *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1984); *Rozstrilane vidrodzhennia*, ed. Yurii Lavrinenko (Paris, 1959); Y. Adelgeim, *Mikola Bazhan* (Moscow, 1970); Y. Surovtsev, *Poeziia Mikoly Bazhana: Kriticheskii ocherk* (Moscow, 1970); N. Kostenko, *Poetyka Mykoly Bazhana 1923–40 rr.* (Kiev, 1971); N. Kostenko, *Poetyka Mykoly Bazhana 1941–1977* (Kiev, 1978).

BEBLER Aleš (8 June 1907, Idria–12 August 1981, Ljubljana), Slovene Communist activist and diplomat. Bebler studied law in Ljubljana and from 1927 in Paris, where he received a Ph.D. in 1930. In 1927 he joined the Association of Yugoslav Communist Youth (Savez Komunističke Omladine Jugoslavije [SKOJ]), and in 1929, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. He was also secretary of the International Organization of Assistance to the Revolutionaries, organizing legal and financial aid to political prisoners and striking workers. While in Paris, he edited the newspapers *Plamen* and *Delo*. In 1933 he went to Moscow for an annual party training program. He took part in the Spanish Civil War as captain of the Fifteenth International Brigade. He was twice wounded and went to France for treatment. When in 1939 he came to Yugoslavia, he was arrested and sentenced to one year in prison. After his release he became deputy head of the Commission for Agitation and Propaganda of the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party of Slovenia (CPS) and was active in the Association of Friends of the USSR.

During World War II Bebler organized Communist guerrillas in Slovenia. In 1942–44 he operated in the Primorski kraj. He was a member of the regional CPS committee and of the regional council of the Slovene Liberation Front (SLF). From June to November 1944 he was a member of the CPS committee in Steiermark. In September 1944 he became a member of the SLF executive committee, and in May 1945, minister of finance of the Slovene republic. In August 1945 he assumed the position of deputy minister of foreign affairs of Yugoslavia. He belonged to the Yugoslav delegation during the first six sessions of the UN General Assembly, and in 1950–51 he was Yugoslav representative to the United Nations. He

closely followed the line of **Josip Broz Tito**. After the Cominform condemned Yugoslavia in June 1948, Bebler implemented Tito's opening to the West. Between 1948 and 1954 he belonged to the CC of the CPS (as of 1952, the Union of Slovene Communists) and to the CC of the CPY (as of 1952, the Union of Yugoslav Communists). In 1955–57 he was ambassador to France, then chairman of the parliamentary foreign affairs commission, and afterwards ambassador to Indonesia. In 1963 he was appointed judge of the Constitutional Tribunal of Yugoslavia. He published (among other works) the following: *Za pravedne granice nove Jugoslavije* (For just frontiers of the new Yugoslavia; 1949); *Potovanje po sončnih deželah* (Journeys in sunny lands; 1956); *Otroci zemlje in morja* (Children of earth and sea; 1966); and *Čez drn in strn* (Across country; 1981). (AO)

Sources: *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vol. 1 (Zagreb, 1955); Lazitch; Edvard Kardelj, *Reminiscences* (London, 1982); Milovan Đilas, *Rise and Fall* (San Diego, 1985); *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, vol. 1 (Ljubljana, 1987); Beatrice Heuser, *Western "Containment" Policies in the Cold War: The Yugoslav Case, 1948–53* (London, 1989).

BECHYNĚ Rudolf (6 April 1881, Nymburk–1 January 1948, Prague), Czech Social Democratic politician and journalist. Becjumě was a locksmith by profession. From 1905 he worked in the Social Democratic press (*Právo lidu* and *Rovnost*), and in 1909 he became the editor-in-chief of *Hlas Lidu*, which was published in Prostějov. At that time he established contacts with **Vlastimil Tusar**, who encouraged him to become a parliamentary correspondent from Vienna. From 1911 to 1918 he was an MP representing Social Democracy to the Austrian parliament. In 1915 he was arrested on the charge of treason and was sent to the eastern front with a rank of private. He returned from the front in January 1917, with his health seriously undermined. He resumed his activities in the Social Democratic Party, in which he represented a socially moderate wing. In the fall of 1917 an article of his was published in *Právo Lidu*. In it, Bechyně insisted that Social Democratic policy should become anti-Habsburg, and he demanded changes in the party executive ranks. When the postulated changes took place in 1918, he found himself in the party executive.

During the formation of the Czechoslovak state in the fall of 1918 Bechyně represented Social Democracy in the National Committee, and then he was an MP in parliament for twenty years (1918–38). Along with Tusar he formed the anti-Communist wing of Social Democracy. After the collapse of the Tusar government and the appointment of the nonparty cabinet of **Jan Černý** in 1920 Bechyně was a

representative of his party in the Five, a non-parliamentary body consisting of the representatives of the five major parties in Czechoslovakia. This body was to ensure the stability of the country. Under the “red and green” government, based on a coalition of the Social Democrats and the Agrarians, Bechyně held many ministerial posts. He was minister of education between 1922 and 1924, minister of railways and deputy prime minister in 1925–26, minister of supplies between 1929 and 1932, and again minister of railways in 1932–38. He never accepted the Pact of Munich. In July 1939 he emigrated to Great Britain via Poland. In Great Britain, between 1940 and 1945 he was a member of the Czechoslovak National Council (Státní rada Československa) in London, and in 1940–41 he was the first president of the council. After the end of the war he returned to Czechoslovakia but not to political life, although he received offers to join the government. He was the author of the essay *Pero mi zustalo* (I have only my pen left; 1948). His daughter, Jarmila, was a well-known actress. (PU)

Sources: *ČBS; Kto bol kto za I. ČSR* (Bratislava, 1993); *Politická elita meziválečného Československa 1918–1938: Kdo byl kdo za první republiky* (Prague, 1998).

BECK Józef (4 October 1894, Warsaw–5 June 1944, Stanesti, Romania), Polish politician and diplomat. Beck came from a family of a labor, cooperative, and self-government activists. He grew up in Galicia and studied at the Polytechnic College in Lwów and the Export Academy in Vienna. He interrupted his education during World War I and was assigned to the artillery of the First Brigade of the Polish Legions. He fought on the Russian front—for example, at Kostiuchnówka, where he became famous for his courage on the battlefield. On behalf of the Polish Military Organization Beck went on a secret mission to the Ukraine. From 1918 he was in the Polish Army and took part in the Polish-Soviet war. Because of Beck’s diplomatic skills, **Józef Piłsudski** often sent him on secret missions. In 1922–23 Beck was a military attaché in Paris and Brussels. In 1925 he graduated, with the rank of lieutenant colonel of artillery, from the Higher Military School in Warsaw. He was active in the coup of May 1926, being the chief of staff of Piłsudski’s main armed forces. From 1926 to 1930 he was the chief of staff of the minister for military affairs; between the end of August 1930 and December 1930 he was deputy prime minister and minister without portfolio in Piłsudski’s government. From 6 December 1930 he was vice minister, and from 2 November 1932, minister of foreign affairs. From 1935 he was a senator representing Warsaw.

Considered one of Piłsudski’s most trusted confidants, Beck was chosen by Piłsudski to realize his vision of Polish foreign policy. Taking into account that the international balance in Europe was disturbed and that collective security on the continent was undermined, Piłsudski recommended that Beck concentrate on strengthening Polish foreign policy. After Piłsudski’s death in May 1935, Beck tried to continue his policy, which consisted of maintaining an equal distance to both the Soviet Union and Germany. His efforts led to the signing of a non-aggression treaty with the USSR on 25 July 1932 and a non-aggression declaration with the Third Reich on 26 January 1934. On 5 May 1934 he extended the Polish-Soviet non-aggression treaty for ten years. He also sought the greater independence of Poland from France. He opposed Polish participation in collective agreements, fearing the violation of Polish interests by foreign powers. The policy of balancing between France and Germany, as well as between Germany and the USSR; Beck’s decisive attitude toward Lithuania in March 1938; his forcing Czechoslovakia to cede Zaolzie to Poland in October 1938; and lingering (though unjust) imputations of Beck’s having spied during his diplomatic mission in France—all these factors led to Beck’s unpopularity in the European capitals. At first Beck thought that Germany did not pose a great threat to Poland. However, in 1938 and 1939 he rejected German demands from Poland (the incorporation of Gdańsk to the Third Reich, the extraterritorial corridor, and accession to the Anti-Comintern Pact). After the annexation of Czechoslovakia by Germany Beck accepted the security guarantees given to Poland by Great Britain on 31 March 1939, and he signed an alliance with Great Britain based on the treaties of 6 April 1939 and 25 August 1939.

After the renunciation of the Polish-German declaration of non-aggression by Hitler in April, on 5 May 1939 Beck gave a now famous address in the Sejm. In it, he reacted to Hitler’s speech and to his demand for *Lebensraum* (living space) for the Germans. His words (“In Poland, we do not know the notion of peace at all cost. There is only one thing in the life of people, nations, and states that is invaluable. That thing is honor”) brought him temporary popularity in Poland. During the British-French-Soviet talks in Moscow in the summer of 1939 Beck consequently rejected Moscow’s demands for the right of the Red Army to march into Polish territory as an ally, because he feared that they would never leave Poland. The declaration of war on Germany by Great Britain and France on 3 September 1939 has been considered as Beck’s diplomatic success. Nonetheless, Poland did not receive the help of the two powers. Along with the entire government Beck crossed the border into Romania on the night of 17–18 September

1939. He was interned in Romania. His attempt to escape failed. He spent the rest of his life in exile. After 1939, his policy was the subject of criticism from various sides in Poland and was often presented in an unfavorable light in the Western countries and the USSR, where Polish *raison d'état* was generally not taken into consideration. The question of whether his policy had any alternative remains open. In exile Beck wrote *Ostatni raport* (The last report; 1946), in which he explained his policy. (PK)

Sources: *Czy wiesz, kto to jest?* (Warsaw, 1937); Stanisław Mackiewicz, *Polityka Becka* (Paris, 1964); Doman Rogoyski, "Pułk. Józef Beck więźniem w Rumunii," *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 1970, no. 18; P. Starzeński, *Trzy lata z Beckiem* (London, 1972); Olgierd Terlecki, *Pułkownik Beck* (Kraków, 1985); Andrzej Albert (Wojciech Roszkowski), *Najnowsza historia Polski 1914–1993*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1995); *Słownik polityków polskich XX w.* (Poznań, 1998).

BEDNORZ Herbert (22 September 1908, Gliwice–12 April 1989, Katowice), Polish bishop. The son of a metalworker and Polish independence activist, after the division of Upper Silesia in 1922 Bednorz, along with his family, had to move to Katowice, where he graduated from high school. He studied at the Theological Department of the Jagiellonian University and at the Theological Seminary in Kraków. In June 1932 he was ordained and left for Louvain and Paris, where he received a Ph.D. He specialized in Catholic social teachings and canon law. After his return in 1937, he became secretary general of the Catholic Youth Association. During the German occupation he worked in the Brzeziny parish. From March 1946 he headed the ministry department of the Katowice curia. On 24 December he was consecrated auxiliary bishop of the Katowice diocese. On 4 November 1952 he was arrested for preparing an appeal to restore religious instruction in the schools and forced to move out of his diocese. He settled in Poznań, maintaining contacts with priests loyal to the purged bishops. In November 1956 he returned to Katowice, and after the death of Bishop **Stanisław Adamski**, on 12 November 1967 he became ordinary bishop of the Katowice diocese. Pope John XIII appointed him one of the consultants responsible for preparing the Second Vatican Council. He cooperated with the commission for the laity and mass media. He took part in four sessions of the council and served as the spokesman of the Polish Episcopate. He gave special attention to the ministry of workers and chaired the Commission for Ministry to Workers of the Conference of the Polish Episcopate. He strove to obtain Communist permission to build new churches, especially in new housing areas of big towns. In 1972–75 he organized the first synod of the Katowice diocese attracting the participation of lay believers.

Bednorz was a spokesman for the religious and cultural

rights of Silesians. He encouraged pilgrimages of various social groups to Piekary, which shaped the social, religious, and political formation of Upper Silesian workers. For more than a dozen years the main preacher in Piekary was the Kraków cardinal Karol Wojtyła, later Pope **John Paul II**. Bednorz protested against the four-brigade system of work in Silesian mining, which was introduced in the 1970s and deprived miners of free Sundays. During the summer 1980 strikes, his call for free Sundays became one of the main demands of the striking workers and was agreed to by the authorities in the Jastrzębie agreement. Bednorz supported ministry to the strikers and endeavors to unite Solidarity structures in Upper Silesia and the Dąbrowskie region. During the period of martial law he repeatedly appealed to the authorities to free Solidarity activists. In March 1982 he established the Episcopal Committee of Relief to the Imprisoned and Interned. He also defended the cross, placed in front of the so-called Wujek mine, where riot police shot several miners in December 1981 and which was devastated by the security police. Caring for the formation of clerics, Bednorz, as the only bishop in Poland, sent them to a yearly training session in factories. In June 1983 he welcomed Pope John Paul II at Muchowiec Airfield, near Katowice, in the name of half a million believers. When Bednorz turned seventy-five, he offered his resignation and retired after the appointment of his successor in June 1985. (AGr)

Sources: *Słownik Biograficzny Katolickiego Duchowieństwa Śląskiego XIX i XX wieku* (Katowice, 1996); *Leksykon duchowieństwa represjonowanego w PRL w latach 1945–1989*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 2002); Jerzy Myszor, *Historia diecezji katowickiej* (Katowice, 1996); Jerzy Myszor, "Życie i działalność ks. biskupa Herberta Bednorza (1908–1989): Szkic biograficzny," *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne*, 1989, vol. 22; Andrzej Grajewski, *Wygnanie, Diecezja katowicka w czasach stalinowskich* (Katowice, 2003).

BEGMA Vasyl (1 January 1906, Odessa–12 August 1965, Kiev), Soviet Communist activist in the Ukraine. In 1927 Begma joined the Communist Party, and from 1928 he held executive posts in the Komsomol, in trade unions, and in the Communist Party apparatus in the Kherson, Dnepropetrovsk, and Kharkiv regions. In 1938 he became secretary of the regional committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Ukraine (CP[B]U) in Kiev. After the Polish Eastern Borderland was incorporated into the USSR, in 1939–41 Begma was first secretary of the regional party committee in Równe, supervising Soviet deportations. From 1940 he was a member of the Central Committee (CC) of the CP(B)U. In 1941–42 he belonged to the War Council of the Twelfth Army. In 1942–44 he was secretary of a secret CP(B)U committee in Równe, head of the regional partisan staff, and commander of a guerrilla detachment that operated

against the Germans and against the Polish underground army. As a reward he was promoted to the rank of major general. From 1944 to 1949 he was first secretary of the regional party committee in Równe again, and in 1950–59 he was head of the party committee in Khmelnytskyi. From 1959 he was head of a CP(B)U CC department. He was also a deputy to the Supreme Council of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR. (GM)

Sources: *Ukraińska Radianska Encyklopediya*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1977); Mieczysław Juchniewicz, *Polacy w radzieckim ruchu partyzanckim 1941–1945* (Warsaw, 1975).

BELISHOVA Liri (14 October 1926, Belishovë, near Ballsh), Albanian Communist activist. Born into a Muslim white-collar family, Belishova studied in Berat and in a training school for girls in Tirana. Attracted by the aims of **Liri Gega**, from 1940 she was affiliated with a Communist group in Shkodër. In February 1943 she joined the Communist Party and then became a member of the leadership of a Communist youth organization in Tirana. Suspended from school for taking part in an anti-Italian demonstration in July 1943, in which she lost an eye, in October 1944 she returned to Albania after an operation in a British hospital. She became a member of the secretariat of the Albanian Anti-Fascist Youth and of the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party of Albania (CPA), and from 1945 she was a member of the General Council of the Communist-controlled Democratic Front. She was in favor of the CPA's independence from the Yugoslav party and was in opposition to the **Koçi Xoxe** faction. After the death of her husband, **Nako Spiru**, who allegedly committed suicide in 1947, Belishova was dismissed from the CC and the Communist youth organization, and she headed a social service department in the government.

At the First CPA Congress in November 1948, when the name of the party was changed to the Albanian Party of Labor and when Xoxe was dismissed, Belishova, at the age of twenty-two, became a member of the Politburo. From 1948 she was a deputy to the Popular Assembly (Kuvendi Popullor) and from 1950, secretary of the parliament presidium. From 1951 to 1954 she studied, along with **Ramiz Alia**, at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow. She was a member of the Albanian delegation to Stalin's funeral in March 1953. Later she dealt with propaganda. She was dismissed from the party leadership in June 1960 in connection with her visit to the (Communist) World Council of Trade Unions, where she openly supported the Soviet standpoint and then reported to the Soviets about Chinese intentions and suspended a publication praising Stalin and criticizing resolutions of the Twentieth Con-

gress of the Soviet party. In September 1960 she became head of a primary school in Tirana and then a teacher in Goranzi, near Gjirokaster. When her second husband was dismissed from a ministerial position, she was deprived of work. In May 1961 she was removed from the party and interned with her family, first in Kuç, near Vlory; then in Progonat; and finally in Cerrik, near Elbasan. Released in May 1991, she first lived in Cerrik, and then she returned to Tirana. She attracted public attention again on 12 June 1991 when, in an interview for *Rilindja Demokratike*, she accused **Enver Hoxha** of assassinating Spiru. (TC)

Sources: Raymond Hutchings, *Historical Dictionary of Albania* (Lanham, Md., 1996); William Griffith, *Albania and the Sino-Soviet Rift* (Cambridge, 1963); Henry Hamm, *Albania: China's Beachhead in Europe* (London, 1963); interview with Liri Belishova by Tadeusz Czekalski, 10 February 2002, Tirana.

BELŠEVICA Vizma [originally Elsberga] (30 May 1931, Riga), Latvian poet. Belševica graduated from a trade school (1948), a technical school for cultural workers (1955), and the Maksim Gorky Literary Institute in Moscow (1961). For many years she worked as a journalist for the periodical *Pionieris* in Riga. She made her literary debut in 1947. From 1958 she was a member of the Association of Latvian Writers. In the poems published in the collections *Visu ziemu šogad pavasaris* (This year it is spring all through the wintertime; 1955) and *Zemes siltums* (The warmth of the earth; 1959) she dealt with the relationship between an individual and society, with human dignity, and with the persistence of the national consciousness despite totalitarian pressures. In 1959 she published a poem, *Piezīmes uz Livonijas Indriķa hronikas malām* (Notes in the margins of the chronicle of Henry of Livonia), in which she alluded to the enslavement of the Latvian nation by the Soviets. Despite her rich vocabulary and style, she often used simple expressions. On the wave of the cultural revival in the early 1960s she published the collections *Jūra deg* (The sea aflame; 1966) and *Gadu gredzeni* (Rings of years; 1969), which were seriously attacked by the party leadership. In 1970–74 her works were banned from publication. In 1987 she published *Dzeltu laiks* (The leaves of time grow yellow). She also authored a novel, *Ķikuraga stāsti* (Kikuraga tales; 1965), and numerous short stories, collected in *Nelaimē mājās* (Misfortune at home; 1979); she also translated from English and Russian. In 1988–90 she was the head of the Latvian PEN club. Decorated with the Order of the Three Stars of Latvia, she is an honorary member of the Latvian Academy of Sciences. (EJ)

Sources: *Latviešu rakstniecība biogrāfijās* (Riga, 1992); *Who Is Who in Latvia* (Riga, 1996); *Wielka encyklopedia PWN*, vol. 3 (Warsaw, 2001); R. Ādmidiņš, “‘Pārsāpētās dzejaas’ dzimšana

un atdzimšana," *Karogs*, 1981, no. 5; Andrejs Plakans, *Historical Dictionary of Latvia* (Lanham, Md., 1997).

BENEŠ Edvard (28 May 1884, Kožlany, near Plzeň–3 September 1948, Sezimovo Ústí near Tábor), Czech diplomat and politician. Beneš graduated from a Vinohrady high school in Prague in 1904, and then he studied philology, philosophy, and sociology at the Department of Philosophy of Charles University in Prague. It was there that he met his mentor and future friend, **Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk**. In 1905 Beneš left for France, where he studied sociology and political science at the Sorbonne and the *École Libre des Sciences Politiques*, as well as law at the University of Dijon, where he received a Ph.D. in 1908. In 1906 he also studied in London, and in 1907–8, in Berlin. In 1909 he returned to Prague, where he received a Ph.D. in philosophy. From 1909 to 1915 he lectured at a trade school; from 1912 he was associate professor at Prague University and, from 1913, also at the Prague Polytechnic. In 1921 he became professor of sociology at Charles University. Initially he was close to Social Democracy, and while abroad he wrote for its organ, *Právo lidu*. Later he turned to the Czech Progressive Party (*Česká Strana Pokroková*) of Masaryk. Before World War I he, like Masaryk, thought the best solution for the Czechs would be to convert the Habsburg monarchy into a federation.

After the outbreak of World War I Beneš co-founded an anti-Habsburg independence movement led by an informal group called Mafia (Maffie). On 3 September 1915 he went to Paris, from where, along with Masaryk and **Milan R. Štefánik**, he guided Czechoslovak policies in exile. In 1916–18 he was secretary general of the Czechoslovak National Council in Paris, trying to attract Western powers to the idea of an independent Czechoslovak state. He established close contacts with French freemasonry. He was the right-hand man of Masaryk, and during the latter's trip to Russia and the United States from May 1917 to the end of the war Beneš was actually in charge of the movement abroad. In February 1918 he signed an agreement on the creation of a Czechoslovak army in France. On 14 October 1918 he established a provisional government in Paris and took over its foreign and interior ministries. In late October 1918 he took part in the Geneva talks between the foreign and domestic centers of the independence movement on the shape of the future Czechoslovak state.

Thanks to the unlimited trust of President Masaryk, from November 1918 to December 1935 Beneš was foreign minister. His affiliation to freemasonry was also helpful. From 20 September 1921 to 8 October 1922 he was also prime minister. He had an overwhelming influence on the Czechoslovak foreign policy of the 1920s and 1930s. It was

based on cooperation with France (a mutual aid treaty of 25 January 1924) and within the Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia). He was co-founder of the League of Nations, in which he held important positions. In 1920 he was its vice-president; in 1923–27 he was a member of its council, and in 1935, president. In 1919–20, along with Prime Minister **Karel Kramář**, he took part in the Paris Peace Conference and succeeded in achieving most of the Czechoslovak territorial demands. In view of the growing German danger, on 16 May 1935 he signed an alliance with the USSR.

In domestic policy Beneš belonged to the inner circle of Masaryk's Castle group (Hrad), from 1923 to 1933 he was one of the leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Nationalist Party, and in 1919–26 and 1929–35 he was MP on its behalf. After President Masaryk resigned in 1935, Beneš was his candidate to succeed him, and, after overcoming resistance from the rightist MPs, on 18 December 1935 he was elected president. He assumed this position in an increasingly aggravated international situation. Initially his priority was a peaceful solution to nationality problems (especially coming to terms with the Sudeten Germans) in the face of growing pressure from the Third Reich. He counted on the cooperation of Western democracies and the USSR. In late 1936 he passed information to the Kremlin on alleged contacts of high Soviet officers with Germany, which indirectly contributed to a bloody purge in the Red Army. His policies failed. Pressed by Great Britain and France, in September 1938 he had to accept the Pact of Munich and cede the Sudetenland to Germany. On 5 October 1938 he resigned and left for London. In February 1939 he went to the United States and lectured at the University of Chicago. In July 1939 he returned to England.

After the outbreak of World War II, Beneš returned to active politics. Despite problems with his earlier resignation, he managed to resume rule as Czechoslovak president-in-exile and to establish a government in exile in London in July 1940. He strove for the restoration of Czechoslovakia's prewar borders and for the resettlement of the German population. He won recognition of his government from Western allies. Realizing the inevitability of postwar Soviet domination in Central Europe and not trusting the Western powers after the Pact of Munich, Beneš wanted to establish good relations with the USSR. This policy resulted in a new Czechoslovak-Soviet alliance, signed on 12 December 1943. Beneš's compliance toward Stalin is sometimes explained by the suspicion, based on quite credible sources, that he might have collaborated with Soviet intelligence.

In April 1945 Beneš appointed the first government

of postwar Czechoslovakia, the so-called Košice government, which included Communist ministers. On 16 May 1945 he triumphantly returned to Prague as president of the new state. In June 1945 he passed decrees on the punishment of Hitlerite war criminals and traitors, as well as on the resettlement and expropriation of Sudeten Germans. From 1945 to 1948 he seemed a symbol of continuity of democratic Czechoslovakia, but he failed to oppose Communist strategies of takeover, and during the coup of February 1948, under pressure from **Klement Gottwald**, he accepted the resignation of democratic ministers; this was a forewarning of full Communist control. In May 1948 he refused to sign a new, Stalinist constitution. On 7 June 1948 he resigned, and soon he died.

Beneš was the author of a number of works in sociology and political science, including the following: *Le problème autrichien et la question tchèque* (The Austrian problem and the Czech question; 1908); *Otázka národnostní* (The question of nationality; 1909); *Stručný nástin vývoje moderního socialismu* (Outline of development of modern socialism, 4 vols.; 1910–11); *Stranictví* (Party membership; 1912); *Democracy Today and Tomorrow* (1939); and *Úvahy o slovanství* (Slav character; 1944). He also published the memoirs *Světová válka a naše revoluce* (My war memoirs, 1928; 1927–28); *Paměti: Od Mnichova k nové válce a novému vítězství* (1947; *From Munich to New War and New Victory*, 1954); and *Mnichovské dny* (Munich days; 1968). He also published numerous collections of speeches, some of them in English. (PU)

Sources: ČBS; *Kdo byl kdo v našich dějinách ve 20. století*, vol. 1 (Prague 1998); *Politická elita meziválečného Československa 1918–1938. Kdo byl kdo za první republiky* (Prague 1998); *Kto bol kto za I. ČSR* (Bratislava, 1993); Ferdinand Peroutka, *Byl Edvard Beneš vinen?* (Paris, 1950); R.W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Czechs and Slovaks* (Hamden, Conn., 1965); Ludwik Hass, *Ambicje, rachuby, rzeczywistość: Wolnomularstwo w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej 1905–1928* (Warsaw, 1984); František Havlíček, *Eduard Beneš—člověk, sociolog, politik* (Prague, 1991); Karel Kaplan, *Poslední rok prezidenta: Edvard Beneš v roce 1948* (Prague, 1993); Eduard Táborský, *President Beneš mezi Západem a Východem* (Prague, 1993); Josef Hanzal, *Edvard Beneš* (Prague, 1994); Igor Lukes, *Czechoslovakia between Stalin and Hitler: The Diplomacy of Edvard Beneš in the 1930s* (Oxford, 1996); Antonín Klimek, Zbyněk Zeman, *The Life of Edvard Beneš: Czechoslovakia in Peace and War* (Oxford, 1997); Nigel West, *Venona: The Greatest Secret of the Cold War* (London, 1999); Piotr Majewski, *Edvard Beneš i kwestia niemiecka w Czechach* (Warsaw, 2001).

BENKE Valéria (26 June 1920, Gyöngyös), Hungarian Communist activist. The daughter of a watchmaker, after high school Benke started to study pedagogy, but she broke off her studies because of World War II. In 1941 she joined the

Social Democratic Party, and in 1944, the Hungarian Communist Party (HCP). From 1943 she worked as a country teacher in southern Hungary. When in March 1944 Hungary was occupied by Germany, she helped to hide worker activists from Szeged. In the spring of 1945 she graduated from an HCP school in Debrecen and became lecturer of the central party school. From the summer of 1946 she worked in the HCP committee in the Tenth Quarter of Budapest and later in the Budapest city party committee. From July 1947 she worked in the HCP Central Committee (CC) Secretariat for Women, from 1948 to the end of 1950 she was secretary of the Budapest committee of the (Communist) Democratic Union of Hungarian Women, and from 1949 to 1971 she was an MP. In 1951–54 she was secretary of the All-National Peace Council. At the same time she was a deputy member, and until October 1956 a member, of the CC of the (Communist) Hungarian Workers' Party. Chairman of Hungarian Radio from 1954, on 23 October 1956 she refused to allow Budapest demonstrators to present their demands on the air. A week later she was dismissed, but on 6 November 1956 the new government of **János Kádár** appointed her a special radio commissar. In February 1957 she was coopted to the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP). From January 1957 she was deputy chairman, and from August 1957 chairman, of Hungarian Radio and Television. In 1957 she finally graduated from Budapest University, although her intellectual capabilities were the subject of many jokes. From January 1958 to September 1961 she was minister of culture and education. From 1961 she was editor-in-chief, and from 1966 to 1988 chairman, of the editorial board of the monthly *Társadalmi Szemle*, a theoretical organ of the Communist Party. In 1967–71 she belonged to the Presidential Council. From 1970 to 1985 a member of the HSWP CC Politburo, in 1970–75 she was responsible for agitation and propaganda. In December 1988 she retired. (JT)

Sources: *Magyar Nagylexikon*, vol. 3 (Budapest, 1994); *A magyar forradalom és szabadságharc enciklopédiája*, CD-ROM, 1956-os Intézet (Budapest, 1999); *Ki kicsoda 2000* (Budapest, 2001).

BERAN Josef (29 December 1888, Plzeň–17 May 1969, Rome), Czech cardinal, Primate of Bohemia. The son of a teacher, in 1907–11 Beran studied at the Papal University in Rome, where he was ordained in 1911. After returning to Bohemia, he defended a Ph.D. in theology. In 1912–17 he worked in the parish of Chyšín and then in Prague. From 1917 to 1928 he was a teacher and then director of St. Ann Training School for Girls in Prague. From 1929 he lectured in theology in the Prague metropolitan seminary, and in 1932 he became rector of this seminary. He also lectured

in pedagogy at the Theological Faculty of Charles University in Prague. During the Nazi occupation he maintained contacts with the Czech resistance. After the assassination of Reich Protector Reinhard Heydrich, in May 1942 Beran was taken hostage by the Gestapo and sent to the Terezin concentration camp in July 1942. In 1943 he was moved to the camp in Dachau, where he met some of the Czech Communist activists.

On 25 May 1945 Beran returned to the Prague seminary. From 1941, when Cardinal **Karel Kašpar** died, the Prague metropolis had no bishop. Because of Beran's good contacts with the ruling circles and his moral authority, Pope Pius XII appointed him the Prague metropolitan and then the Primate of Bohemia on 4 November 1946. Beran took over the Prague archbishopric a week later, and he started efforts to reconstruct the church organization, increase priestly vocations, and revitalize popular piety. He paid special attention to the all-Czech celebrations of St. Adalbert (Vojtech), which attracted thousands of believers throughout the country. At the same time he protested steps by the authorities to limit religious freedom that threatened the unity of the Catholic Church. As head of the Conference of the Czech Episcopate, he opposed attempts by the state to organize so-called patriotic priests in the Catholic Action. During the Communist coup of February 1948, he issued a pastoral letter, *Nemič arcibiskupe! Nesmiš mlčet!* (Do not remain silent, Archbishop! You must not remain silent!), in which he condemned the totalitarian actions of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. In a series of articles in the daily *Lidova demorace* he pointed to the democratic mechanisms of interwar Czechoslovakia as a pattern to follow. He agreed to celebrate a solemn service in St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague on the occasion of **Klement Gottwald**'s becoming president, but on 15 June 1948 he issued a letter to believers presenting the authorities with six major demands of religious freedom.

On 19 June 1949 the Communists provoked unrest during the Corpus Christi celebrations in Prague. The militia intervened, beating and arresting many participants, while Beran was interned in the archbishop's palace. Not willing to risk an international scandal, the Communists did not give him a show trial, but they kept him in prison without trial in various places until 1963, when he was released thanks to a temporary "thaw." He was not allowed to return to Prague and was forced to stay in a home for the aged, first in Mukařov and later in Radvanov in southern Bohemia. On 22 February 1965 Pope Paul VI appointed him cardinal. A few days earlier a special Vatican envoy, Archbishop Agostino Casaroli, had met with him and had presented to him the conditions agreed upon with the Communist authorities: Beran was to leave Czechoslo-

vakia, and in exchange the Prague archbishopric would get an apostolic administrator in the person of Bishop **František Tomašek**. Beran agreed, and on 19 February 1965 he left for Rome. In exile he continued to be involved in the church affairs of Czechoslovakia. He often spoke in defense of religious freedom and visited Czech communities in Western Europe and America. During the Second Vatican Council he delivered a homily on tolerance, *O svobode svědomi* (On the liberty of conscience), in which, among other things, he appealed for the church rehabilitation of Jan Hus. He welcomed the Prague Spring of 1968 and began preparations to come back to Prague. A serious illness forced him to change these plans, and the Warsaw Pact invasion of August 1968 made them impossible. After the suicide of **Jan Palach**, he appealed for respect for the sovereignty of the nation and paid homage to Palach. Procedures toward his beatification started in Prague in 1990. Beran was the author of many works in theology and the history of the church, including *Blahoslavená Anežka Česká* (Blessed Agnes of Bohemia; 1974) and an autobiographical volume, *Velká mše* (The Great Holy Mass). (AGr)

Sources: ČBS; Josef Tomeš et al., *Česky Biografický Slovník XX. Století* (Prague, 1999); Maria Teresa Carloni, *Il cardinale scomodo: Il Card. Giuseppe Beran, arcivescovo di Praga* (Urbania, 1972); Bohdan Cywiński, *I was prześladować będą* (Lublin and Rome, 1990); Václav Vaško, *Neumlčená: Kronika Katolické Cirkve v Československu po druhé světové válce* (Prague, 1990); Karel Kaplan, *Stát a Církev v Československu 1948–1953* (Brno, 1993); Hansjakob Stehle, *Eastern Politics of the Vatican 1917–1979* (Athens, Ohio, 1981); Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, *Il martirio della pazienza: La Stante Sede e i paesi comunisti 1963–1989* (Turin, 2000).

BERAN Rudolf (28 December 1887, Pracejovice–28 February 1954, Leopoldov), Czech Agrarian politician. Beran came from a family of smallholders. In 1905 he graduated from an agricultural vocational school in Strahonice, and he began his political activities, taking up work in the secretariat of the Czech Agrarian Party (Česká Strana Agrární) in Prague. In 1909 he became secretary of the Union of Agrarian Youth. He became known as one of the main organizers of the Agrarian Party and of the agricultural cooperative movement in south Bohemia. Thanks to his organizational skills, he became an important figure among Agrarians and a close associate of **Antonín Švehla**. After the formation of Czechoslovakia he held the post of secretary general of the Agrarian Party for fifteen years; as of 1922 the party was known as the Republican Party of Peasants and Smallholders (Republikánská Strana Zemědělského a Maloroľnického Lidu). He took an active role in shaping the local organs

of the party; as a result, in the first elections in April 1920, the Agrarians gained forty-two parliamentary seats and nineteen senatorial seats. Throughout the interwar period he sat in the National Assembly and was president of the parliamentary club of the Agrarians.

Beran had strong influence within the party, and after Švehla's withdrawal from political life in 1927, his role became even more important. In 1933 he was incumbent vice-president of the party, and in 1935 he was unanimously elected its president. In his view, he was a representative of the right wing of the Agrarians. He was in favor of strong-handed rule, and in foreign policy he advocated cooperation with Germany. This led to conflict with **Edvard Beneš**, the main architect of Czechoslovak foreign policy. In 1935 Beran tried to form a bloc in parliament in order to prevent the election of Beneš as president of Czechoslovakia and to push the candidacy of Bohumil Němec. After his attempts failed, Beran began to lean toward cooperation with the Sudeten German Party (Sudetendeutsche Partei [SdP]), with the Slovak People's Party of Reverend **Andrij Hlinka**, and with the Czech Fascist parties.

After the Munich dictate Beran became president of the Party of National Unity (Strana Národní Jednoty), which was subservient to Germany, and between 1 December 1938 and 15 March 1939 he was simultaneously prime minister of the Second Czechoslovak Republic. At that time he had to deal with many social and economic problems linked to the mass influx of refugees from the territories occupied by the Third Reich and from Slovakia. After the German invasion, as head of the government of the German Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (16 March–27 April 1939), he received Hitler and Reich Protector Konstantin von Neurath in Prague. After resigning, Beran maintained contacts with the resistance movement, mainly with the Defense of the Nation (Obrana Národa), a national organization that he supported financially. Arrested by the Gestapo in June 1942, he was sentenced to ten years. Released in 1943, he was held under house arrest until the liberation in 1945. However, he was soon imprisoned again, and in April 1947 he was sentenced to twenty years and his property was confiscated because of his collaboration with the Third Reich. He died in prison. (PU)

Sources: ČBS; Vojtech Masny, *The Czechs under Nazi Rule* (New York and London, 1971); *Kto bol kto za I. ČSR* (Bratislava, 1993); Libor Vukoupil, *Slovník českých dějin* (Brno, 2000); *Českoslovenští politici: 1918–1991* (Prague, 1991); *Politická elita meziválečného Československa 1918–1938: Kdo byl kdo za první republiky* (Prague, 1998); *Kdo byl kdo v našich dějinách ve 20. století*, vol. 1 (Prague, 1998).

BERDNYK Oleksandr (Oles') (25 November 1927, Vavilovo, near Mikolaiiv), Ukrainian writer and dissident. From 1943 to 1945 Berdnyk fought on the front lines. After high school, in 1949 he graduated in theater studies at the Ivan Franko Memorial Dramatic Theater in Kiev, where he also worked as an actor. In 1950 he was sentenced to ten years in a labor camp for protesting the denunciation and propagandistic treatment of classical literature. He was imprisoned in the northern Russian camps and in Kazakhstan. Released owing to an amnesty in 1955, he returned to Kiev, joined the Association of Ukrainian Writers (AUW), and started writing. He won recognition as an author of science fiction. Among other things, he published two collections of short stories, *Poza chasom i prostorom* (Beyond time and space; 1957) and *Marsiians'ki zaitsi* (Hares of Mars; 1962), and the following novels: *Liudyna bez sertsia* (A man without a heart [with Yuri Bedzyk]; 1958); *Shliakhy tytaniv* (Paths of titans; 1959); *Dity bezmezhhia* (Children of infinity; 1964); *Khto ty?* (Who are you? 1966); *Chasha Amrity* (Amrita's cup; 1971); and *Zoryanyi korsar* (Star pirate; 1971).

Berdnyk lived in **Mykola Rudenko's** house. In April 1972 during a search there the Soviet police confiscated a work by **Ivan Dziuba**, *Internatsionalizm chy rusyfikatsiia?* (Internationalism or Russification?), and typewriters. Berdnyk's response, a sixteen-day hunger strike, led to a meeting with the first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine (CPU), **Petro Shelest**, and to the return of the confiscated items, but Berdnyk's works were subjected to ideological criticism for their futuristic ideas and defense of religion. In May 1973 he was dismissed from the CPU, in 1974 he was denied permission to leave the USSR, and in 1976 his books were removed from libraries. On 9 November 1976 he, along with Rudenko, Oksana Meshko, and **Levko Lukyanenko**, founded the Ukrainian Helsinki Group (UHG). In 1976 and 1979 Berdnyk signed memoranda to the Soviet authorities and to international public opinion in defense of the persecuted. In November 1977 he authored the Manifesto of the Ukrainian Movement for the Defense of Human Rights, and in May 1978, an open letter to the UN Human Rights Commission. He went on a hunger strike again, demanding the release of Rudenko. Arrested in March 1979, in December 1979 Berdnyk was sentenced to six years of labor camp and three years of exile. He spent 1980–81 in a camp in Kuchino, near Perm. Amnestied in March 1984, he distanced himself from other dissidents. In 1987 he founded the Noospheric Front, whose aim was to defend the values accumulated through centuries of "cosmo-history" against contemporary "pseudocivilization." From December 1989 he presided over an association called the Spiritual Republic of Ukraine and edited the periodicals

Svyata Ukraina and *Zhoda*. In 1991 he ran for the Ukrainian presidency but lost. Four collections of his uncensored works were published in the West: *Zoloti vorota* (The golden gate; 1975); *Blakytyni koval* (Blue smith; 1975); *Ukraina Sichi Vohnyanoii* (Ukraine of the Burning Sich; 1977); and *Svyata Ukraina* (Holy Ukraine; 1980). These were also published in the Ukraine after 1990. (TS)

Sources: *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1984); *Informatsiini byuleteni Ukraïnskoiï hromadskoiï hrupy spriannja vykonanniï Helsynskyykh ugod* (Baltimore and Toronto, 1981); *Ukraïnska Helsinska Hrupa 1978–1982* (Toronto and Baltimore, 1983); Ludmila Aleksieyeva, *Istoriya inakomyslja v SSSR* (Vilnius and Moscow, 1992); Hrihoriy Kasyanov, *Nezhodni: Ukraïnska intelihentsiia w rusi oporu 1960–80 rokiv* (Kiev, 1995); Anatoliy Rusnachenko, *Natsionalno-vyzvolnyi rukh w Ukraïni* (Kiev, 1998); Bohdan Nahaylo, *The Ukrainian Resurgence* (Toronto, 1999).

BERECZ János (18 September 1930, Ibrány), Hungarian Communist activist. Berecz joined the Hungarian Workers' Party (HWP) in 1951. In 1955 he graduated from the Lenin Memorial Institute, and in 1966 from the Academy of Social Sciences of the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow. Gradually advancing in the ranks of the Communist youth organization, in 1966 he became secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) committee in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1972 he was deputy head, and from 1974 head, of the Foreign Affairs Department of the HSWP CC. In 1982–85 he was editor-in-chief of the party daily, *Népszabadság*, and from 1985 to 1989 he was HSWP CC secretary for ideology and propaganda. From 1980 he was member of the CC, and from 1987, of the CC Politburo. From 1985 to 1990 he was MP and head of the parliamentary commission of foreign affairs. In the 1980s he belonged to the top party leadership, and he had substantial influence on cultural policies. He authored many articles and several books, trying to legitimize communism in Hungary. His work *Ellenfóradalom tollal és fegyverrel 1956* (Counterrevolution by pen and arms, 1956; 1969) was an official version of the history of the 1950s and of the revolution of 1956, and it was read both at home and, thanks to numerous translations, in other Communist countries. Soon after the HSWP was transformed into the Hungarian Socialist Party in 1989, Berecz reestablished an orthodox Communist HSWP and belonged to its top leadership until 1991. Later he gave up politics but always defended communism and HSWP policies. (MS)

Sources: *Politikus pályák* (Budapest, 1984); Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, ed., *Ungarn* (Göttingen, 1987); Miklós Molnár, *From Béla Kun to János Kádár: Seventy Years of Hungarian Communism* (New York, 1990); *Ki kicsoda 2002* (Budapest, 2001).

BERISHA Sali Ram (15 October 1944, Tropoje), Albanian politician and doctor. Born into a Muslim peasant family, in 1967 Berisha graduated from the medical school of the university in Tirana. Later he lectured there. At the same time he worked as a cardiologist in a hospital, where he headed the Albanian Labor Party (ALP) cell. In the 1970s he went abroad several times, which was only possible among the ruling elite. He continued specialized studies in cardiology in France on a UNESCO scholarship. He authored several articles in cardiology that were published in European periodicals. In 1986 he was elected a member of the European Commission of Doctors in Copenhagen. In 1988 he received a Ph.D., and in 1989 he became a full professor. Enjoying relative freedom, even during the rule of **Enver Hoxha** Berisha could read his favorite French authors, Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus, unavailable to most Albanians. For many years he was the personal doctor of **Hysni Kapo**, but he also treated other members of the leadership, including Hoxha.

In April 1990 Berisha left the ALP, and then he published a number of articles pointing to the necessity of introducing democracy into Albania. These articles were published with the silent consent of the party leadership, which in this way helped him become a political figure. In December 1990 Berisha co-organized student demonstrations and the Democratic Student Movement. On 12 December 1990 he was co-founder of the Party of Youth and Intellectuals, which after a couple of days took the name of the Albanian Democratic Party (Partia Demokratike e Shqipërisë [ADP]) and was the first legal opposition party since World War II. In March 1991 Berisha was elected MP in the National Assembly. In the next parliamentary elections, in March 1992, he gained 98 percent of the vote in the Kavaje district. On 8 April 1992 the National Assembly chose him as president.

Initially Berisha enjoyed Western support, since he was recognized as one of the most credible Balkan politicians and was praised for his support for market reforms. His collaborators from the ADP were of a different opinion, accusing him of autocratic tendencies. He was re-elected president on 3 March 1997, under increasing political crisis and an opposition boycott. Faced with the possible collapse of the state administration, caused, among other things, by the collapse of financial pyramids, Berisha agreed to a coalition government and earlier elections, but he refused to step down. As a result, on 4 June 1997 he barely escaped an attempt on his life in the south of Albania. Under pressure from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and after his party lost the election to the post-Communist Albanian Socialist Party, on 23 July 1997 Berisha finally resigned. In January 1998, not

willing to accept the results of the election, he demanded the dissolution of the parliament and new elections. After the assassination of **Azem Hajdari**, in September 1998 the post-Communists accused Berisha of an attempted coup. He was stripped of immunity but not arrested. Despite another election loss and a split in the ADP, in 2001 Berisha was elected its chairman. (TC)

Sources: “Sali Berisha,” *Rilindja Demokratike*, 15 October 1994; Raymond Hutchings, *Historical Dictionary of Albania* (Lanham, Md., 1996); Elez Biberaj, *Shqipëria ne tranzicion: Rruga e vështrisë drejt Demokracisë* (Tirana, 2001); Miranda Vickers and James Pettifor, *Albania: From Anarchy to a Balkan Identity* (New York, 1997); Bugajski; www.rulers.org.

BERĶIS Krišjānis (26 April 1884, Īslīces, Courland–December 1941, concentration camp near Perm), Latvian general. Berķis came from a peasant family. After completing a municipal school in Bauska, he joined the Russian Army. In 1906 he graduated from the Junker School in Vilnius (Wilno) and served as officer in the second regiment of Finnish riflemen in Helsingfors. During World War I he was commander of a company and then a battalion, and in 1917 he was transferred to the sixth regiment of the Latvian Riflemen. He rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. Demobilized in December 1917, he stayed in Finland until the spring of 1919, when he returned to Latvia. In March 1919 he joined the Latvian Army. He was commander of a regiment, and from August 1919, of the Latgalian division. In 1925 he was appointed general. Between 1933 and 1934 he worked in the general staff of the army. From April 1934 he was commander of the Livonian division and chief of the Riga garrison. He took part in the coup of **Kārlis Ulmanis** of 15 May 1934. From November 1934 he was the commander-in-chief of the Latvian Army. On 5 April 1940 he was appointed minister of war. After the seizure of Latvia by the USSR, on 20 June 1940 Berķis was dismissed from his post and transferred to the reserves. Soon after, while attempting to leave for Finland, he was arrested in Tallinn and was deported to Russia, where he died. (EJ)

Sources: A. Berķis, *Ģenerālis Krišjānis Berķis* (Riga, 1995); *Latvijas armijas augstākie virsnieki 1918–1940: Biogrāfiska vārdnīca* (Riga, 1998).

BERKLAVS Eduārdš (15 June 1914, Kuldīgas, Courland), Latvian Communist activist and dissident. After primary school Berklavs worked as a blue-collar laborer in Kuldīga and (from 1935) in Riga. He belonged to an illegal Communist youth organization, for which he was imprisoned in 1936–39. In 1939–40 he was a leader of the Union of Working Youth of Latvia. After the Soviet

invasion of June 1940, he took an active part in the incorporation of Latvia into the USSR. From February 1941 he was second secretary of the Riga regional committee of the Communist Party of Latvia (CPL), and from 1941 to 1944 he served as an officer in the Red Army, advancing to the rank of major. Demobilized in 1946, he worked as first secretary of the Komsomol in Latvia. In 1951 he graduated from the Higher Party School in Moscow, and then he was active as secretary of the Riga party committee. From 1954 to 1956 and from 1958 to 1959 Berklavs was deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, and in 1957–58, first secretary of the Riga party committee.

Berklavs belonged to the leadership of a “national” wing of the party, which opposed the inflow of Russians into Latvia and strove for wider cultural autonomy in the Latvian SSR. At a meeting of the CPL Central Committee in early July 1959 Berklavs criticized the Russification policies of the Kremlin. Despite gaining some support in the CPL leadership, on 15 July 1959 he was dismissed from his position. **Jānis Kalnbērziņš** and **Vilis Lacis**, veterans of Soviet power in Latvia, were also dismissed for their defense of Berklavs, while the new CPL leader, **Arvids Pelše**, carried out a purge of the supporters of autonomy. Berklavs was soon sent to Vladimir, where he worked in the economic administration. In 1968 he returned to Latvia and worked as a white-collar and then a blue-collar worker in a Riga factory. In 1971 he signed a “Letter of 17 Latvian Communists” in protest against Russian colonization and the cultural Russification of Latvia. The letter was published in the West. Removed from the party, Berklavs was harassed by the KGB. On 18 June 1988 he signed the founding declaration of the Latvian National Independence Movement (*Latvijas Nacionālais Neatkarības Kustība* [LNIM]) and became one of its leaders. In November 1988 he represented Latvia at the conference of Baltic activists for the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. In 1988–91 he was a member of the Council of the Latvian Popular Front, and from 1990 he was MP of the Supreme Council of the Latvian SSR. After Latvia regained independence, in 1993–95 Berklavs was MP on behalf of the LNIM. His memoirs, *Zināt un neaizmirst* (To know and not to forget), were published in 1998. (EJ)

Sources: Romuald J. Misiunas and Rein Taagepera, *The Baltic States: Years of Dependence 1940–1990* (Berkeley, 1993); Andrejs Plakans, *The Latvians: A Short History* (Stanford, 1995); *Who Is Who in Latvia 1996: Biographical Dictionary* (Riga, 1996); Jurijs Dreifelds, *Latvia in Transition* (Cambridge, 1996); Andrejs Plakans, *Historical Dictionary of Latvia* (Lanham, Md., 1997); *Policy of Occupation Powers in Latvia, 1939–1991* (Riga, 1999); Bugajski.

BERLING Zygmunt (27 April 1896, Limanowa–11 July 1980, Warsaw), Polish officer, appointed general by Stalin. From 1912 Berling was a member of the Riflemen Society. From 1914 to 1918 he was in the Polish Legions and in the Polish Auxiliary Corps, and from the end of 1918 he served in the Polish Army. Between 1918 and 1919 he took part in the Polish-Ukrainian war and then, as a battalion commander, in the Polish-Soviet war. He was decorated with the Order of Virtuti Militari. In 1925 he graduated from the Military College in Warsaw. From 1925 to 1927 he was chief of staff of the Fifteenth Infantry Division, and in 1930–32 he served as chief of staff of the command of the district of the Fifth Corps in Kraków. From 1935 to 1937 he commanded an infantry regiment of the First Infantry Division of the Legions. After a conflict with General Stefan Dąb-Biernacki Berling was transferred to the command of an infantry regiment of the Second Infantry Division of the Legions. He squandered the property of his wife and then divorced her, leaving her and their children without means of support. Because of that, in July 1939 he was dismissed from service.

During the September campaign of 1939 he was in Wilno (Vilnius). After the Soviet invasion he was interned in the Starobielsk camp. He escaped the fate of the majority of Starobielsk prisoners—that is, transport to Kharkiv and death at the hands of the NKVD—and he was relocated in the Gryazovets camp. There he expressed a wish to cooperate with the USSR authorities without any political conditions. In November 1940 he was transferred to Malakhovka (the “villa of happiness”), where along with a couple of Polish officers he embarked on a project to organize a Polish division. After the signing of the Polish-Soviet treaty of July 1941 he became chief of staff of the Fifth Infantry Division of the Polish Army, commanded by General **Władysław Anders**, and later commander of the evacuation base in Krasnovodsk. In September 1942, after the evacuation of the army, Berling willingly stayed in the USSR, and until May 1943 he was at the disposal of the Soviet authorities. He was co-founder and activist of the Union of Polish Patriots (Związek Patriotów Polskich). From May 1943 he was an organizer and commander (until November 1943) of the First Tadeusz Kościuszko Infantry Division, which he commanded during the battle at Lenino. In August 1943 he was appointed general by the Kremlin, and he commanded the First Corps of the Polish Military Forces in the USSR. From May to July 1944 he was commander-in-chief and from July to October 1944 deputy commander-in-chief of the Polish Army in the USSR, commanding the First Polish Army both in the battles at Dęblin and Puławy, at Magnuszew bridgehead, and in the fights for Warsaw bridgeheads. Because of his

attempt to come to the aid of the insurgents in Warsaw, Berling was dismissed from his position by the Soviet command and transferred to the post of deputy head of the defense department of the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN).

In 1944–47 Berling was MP to the National Home Council (Krajowa Rada Narodowa [KRN]). After a conflict with leaders of the Polish Workers’ Party (PPR) and the PKWN, whom he denounced to the Kremlin as “Trotskyists,” he was permanently dismissed from command of the troops. From January 1945 to February 1947 he studied at the Kliment Voroshilov Academy of the General Staff in Moscow. In 1947–48 he was a co-organizer, and from 1948 to 1953 commander, of the Academy of the General Staff at Rembertów. He retired in 1953. Between 1953 and 1956 he was undersecretary of state in the Ministry of State Farms and then in the Ministry of Agriculture in 1956–57. From 1957 to 1970 he was inspector general of hunting, and from 1963, a member of the Polish United Workers’ Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza [PUWP]). He was the author of the three-volume *Wspomnienia* (Memoirs; 1990–91). He was considered a hero by former soldiers of the Polish Army in the USSR while regarded a traitor by other soldiers. (WD)

Sources: Jan Nowak, “Sprawa Generała Berlinga,” *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 1976, no. 37; A. Topol, *Zygmunt Henryk Berling 1896–1980* (Katowice, 1990); Stanisław Jaczyński, *Zygmunt Berling* (Warsaw, 1993); Daniel Bargielowski, *Konterfekt renegata* (Warsaw, 1996); *Wielka Internetowa Encyklopedia Multimedialna wiem.onet.pl*; Stanisław Dronicz, *Wojsko i politycy* (Warsaw, 2001).

BERMAN Jakub (23 October 1901, Warsaw–10 April 1984, Łomża), Polish Communist activist. Born into a Jewish middle-class family, in 1925 Berman graduated in law from Warsaw University. In 1924 he became a member of the Communist Union of Youth, and in 1928 he joined the Communist Party of Poland (Komunistyczna Partia Polski [KPP]). In 1938 the KPP was dissolved by the Comintern and its leaders in the USSR were killed on the pretext of having succumbed to the influence of Polish intelligence. The same year Berman, on behalf of the Comintern, took part, along with **Stanisław Radkiewicz**, in the liquidation of KPP units in Poland. In September 1939 Berman headed east. In spring 1941 he edited an organ of the Communist Party in Belorussia, and between November 1941 and May 1943 he ran a Polish course in a Comintern school in Kushnarenkovo, where he educated cadres for the Polish Workers’ Party (PPR). From December 1943 he was secretary of the Home Department of the Union of Polish Patriots (Związek Patriotów Polskich). He co-founded the Central Bureau of Polish Communists in the USSR. As he

enjoyed the trust of the Kremlin, Berman became a member of the top leadership of the bureau and was responsible for contact with Communists in occupied Poland, as well as for preparing members of the initiative groups of the PPR that were deployed in occupied Poland.

From August 1944 Berman was formally in the PPR, and from the start he was made a member of the Central Committee (CC) and the Politburo of the party. In the party leadership he represented a strict pro-Moscow “internationalist” wing. From 1944 to 1945 he was deputy head of the foreign department of the Polish Committee of National Liberation (Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego [PKWN]) and deputy minister of foreign affairs of the provisional government. From 1945 to 1952 he was undersecretary of state in the Presidium of the Council of Ministers and a member of the Presidium of the Government. He played a key role in government structures, but he was not formally appointed deputy prime minister until 1954. From 1944 to 1946 he was a member of the National Home Council (Krajowa Rada Narodowa [KRN]) and from 1947, an MP. From December 1948 he was a member of the CC of the Polish United Workers’ Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza [PUWP]) and its Politburo. In 1948–54 he was a member of the CC Secretariat, and between February 1949 and 1954 he was a member of the Public Security Commission of the Politburo.

Along with **Bolesław Bierut**, **Hilary Minc**, and **Roman Zambrowski**, Berman belonged to the top leadership of Stalinist Poland. He was in charge of public security, foreign policy, education, ideology, propaganda, and culture. On behalf of the party he monitored the security apparatus, and because of his position, he was co-responsible for its crimes. In accord with a decision of the Politburo in August 1945 he organized a series of show trials of pro-independence activists. Many of these trials ended in death sentences, as it was alleged, according to Berman’s horrendous testimony, that the Home Army (Armia Krajowa [AK]) had collaborated with the Gestapo during the Nazi occupation. Berman considered propaganda and culture important parts of the arsenal of “class struggle.” For example, in 1947 he held a special conference with intellectuals who were linked to the PPR. At the conference he outlined the propaganda tasks for scholars and artists. He took an active part in the suppression of the Polish Peasant Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe [PSL]) between 1945 and 1947. At the Sixth Plenum of the CC of the PPR in August and September 1948 he was one of the main architects of the dismissal of **Władysław Gomułka** from the party leadership. Along with Bierut and Minc, he initiated investigations that were aimed at bringing about

the trial of Gomułka. As a result of these activities, the Ministry of Public Security and the Information Service of the Polish Army arrested and tortured hundreds of people, and a dozen or so were sentenced to death.

Berman’s position weakened at the beginning of the 1950s as an anti-Semitic wave began to spread in the USSR. In May 1956 he was forced to resign from the Politburo, and at the Seventh Plenum of the CC of the PUWP in July 1956 he was sharply attacked by (among others) **Mieczysław Moczar**. Although at the Eighth Plenum of the CC of the PUWP on 21 October 1956 he undertook a self-criticism, he was dismissed from the CC, and in 1957 he was expelled from the PUWP for “lack of alertness.” The Ninth Plenum of the CC of the PUWP issued a resolution on the party responsibility of functionaries of the Ministry of Public Security. In this resolution, Berman was stigmatized, along with Radkiewicz, but the main burden of blame was shifted to lower-level functionaries. Despite the attempts of Public Prosecutor General Andrzej Burda in 1957, the Politburo did not agree to prosecute Berman for his crimes in the Stalinist period. Until 1968 Berman worked in the publishing house *Książka i Wiedza*, and then he retired. During martial law Berman came back into the public light, and in December 1983 he was decorated with the medal of the KRN. He left memoirs that are kept in the Archive of New Records (Archiwum Akt Nowych) in Warsaw. (PK)

Sources: *Moldawa; Słownik polityków polskich XX w.* (Poznań, 1998); Zbigniew Błażyński, *Mówi Józef Światło: Za kulisami bezpieki i partii* (London, 1985); Marek Łatyński, *Nie paść na kolana: Szkice o opozycji lat czterdziestych* (Warsaw, 1987); Krystyna Kersten, *Narodziny systemu władzy: Polska 1943–1948* (Poznań, 1990); Stanisław Marat and Jacek Snopkiewicz, *Ludzie bezpieki* (Warsaw, 1990); Teresa Torañska, *Oni* (Warsaw, 1990); Jerzy Poksiński, “TUN”—*Tatar-Utmik-Nowicki: Represje wobec oficerów Wojska Polskiego w latach 1949–1956* (Warsaw, 1992); Andrzej Werblan, *Stalinizm w Polsce* (Warsaw, 1993).

BERON Petyr (14 March 1940, Sofia), Bulgarian politician. The grandson of one of the nineteenth-century pioneers of the Bulgarian national revival, Beron studied biology at the University of Sofia. After studies in France, he returned to Bulgaria and received a Ph.D. in 1975. Later he worked in the Institute of Biology of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and was director of the Museum of Natural Sciences in Sofia. In April 1989 he joined Ekoglasnost, and on behalf of this organization he became secretary of the Union of Democratic Forces (Sayuz na Demokratichnite Sili [UDF]). During round-table talks in 1990 he decided to support the reformation government of **Andrey Lukanov** as a “lesser evil.” Beron was perceived as a representative of the nationalist fac-

tion of the UDF and one of the key persons responsible for rejecting a motion to accept the (Muslim) Movement for Rights and Freedoms of **Ahmed Dogan** into the UDF. After the parliamentary elections of June 1990, Beron won a seat in the Grand National Assembly, where he headed the UDF club. When **Zhelyu Zhelev** was elected president in August 1990, Beron became UDF chairman. In this capacity he negotiated with the post-Communist Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) on the formation of a coalition cabinet dominated by the UDF, but these talks failed. After Lukanov resigned, Beron was considered a candidate for prime minister, but the BSP objected. At this time it was revealed that Beron had been a collaborator in the Communist Ministry of Interior for twenty-one years. As a result he had to give up his position as UDF chairman and head of its parliamentary club in December 1990. In April 1991, after a split in the UDF owing to a conflict on de-communization and dates for elections, Beron, along with some radical activists, left the UDF and founded a rightist bloc. In 1992 he ran for vice-president. When he lost, he returned to his job in the Museum of Natural Sciences in Sofia. (AG)

Sources: *Koy koy e v Bulgariya* (Sofia, 1998); Raymond Detrez, *Historical Dictionary of Bulgaria* (Lanham, Md., 1997); Jerzy Jackowicz, *Bulgaria od rządów komunistycznych do demokracji parlamentarnej 1988–1991* (Warsaw, 1999); www.omda.bg/engl/personalia/beron_engl.htm.

BEROV Luben (6 October 1925, Sofia), Bulgarian historian and politician. Berov graduated in economics at the University of Sofia in 1949. From 1950 to 1962 he worked as an assistant professor at the Higher Institute of Economics (HIE) in Sofia. Gradually advancing, he received a Ph.D.; in 1971 he became professor, and in 1976 he was given a postdoctoral degree in economics. He held a chair in economic history and was deputy dean and dean in the HIE and professor in the Institute of Balkan Studies of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. In 1990–92 he was adviser to President **Zhelyu Zhelev** on economic affairs. From 30 December 1992 to 17 October 1994 Berov was prime minister and (until June 1993) minister of foreign affairs. His government, composed of experts, faced great difficulties without a stable parliamentary majority, but it functioned thanks to the support of the (Turkish) Movement for Rights and Freedoms and the post-Communist Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). The government was opposed by the Union of Democratic Forces faction of **Filip Dimitrov** and, at the end, by President Zhelev. The opposition accused the Berov government of hampering institutional reforms and personnel changes. The state administration malfunctioned; there was growing crime,

financial pyramids, and a banking crisis. In March 1994 Berov had a heart attack and was hospitalized for a month. When he lost the support of the BSP, on 2 September 1994 his government resigned but continued operation until a new one was formed. In 1995 Berov became chairman of the Agricultural Credit Center and a member of the Presidium of the Open Society Foundation. He authored many works, including the following: *Ikonomicheskoto razvitye na Bulgariya prez vekovete* (Economic development of Bulgaria through the centuries; 1974); *Dvizhenye na tsenite na Balkanite prez XVI–XIX v.* (Price changes in the Balkans in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries; 1976); *Razvityeto na industriyata w Bulgariya 1884–1947 g.* (Development of industry in Bulgaria, 1884–1947; 1989); *Stopanska istorija* (Economic history; 1994); and *Istoriya na sveta* (World history; 1996). (JJ)

Sources: *Entsiklopediya Bulgariya*, vol. 7 (Sofia, 1996); Raymond Detrez, *Historical Dictionary of Bulgaria* (Lanham, Md., 1997); *Koi koi e v Bulgariya* (Sofia, 1998); Tasho Tashev, *Ministrice na Bulgariya 1879–1999: Entsiklopedichen spravochnik* (Sofia, 1999); Evgeniya Kalinova and Iskra Baeva, *Bulgarskite prekhodi 1944–1999* (Sofia, 2000); Angel Tsyrafov, *Entsiklopediya. Pravitelstvata na Bulgariya. Khronologiya na politicheskiya zhivot 1879–2001* (Sofia, 2001).

BĒRZIŅŠ Alfreds (21 October 1899, Jeri, Livonia–30 November 1977, New York), Latvian politician. Bērziņš was educated in a city school in Valka. Arrested by the Bolsheviks in 1918, in 1919 he escaped from prison and volunteered for the Latvian Army. In 1919–20 he went through an officer training course in a military academy, and in 1920–21 he served as a lieutenant of infantry. Demobilized, he graduated from an evening high school and studied in the Trade Institute in Riga. He published a lot and was active in youth organizations. From 1926 he was a member of the Agrarian paramilitary organization Aizsargi, and later he was its instructor and head of a department in its headquarters. In 1931 he was elected MP on behalf of the Latvian Agrarian Union (Latviešu Zarnieku Sanienība [LAU]). Along with **Kārlis Ulmanis** and **Janis Balodis**, he belonged to a close circle of organizers of the coup of 15 May 1934, after which he became deputy minister of interior and, from April 1937, minister of social affairs. After the Soviet invasion of June 1940 he was the only member of the government who managed to escape through Estonia and Finland to Sweden, while the NKVD deported his whole family. In exile he resumed activities aimed at restoring the independence of Latvia. Arrested by the Gestapo in Berlin in early 1941 while returning to Sweden from Switzerland, where he had conferred with Latvian ambassadors and ministers, he was sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Released

in November 1943, he was forced to stay in Berlin under police surveillance. At the end of the war he was released from a displaced persons camp, and he worked in Latvian émigré organizations and published a lot.

In 1950 Bērziņš he left for the United States. He settled in New York, where he took an active part in émigré organizations. He edited the periodicals *Latvijas Brīvībai* (1952–60), *The Baltic Review* (1953–61), *La Revue Baltique* (1954–61), *Zemnieku Vienība* (1954–62) and *Revista Baltica* (1957–67). He published (among other works) *Atmiņas par Kārli Ulmani* (Memoirs on Kārlis Ulmanis; 1947); *I Saw Vishinsky Bolshevice Latvia* (1948); *Kārlis Ulmanis* (1952); *Labie gadi* (Good years; 1963); *The Unpunished Crime* (1963); *The Two Faces of Coexistence* (1967); *Tāls ir ceļš atpakaļ uz mājām* (It is a long way back home; 1971); *Kārlis Ulmanis: Cilvēks un valstsvīrs* (Kārlis Ulmanis: A man and a statesman; 1973); *1939* (1976); and several concise works on independent Latvia and Soviet occupation published in English, French, Spanish, Arabic, and Armenian. (EJ)

Sources: *Es viņu pazīstu* (Riga, 1939); *Kadets*, 1939, no. 1; *Latvju enciklopēdija*, vol. 1; *Enciklopēdiskā vārdnīca*, vol. 1 (Riga, 1991); Andrejs Plakans, *Historical Dictionary of Latvia* (Lanham, Md., 1997).

BĒRZIŅŠ Jānis [originally Peteris Kiusis] (13 November 1889, Jaunpils–29 July 1938, Moscow), Latvian Communist activist in the USSR. The son of a landless peasant, Bērziņš studied in a theological seminary, but in 1905 he joined the revolution. For some time he even fought in a detachment of “forest partisans” against the tsarist army. He was caught and sentenced to death in 1907, but owing to his young age the sentence was commuted, and after two years he was released. In 1911 he was arrested again for his revolutionary activities, and he was sent to Siberia. He escaped from exile and returned to Latvia in 1914. In 1915 he was recruited to the Russian Army and took part in the February 1917 revolution. In November 1917, during the Bolshevik coup, he commanded the Kremlin Guard in its attack on the Winter Palace in Petrograd. In 1918 he took the leadership of the People’s Commissariat of Interior of the Bolshevik government of Latvia. After the collapse of the Latvian revolution, he returned to Petrograd and served in the Red Army. In November 1920 he was appointed head of the Cheka special section in the Fifth Army, and in December 1920 he started his career in military intelligence. For his role in the suppression of the Kronstadt Revolt, in April 1921 he was promoted to director of the Third Bureau of the Chief Intelligence Administration (Gławnoje Razwiediwatielnoje Uprawlenie [GRU]). In March 1924 he became head of intelligence of the Red

Army, with the rank of general. He supervised many intelligence operations against true and alleged enemies of the USSR. Frequently these were liquidation operations. In October 1935 he decided to resign and became deputy commander of the Far East Army. From 1936, as “General Grishin,” he headed a Soviet mission supervising the International Brigades during the Spanish Civil War. In June 1937 he returned to the Soviet Union and resumed the position of head of Red Army intelligence. Accused by his superior, Kliment Voroshilov, of espionage for the Third Reich, he was arrested at the end of 1937, sentenced to death, and executed. (WR)

Sources: *MERSH*, vol. 4; *Latvijas PSR Maza Enciklopēdija*, vol. 1 (Riga, 1967); D. J. Dallin, *Soviet Espionage* (New Haven, 1955); Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror* (New York, 1968); Boris Levytskyj, *The Stalinist Terror in the Thirties* (Stanford, 1974); Burnett Bolloten, *The Spanish Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979); Pierre de Villemarest, *GRU: Le plus secret des services soviétiques, 1918–1988* (Paris, 1988).

BETHLEN István (8 October 1874, Gernyeszeg, Transylvania–5 October 1946, Moscow), Hungarian politician. Bethlen graduated in law from Budapest University. From 1901 to 1939, with a short break in 1919–20, he was MP. He represented a traditional conservatism, opposing all kinds of extremism. During World War I he served in the army. Realizing the inevitability of national separatisms in the Kingdom of Hungary, at the end of the war he began to be inclined toward the **Oszkár Jászi** idea of a federal system based on the equal rights of all the nationalities of the Habsburg monarchy. In the fall of 1918 he sharply criticized the liberal republican government of **Mihály Károlyi**, mostly for its plans for land reform and for its foreign policy.

After the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic (HSR), in April 1919 Bethlen was one of the key organizers of the Anti-Bolshevik Committee in Vienna, uniting conservative and Christian National politicians with Admiral **Miklós Horthy**, **Pál Teleki**, and **Gyula Gömbös**. After the collapse of the HSR in August 1919 Bethlen opposed both a military dictatorship and a restoration of Habsburg rule. He saw the best chance for political consolidation in Hungary in a provisional system of a kingdom without a king, with Regent Horthy at the helm. Bethlen won wide support for this idea, including the support of most Hungarian Jews, which was particularly important in view of nationalist accusations that the Jews had supported the HSR. Bethlen was most instrumental in consolidating Hungary after the shock of the revolution and the Treaty of Trianon, to which he was a signatory on 4 June 1920 and by which Hungary lost two-thirds of

its prewar territory, while every third Hungarian was left outside the new state. In the elections of January 1920 the Christian National Unity Party (Keresztény Nemzeti Egyesülés Partja [KNEP]), led by Bethlen, won 35 percent of the vote and was runner-up to the Smallholders and Agrarian Laborers' Party (Országos Kisgazda és Földműves Párt [OKFP]), which won 40 percent of the vote.

On 14 April 1921 Bethlen became prime minister. He strove for domestic consolidation and the strengthening of the Christian National government. In October 1921, during a second attempt by Charles IV Habsburg to recover the throne of Hungary, Bethlen fiercely opposed him, and, although he was a royalist, on 6 November 1921 he forced through a law dethroning the Habsburgs. In December 1921 he reached a secret agreement with the Social Democratic leader **Károly Peyer** that led to the legalization of the Social Democratic Party as an opposition, though loyal, party. On 22 February 1922 Bethlen renewed and extended an agreement between the KNEP and the OKFP that led to their merger into the government Unity Party (Egységes Párt). The agreement included the consent of the conservatives to a land reform and of the populists to limit voting rights. In March 1922 Bethlen changed the electoral law and—with the exception of Budapest and a few large towns—he restored open elections, which helped the government party win a parliamentary majority in subsequent elections. In 1923 he dismissed a group of Gömbös nationalists from the ruling party. In 1926 he promoted the creation of the Upper House, which replaced the House of Lords, abolished in 1918.

In domestic policy Bethlen tried to maintain a balance between the restriction and the neutralization of opposition groups. He made a concession to the extreme right and the populists when he decided to retain the *numerus clausus* principle in relation to Jewish students (1920–28). In the mid-1920s his government achieved economic stability. In 1924 he managed to obtain a significant loan from the League of Nations. Through a tax increase he managed to balance the budget, and in 1927 he introduced a new currency, the pengő. In foreign policy he strove for the revision of the Treaty of Trianon, the restoration of a modernized but historical Kingdom of Hungary, and a reduction in the German and Soviet danger. In 1927 he weakened the encirclement of Hungary by the Little Entente by means of a treaty of friendship with Italy. He understood that to revise the Treaty of Trianon Hungary would need German support, but he first tried to improve relations with Western powers such as Great Britain. He was temporarily minister of treasury (1921), foreign affairs (1924), agriculture (1924), and justice (1924 and 1929). Ten years of his government strengthened the authoritarian

nature of the political system, with elements of democracy, such as a relatively free press and trade unions and with an elected parliament. This system was also against extreme nationalism.

Owing to a political crisis caused by the Great Depression, on 19 August 1931 Bethlen resigned. As one of the most influential aides of Regent Horthy and until 1935 leader of the government party, he still played a key political role. In 1935 he left the Unity Party in protest against the pro-Fascist policy of Prime Minister Gömbös, and until 1945 he was the leader of the so-called defense of the constitution, opposing extremist tendencies. He was also the leader of a pro-British group of Hungarian politicians. In February 1939 he contributed to the resignation of a pro-German prime minister, **Béla Imrédy**, and supported the foreign policy of the Teleki government. He did not run in the elections of 1939, but in May 1939 Horthy appointed him a member of the Upper House for life.

In April 1941, during the German invasion of Yugoslavia, Bethlen appealed to the government of **László Bárdossy** to stay out of the conflict. He did not agree to a one-sided pro-German orientation and was against breaking off contacts with the Western powers. He thought it a grave mistake for Hungary to declare war on the USSR, Great Britain, and the United States and tried to convince Horthy to change this line. In 1943–44 he attempted to reconcile with the Anglo-Saxon powers and to conclude a separate peace treaty with them. In order to unite anti-German forces, in 1943 he founded the Hungarian National Circle. He also condemned anti-Jewish legislation. When Germany occupied Hungary on 19 March 1944, he went into hiding in the countryside. Despite Gestapo efforts to arrest him, he maintained contact with Regent Horthy. In June 1944 he appealed to Horthy to appoint a government that could restore Hungary's sovereignty. He urged the establishment of contacts with the USSR and the conclusion of an armistice. In his plans for an armistice and for the creation of a provisional government, Horthy saw a leading role for Bethlen. Nevertheless, when the Arrow Cross took over power in October 1944, Bethlen had to go into hiding again. In early December 1944 he reported to one of the Soviet commanders, counting on an agreement with the Kremlin. He was first kept under house arrest, but when he refused to cooperate with the Communists, in April 1945 he was transferred to Moscow, where he died in the Butyrki Prison hospital. In June 1994 his ashes were returned to Hungary. (JT)

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; *Magyar Nagylexikon*, vol. 3 (Budapest, 1994); *Nagy Képes Milleniumi Arcképcsarnok* (Budapest, 1999); *Új Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 2001); *Magyarország 1944–1956*, CD-ROM (Budapest, 2001);

Bethlen István beszédei és írásai, vols. 1–2 (Budapest, 1933); C. A. Macartney, *October Fifteenth: A History of Modern Hungary*, vols. 1–2 (Edinburgh, 1957–1961); William M. Batkay, *Authoritarian Politics in a Transitional State: Istvan Bethlen and the United Party in Hungary, 1919–1926* (Boulder, Colo., 1982); Ignac Romcsics, *Bethlen István: Politikai életrajz* (Budapest, 1991); Steven Béla Varga, *Historical Dictionary of Hungary* (Lanham, Md., 1997).

BIADULA Zmitrok [originally Samuil Plaunik] (23 November 1886, Posadets, near Vileika–3 November 1941, Uralsk), Belorussian writer. The son of a Jewish leaseholder (*arendar*), Biadula was educated at a rabbinical school, and then he worked as a tutor. In 1912 he moved to Wilno (Vilnius), where he established ties with Belorussian activists. He worked in the editorial offices of *Nasha Niva*, where he published poems, feature articles, and short literary essays. He also contributed to the conservative magazine *Byelarus*. The first collection of his lyrical miniatures written in prose, *Abrazki* (Pictures), appeared in 1913 from the St. Petersburg Belorussian publishing house *Zahlanie Sontsa i u Nashava Kontsa* (The Sun Will Also Shine in Our Window). In this collection, nature and peasants were the main motifs. In his stories he idealized the peasant community, depicting its ethical values, inborn sense of justice, and capacity for deep spirituality. Against this background he presented the picture of a degenerate nobility and middle-class society. In 1915 he went to Minsk, where he participated in the work of the Belorussian Relief Committee for War Victims. In 1917 he took part in all the most significant events that led to the creation of the Belorussian People's Republic. He attended the First All-Belorussian Congress and participated in the work of the Belorussian Military Committee. In 1919 he accepted the idea of Belorussian Soviet statehood. He appealed to Belorussian Jews to join in the work for the economic and political revival of Belorussia. In 1919 he published *Zhydy na Bielarusi* (Jews in Belorussia). He was one of the most widely read writers in the Belorussian SSR, but he became popular only after his death in the postwar period, when his works were published in large print runs. His most important works include *Pad rodnym niebam* (Under our native sky; 1922); *Deliehatka* (Woman delegate; 1928); *Salaviei* (Nightingale; 1928); *Try paltsy* (Three fingers; 1930); *Yazep Krushynski* (1929–1932); *Niezvychainyia historyi* (Not ordinary stories; 1931); and *Na pradoptanykh stezhkhakh* (On trodden paths; 1940). In 1985 *Zbor tvorau u piatsi tamakh* (Collected works in five volumes) was published. (EM)

Sources: *Bielaruskiya pis'mienniki (1917–1990): Daviednik* (Minsk, 1994); I. Navumienka, *Zmitrok Biadula* (Minsk, 1995); Jan Zaprudnik, *Historical Dictionary of Belarus* (Lanham, Md., 1998); *Wielka Encyklopedia PWN*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 2001).

BIBÓ István (7 August 1911, Budapest–10 May 1979, Budapest), Hungarian politician, lawyer, and political scientist. The son of an ethnologist and director of the University Library in Szeged, Bibó attended the local Piarist gymnasium and from 1929 studied law at the university in Szeged. He established close contacts with **Ferenc Erdei**, one of the outstanding representatives of peasant writers. In 1933–35 he was on state scholarships in Vienna and Geneva. From November 1938 he worked in the Ministry of Justice. In 1937 he was the co-author of a programmatic declaration of the March Front, which aimed at the development of the Hungarian countryside. In the summer of 1944 he formulated the Peace Proposal (*Békeajánlat*) between the working class and the middle class. During the German occupation Bibó used his post in the ministry to save many Jews by issuing safe conduct permits for them. Because of this, on 16 October 1944 he was arrested by the Arrow Cross Party. After a few days he was released and went into opposition.

In February 1945, at Erdei's request, Bibó started working in the Ministry of Interior under the Provisional National Government. Between March 1945 and July 1946 he directed the administrative department of the Ministry of Interior and worked on the reform of the county (*comitat*) system. Between July 1945 and October 1946 he represented the National Peasant Party in the Committee on Legal Reform, where he helped to prepare changes in the electoral law. In October 1945 his article, "A magyar demokrácia válsága" (The crisis of Hungarian democracy), was published, stimulating much debate. The next year his analytical studies were issued—for example, *A kelet-európai kisállamok nyomorúsága* (The misery of small East European nations; 1946) and *Zsidókérdés Magyarországon 1944 után* (The Jewish question in Hungary after 1944.). From 1946 to 1950 Bibó was a professor at Szeged University, and from July 1946, a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; between 1946 and 1949 he was professor at the East European Research Institute, and then he became the director of the institute. In 1950 he was removed from all his posts and went to work as a librarian at the University Library in Budapest.

During the revolution of 1956 Bibó took part in the reorganization of the National Peasant Party, which on 3 November appointed him minister without portfolio in the coalition government of **Imre Nagy**. On 4 November, along with **Zoltán Tildy**, Bibó conducted talks with the commander of the Soviet units, which had seized the parliament building. After that he formulated a manifesto to the people. On 6 November he published the text, "Tervezet a magyar kérdés megoldására" (The project of a compromise solution to the Hungarian question), and then

he left the parliament. On 12 November he was officially dismissed from his post by the head of the Presidential Council, **István Dobi**. At the beginning of 1957 Bibó wrote a study, *Magyarország és a világhelyzet* (Hungary and the world situation), which was sent abroad and published in London. In May 1957 he was arrested, and on 2 August 1958 the Supreme Court sentenced him to life imprisonment. Released under an amnesty in 1963, Bibó worked in the library of the Central Statistical Office in Budapest until 1971. During his retirement he edited his works, undertook translations, and published minor works. In 1976 in London, without the assent of the Hungarian authorities, his work *Paralysis of International Institutions and the Remedies* was published in English. Bibó's funeral became an opportunity for the first open appearance of various currents of the opposition to the **János Kádár** regime. (JT)

Sources: *Magyar Nagylexikon* (Budapest, 1994), vol. 3; *A magyar forradalom és szabadságharc enciklopédiája*, CD-ROM (Budapest, 1999); *Nagy Képes Milleniumi Arcképcsarnok* (Budapest, 1999).

BIELECKI Jan Krzysztof (3 May 1951, Bydgoszcz), Polish economist and politician. Bielecki graduated from the Higher School of Economics in Sopot in 1973, where he later worked as an assistant professor. From 1975 to 1982 he worked in the Center for Training for Managers of the Ministry of Metallurgy and the Machine-Building Industry in Gdańsk. From 1980 he belonged to Solidarity, and worked in the Social and Professional Center for the Dansk region. From the end of 1981 he was its director. Removed from there in 1982, he ran a handicraft workshop and later was co-owner and driver of a truck. In 1985–89 he was co-founder and worker in a cooperative, Doradca (Adviser), employing several dozen experts deprived of jobs during martial law. From the end of 1981 he was active in the Solidarity underground in Gdańsk; from 1984 he was a liaison of the Gdańsk regional management with the Provisional Coordinating Commission. In 1988 he co-founded the Liberal Congress in Gdańsk. In the elections of June 1989 he won a parliamentary seat, and he joined the Civic Parliamentary Club. From February 1990 he was a member of the Presidium of the Liberal-Democratic Congress (Kongres Liberalno-Demokratyczn [KLD]), and he co-organized the presidential campaign of **Lech Wałęsa**. After Wałęsa's victory, from 4 January 1990 to 5 December 1991 Bielecki was prime minister. He continued the policies of his predecessor, **Tadeusz Mazowiecki**, paying special attention to the economic transformation and rapprochement of Poland with the West. In 1991–93 he presided over the KLD Political Council, and from March

to September 1992, over the KLD parliamentary club; from November 1993 to April 1994 he was vice-president of the KLD National Board. After the merger of the KLD with the Democratic Union, he was a member of the Union of Freedom (Unia Wolności) until 2001. In the government of **Hanna Suchocka** he was minister responsible for contacts with the European Economic Community from July 1992 to October 1993. From December 1993 he was Polish representative to the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development, and from 2003, chairman of one of the largest Polish banks, the PeKaO SA. (AF)

Sources: *Nasi w Sejmie i Senacie* (Warsaw, 1990); Teresa Torańska, *My* (Warsaw, 1994); Janusz A. Majcherek, *Pierwsza dekada III Rzeczypospolitej 1989–1999* (Warsaw, 1999); Antoni Dudek, *Pierwsze lata III Rzeczypospolitej 1989–2001* (Kraków, 2002).

BIELECKI Tadeusz (30 January 1901, Słupia, near Kielce–5 February 1982, London), Polish politician and lawyer. Bielecki graduated from the Department of Philosophy of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków and received a Ph.D. there. He subsequently belonged to various organizations of the National Democratic movement. In 1924–27 he belonged to the National League, then to the Camp of Great Poland (Obóz Wielkiej Polski [OWP]) and the National Party (Stronnictwo Narodowe [SN]). For some time he was the personal secretary of **Roman Dmowski**, and, having gained his trust, after the dissolution of the OWP in 1933 he became head of the SN Department of Organization and one of the leaders of the so-called faction of the young in the party's leadership. From 1928 he was secretary of the headquarters of the secret National Guard and member of the SN informal leaderships, the so-called seven and nine. From 1935 he was vice-president of the SN Supreme Board for organization, and, in view of the ailing health of Dmowski, he gradually took over the party leadership. After Dmowski's death, in June 1939 Bielecki became president of the SN Supreme Board. In 1930–35 he was MP, and in 1938–39, a member of the Warsaw City Council.

After the September 1939 disaster, Bielecki escaped to France and later to Great Britain, where he was active as chairman of the SN Political Committee, chairman of the National Democratic Foreign Committee (1942–45), and (until 1968) chairman of the SN Executive Committee. He belonged to the émigré National Council of the Polish Republic, and he was its vice-president from 1940–41. He remained in opposition to the governments of General **Władysław Sikorski** and **Stanisław Mikołajczyk**. He was particularly critical of concessions concerning Poland's eastern frontiers and the provisions of the Yalta Conference

on Poland. In 1947 he supported the takeover by President **August Zaleski**, but afterwards he went into opposition against his rule. He belonged to the founders of the Political Council, an union of parties opposing Zaleski, and he belonged to the council until 1954. An active participant in the talks held by General **Kazimierz Sosnkowski** on the unification of political émigrés, on 14 March 1954 Bielecki was among the signatories of the Unification Act, which, however, was rejected by the followers of Zaleski. From 1954 to 1971 Bielecki was chairman of the Provisional Council of National Unity and then of the Council of National Unity. From 1979 to 1981 he chaired the Council of the Roman Dmowski Institute in London. In 1984 he published *W szkole Dmowskiego: Szkice i wspomnienia* (In Roman Dmowski's school: Essays and memoirs; 1968). (PK)

Sources: Roman Wapiński, *Narodowa Demokracja 1893–1939* (Wrocław, 1980); *Kto był kim w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1994); Andrzej Albert [Wojciech Roszkowski], *Najnowsza historia Polski 1914–1993*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1995); Andrzej Friszke, *Życie polityczne emigracji* (Warsaw, 1999); Stanisław Kilian, *Myśl społeczno-polityczna Tadeusza Bieleckiego* (Kraków, 2000).

BIELINIS Jurgis (16 March 1846, Purviškiai–18 January 1918, Vilnius [Wilno]), Lithuanian independence activist, famous smuggler of books. Born into a peasant family, Bielinis graduated from a German primary school in Riga. From 1873 he took part in secret anti-tsarist activities. When in 1864 Russian authorities banned the publication of Lithuanian in Latin characters, many Lithuanian activists antedated their publications or published them in so-called Little Lithuania in German East Prussia. Then these books and leaflets were smuggled across the Russian border into Lithuania. Bielinis was one of the main organizers of the network of smugglers (*knygnešiai*, or book carriers), first in cooperation with the Samogetian bishop Motiejus Valančius and then on his own. The center of these operations was in the village of Garšviai in Panevežys county. Bielinis once said that he would not die until “the Muscovites got out of Lithuania.” In fact he died soon after the Germans occupied Lithuania and a month before the Lithuanian declaration of independence. (WR)

Sources: *EL*, vol. 1; Petras Ruseckas, *Knygnešys*, vols. 1–2 (Kaunas, 1925–1928); Jerzy Ochmański, *Litewski ruch narodowo-kulturalny w XIX wieku* (Białystok, 1965).

BIEŃ Adam, pseudonyms “Alfa,” “Witold Bronowski,” and “Walkowicz” (14 December 1899, Ossala, near Połaniec on the Vistula–4 March 1998, Warsaw), Polish politician, lawyer, and journalist. From 1914 to 1917

Bień was a member of secret scouts in Sandomierz. He took part in the liberation of Sandomierz from the Austrians. From 1919 he was a member of the Central Union of Rural Youth (Centralny Związek Młodzieży Wiejskiej [CZMW]). After high school, he fought as a volunteer in the Polish-Soviet war. In 1925 he graduated in law from Warsaw University. Next, he underwent a two-year legal training and worked in the judiciary. In 1925–35 he was president of the Mazovian Association of Folk Theaters and co-author of the book *Teatry ludowe w Polsce* (Folk theaters in Poland; 1928). He also co-founded the Institute of Folk Theaters. In 1928 he co-organized the Union of Rural Youth of the Republic of Poland, called Wici (Związek Młodzieży Wiejskiej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej Wici). At first he was vice-president, and in 1929–31, president of its Main Board. He exerted a decisive influence on the elaboration of the ideological principles of Wici. In 1921–31 he was a member of the Polish Peasant Party Liberation (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe Wyzwolenie). He began underground activities during World War II in an attack on a train near Staszów that had been organized by partisans from a group called Jędrusie. In the spring of 1940 he joined the underground Peasant Party Roch (SL Roch). From 1941 to 1943 he presided over the Legal Commission of the Central Leadership of the Peasant Movement. From May 1944 he was minister of justice and member of the Home Council of Ministers of the Polish Government in London. He also served as first deputy to Vice-Premier **Jan Stanisław Jankowski**. Bień belonged to the civil command of the Warsaw Uprising, and after its fall, to an underground military and political organization called Niepodległość (Independence [NIE]). He contributed to underground newspapers of the peasant movement.

On 28 March 1945 Bień was arrested by the NKVD, and in June of that year, following the Trial of the Sixteen in Moscow, he was sentenced to five years. He served most of his sentence in Lubyanka Prison. After his return to Poland in 1949 he was not allowed to work as a judge until 1953; instead he translated Russian literature for the People's Publishing Cooperative. In 1953–73 he worked as defense attorney in Przasnysz. In 1974 he retired and settled in his native Ossala. He was the author of the memoirs *Więźniowie Moskwy* (Prisoners of Moscow; 1987); *Wyprawa moskiewska* (Moscow expedition; 1989); *Bóg wyżej—dom dalej, 1939–1949* (God higher, home further, 1939–1949; 1991); and *Listy z Łubianki* (Letters from Lubyanka; 1997), for which he received many awards. He was also involved in political journalism, articles of which appeared in uncensored publications in Poland and

abroad. In 1987 he was signatory to the founding document of the Independent Peasant Movement Solidarity (Niezależny Ruch Ludowy Solidarność). In 1990 he was one of the authors of an appeal to the Sejm (National Assembly) of the Republic of Poland for the establishment of the Institute of National Remembrance (Instytut Pamięci Narodowej [IPN]), and for the passing of a law condemning Stalinist crimes in Poland. The appeal was published in *Tygodnik Solidarność*. In 1994 Bień was decorated with the Order of the White Eagle. In 1995 he questioned the ethical grounds of **Aleksander Kwaśniewski**'s accession to the presidency because Kwaśniewski had made false claims in the presidential campaign that he had a university degree. According to his will, Bień was buried at a village cemetery in Niekrasów. After his death, his memoirs were published: *Bóg wysoko—dom daleko: Obrazy przeszłości 1900–1920* (God high, home far away: Pictures of the past 1900–1920; 1999). (JS)

Sources: Waldemar Grabowski, *Delegatura Rządu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na Kraj* (Warsaw, 1995); *Proces szesnastu: Dokumenty NKWD* (Warsaw, 1995); Hanna and Stanisław Bielscy, eds., *Adam Bień, Bóg dał, Bóg wziął: Dokumenty i teksty z lat 1920–1995* (Warsaw, 1997); Jacek Chrobaczyński, *Ostatni z szesnastu: Biografia polityczna Adama Bienia, 1899–1998* (Warsaw, 2000).

BIENERT Richard (5 September 1881, Prague–3 February 1949, Prague), Czech politician and police officer. From 1906 Bienert served in the Austrian police in Prague. During World War I he cooperated with the national independence movement, which was rallied around a secret committee formed by a group of famous political activists (e.g., **Karel Kramář** and **Alois Rašín**), the so-called Mafia (Maffie). In the interwar period, as the head of the Prague police, he carried out its reorganization so as to adapt it to the new political and legal situation. From 1924 to 1939 he was the vice-head and then the head of the territorial political executive in Bohemia. At the beginning of 1942 he held the portfolio of the interior minister of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, and from 19 January 1945 to 5 May 1945 he was its last prime minister. At the same time he frequently replaced the ailing president, **Emil Hácha**. In May 1945 Bienert was arrested and on 31 July 1946 sentenced by the Supreme Court to three years of prison. (PU)

Sources: *ČBS; Kdo byl kdo v našich dějinách ve 20. století*, vol. 1 (Prague, 1998); Vojtech Masny, *The Czechs under Nazi Rule* (New York and London, 1971).

BIENIASHEVICH Uladzimir (21 August 1874, Druja–27 January 1938?), Belorussian historian and paleographer. In 1897 Bieniashevich graduated in law

from Petersburg University. In 1897–1900 he studied in Berlin and Heidelberg. Until 1905 he worked in West European archives and museums, analyzing Roman and Byzantine manuscripts. In 1909 he became professor at Petersburg University. His two-volume work, *Ahliad prats pa slavianaznavstvu* (Overview of Slavic studies), was the first bibliography of Belorussian history, ethnography, literature, and language studies in Belorussia. In the 1920s he was director of the manuscript section of the Leningrad Library. In 1929 he was arrested and accused of counterrevolutionary activities. Imprisoned until 1933, when he was released as a result of the intervention of such outstanding scholars as Albert Einstein, in 1937 he was arrested again and soon shot, along with his two sons and his brother. His major works include the following: *Opisannie grecheskikh rukopisei monastyria sv. Yekatieriny na Sinaie* (Description of Greek manuscripts of St. Catherine Monastery in the Sinai, 3 vols.; 1912–1915); *Ocherki po istorii Vizantii* (Outline of Byzantine history, 4 vols.; 1912–1915); *Sinagoga v 50 titulov i drugie iuridicheskiye sborniki Joana Skholastika* (Synagogue in 50 titles and other collections of law by Joannes Scholasticus; 1914); *Sbornik pamiatnikov po istorii tserkovnogo prava, preimushchestvo russkoi tserkvi do epokhi Petra Velikogo* (Collection of relics of legal history writing in the Russian Orthodox Church prior to Peter the Great, 2 vols.; 1914–1915). (EM)

Sources: *Entsyklapedyia historyi Belarusi*, vol. 2 (Minsk, 1994).

BIEŃKOWSKI Władysław (17 March 1906, Łódź–15 April 1991, Warsaw), Polish Communist activist, sociologist, and journalist. The son of a laborer, in 1934 Bieńkowski graduated in philosophy from Warsaw University, and then he worked as a teacher in Lwów (Lviv). During the German occupation he took part in a Communist conspiracy. From 1942 he belonged to the Polish Workers' Party (Polska Partia Robotnicza [PPR]), and he closely cooperated with **Władysław Gomułka**. In December 1943 he was co-founder of the Home National Council (Krajowa Rada Narodowa). From February 1945 to September 1946 he was deputy minister of education, and then, until February 1947, head of the Department of Propaganda of the PPR Central Committee (CC), playing an important role in shaping education and cultural policies. As the result of a fraudulent election in January 1947 he became MP in the Constituent Assembly on behalf of the PPR. From September 1946 to March 1947 and from January to October 1948 he was secretary of the PWP CC, but with the decline of Gomułka's position, Bieńkowski

lost importance as well. In December 1948 he joined the Polish United Workers' Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza [PUWP]), but he was dropped from the party's CC. At the end of 1948 he was appointed director of the National Library and held this position until November 1956.

Bieńkowski returned to politics in 1956, siding with Gomułka. In Gomułka's name he talked to the imprisoned primate, Cardinal **Stefan Wyszyński**, about the latter's release. From November 1956 to October 1959 he was minister of education, and in 1957–69 he was an MP again. He took an active part in the proceedings of the political discussion group, the Crooked Circle Club. Dismissed by Gomułka along with a group of party liberals, he gradually shifted toward the opposition. The publication of his works by the émigré Literary Institute in Paris was a political sensation: *Motory i hamulce socjalizmu* (Stimulators and brakes of socialism; 1969); *Drogi wyjścia* (Ways out; 1971); and *Socjologia klęski. Dramat gomułkowskiego czternastolecia* (The sociology of defeat: The drama of Gomułka's fourteen years in power; 1971). These works kept within the limits of Marxism, but Bieńkowski advocated increased powers for the parliament, limitations on censorship, and a reduction of the state bureaucracy. In May 1970 he was expelled from the PUWP. In 1976, simultaneously with the "Letter of 101" (men of culture protesting against amendment of the constitution), Bieńkowski sent his own "Open Letter on Polish-Soviet Relations." In 1977, along with Andrzej Kijowski and **Stefan Kisielewski**, he took part in a citizens' commission auditing the Committee for the Defense of Workers (Komitet Obrony Robotników [KOR]). In a special statement of September 1977 the commission issued a positive opinion on KOR activities. In 1978 Bieńkowski co-founded the independent Society of Scholarly Courses and took an active part in its activity. In 1981 he published *Theory and Reality: The Development of the Soviet System*, and in 1988 he broke with Marxist ideology in the work *Zrozumieć społeczeństwo* (To understand the society), published in Paris. (PK)

Sources: Mołdawa; Krystyna Kersten, *Narodziny systemu władzy* (Warsaw, 1990); Andrzej Friszke, *Opozycja polityczna w PRL 1945–1980* (London, 1994); Marek Łatyński, *Nie paść na kolana: Szkice o polskiej polityce lat powojennych* (Wrocław, 2002); *Opozycja w PRL: Słownik biograficzny*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 2002).

BIERUT Bolesław (18 April 1892, Rury Jezuickie, near Lublin–12 March 1956, Moscow), Polish Communist leader. Born into a Catholic peasant family, Bierut completed five grades of primary school. He started working at fourteen, at first in construction and then as a typesetter. In

1910 he met a radical cooperative activist, Jan Hempel. Under his influence, Bierut severed his ties with religion and became close to the revolutionary left. In 1912 he joined the Polish Socialist Party-Left (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna-Lewica). After the outbreak of World War I he went into hiding in Warsaw and Lublin to avoid being drafted by the army and to continue his revolutionary activities. In December 1918 he joined the Communist Workers' Party of Poland (KPRP; as of 1925 the Communist Party of Poland [KPP]). In the fall of 1919 he left the KPRP and, along with Hempel, joined the extremely leftist Union of Workers' Consumer Associations (Związek Robotniczych Stowarzyszeń Spożywczych). In 1921 Bierut returned to the KPRP. From 1923 he was active in the party apparatus in Zagłębie Dąbrowskie, in the cooperative movement, and in the Polish Freethinkers' Society. In 1924 he was arrested for his Communist activities. Acquitted and released, he became a full-time party functionary. From May 1925 to May 1926, under the pseudonym "Jan Iwaniuk," Bierut studied at a party school in Moscow, where he underwent training in intelligence and sabotage work and where he met the majority of the KPP leadership. From 1925 to 1927 he was a member of the KPP Central Committee (CC); in 1926–27 he was head of the party's Central Technical Department, and from May 1927 he was a member of its Provisional National Secretariat. Temporarily arrested, in November 1927 Bierut again went to the USSR, where he attended the International Lenin School. Although from 1918 he was married to Janina Górczyńska, with whom he had two children, Bierut entered into a relationship with Małgorzata Fornalska and had a daughter with her.

In the faction struggle within the KPP Bierut supported the anti-Stalinist "majority," so he was "transferred" from the KPP to the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), and from 1930 he was active as an instructor in the Balkan Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. As a Comintern agent and member of the CC of the Bulgarian party, Bierut, under the pseudonym "Mikołaj," often went to Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. In July 1932 he returned to Poland, taking over the secretariat of the KPP committee in Łódź. From 1933 he served as secretary of the CC of the International Organization for Aid to Revolutionaries in Poland. He also started working in the KPP Military Department, which cooperated with Soviet intelligence. On 11 December 1933 he was arrested and sentenced to seven years for his activities against the Polish state. In December 1938 he was released under an amnesty. In 1936 the KPP CC commission for the verification of the party's top members expelled him from the party for "behavior unbecoming of a Communist" during an investigation and trial. However, while Bierut

served out his sentence, the Comintern dissolved the KPP, and the majority of its leaders were exterminated in the USSR. After his release Bierut worked in the cooperative movement.

In September 1939 Bierut went to the Polish Eastern Borderlands, which were occupied by the Red Army. From October 1939 he worked in Kowel, and between November 1939 and June 1941, at a construction project conducted by the USSR Commissariat of Transportation. In July 1940 the Control Commission of the Communist International quashed the charges that had been leveled against him by the KPP CC commission. The period between 1939 and 1943 in Bierut's life remains shrouded in mystery. Most probably, having regained the trust of the Kremlin, Bierut must have entered into closer contact with the Soviet intelligence service because after the Germans entered Minsk in June 1941, he assumed the post of deputy head of the economic and supplies department of the city board. At that time he moved in with Anastasia Kolesnikova, who bore him a daughter.

In July 1943 Bierut returned to occupied Poland. He started working in the editorial offices of *Trybuna Wolności*, an organ of the Polish Workers' Party (Polska Partia Robotnicza [PPR]), and, under the pseudonym "Bolesław Birkowski," he joined the CC of the PPR. He also often used the pseudonym "Tomasz." After the arrest of Fornalska and **Paweł FINDER**, in December 1943 Bierut became secretary of the CC of the PPR, and at the founding congress of the National Home Council (Krajowa Rada Narodowa [KRN]) on 1 January 1944, he was made its president. Already a conflict between Bierut and **Władysław Gomułka**, head of the PPR, was emerging. Gomułka wanted to formally broaden the political base of future Communist authority by including, for example, members of the Central People's Committee (Centralny Komitet Ludowy), while Bierut counted mainly on the backing of the Red Army and Soviet services. On 10 June 1944 he sent a letter to Georgi Dimitrov, head of the Comintern, accusing Gomułka of "sectarian" and "opportunistic" tendencies and suggesting a change at the head of the party. This clash allowed the Kremlin to even more tightly control the leadership of the PPR.

At the end of July 1944 PPR and KRN leaders, including Bierut, arrived in Lublin, where the Polish Committee of National Liberation (Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego [PKWN]) was installed. In addition to Gomułka, **Jakub Berman**, **Hilary Minc**, and **Aleksander Zawadzki**, Bierut became a member of the newly founded Politburo of the party. Along with the last three mentioned above, Bierut represented an extreme pro-Moscow tendency. Information about his membership in the PPR lead-

ership was not announced; he was presented as a nonparty head of the KRN. On 5 August 1944 in the Kremlin Bierut participated in talks with the prime minister of the Polish government-in-exile, **Stanisław Mikołajczyk**. Bierut pretended then that he did not know anything about the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising; in this way he wanted to make it more difficult for Mikołajczyk to use the uprising as an argument in support of the Polish cause. In the autumn of 1944 Bierut was instrumental in introducing harsher repressive measures against pro-independence forces in the territory of "Lublin Poland." These measures were employed by USSR intelligence, the NKVD, and the newly forming apparatus of the security department of the PKWN.

The day after the Red Army took the ruins of Warsaw, Bierut arrived in the capital, where on 19 January 1945, on behalf of the KRN, he received a military parade of the units of the new Polish Army. On his return from Yalta, Stalin called Bierut to Moscow and informed him about the decisions made there. Bierut became involved in propagating the Yalta agreements as the basis of the new Poland. On 21 April 1945 he was in Moscow again, where the Polish-Soviet treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation was signed. From 16 to 21 June he participated in Moscow talks that ended up in the formation of the Provisional Government of National Unity. The announcement of the creation of this government coincided with the announcement of sentences in the trials of the leaders of Underground Poland. Although Mikołajczyk joined the Provisional Government of National Unity and accepted the Yalta agreements, Bierut played a key role in the struggle to crush the Polish Peasant Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe), which enjoyed the support of the majority of Poles.

After the Communists stole the elections in January, on 5 February 1947 the Constituent Assembly elected Bierut president of Poland. In the summer of 1948 there emerged a sharp conflict in the PPR leadership. While Gomułka opposed the acceleration of collectivization and sanctions against the Yugoslav party, Bierut supported Stalin's line all the way. During his visit to the Kremlin on 15 August 1948 Bierut obtained Stalin's consent for the removal of Gomułka. At the PPR CC plenum, which started on 31 August, Bierut delivered the main speech, attacking Gomułka and bringing about his resignation. Subsequently, Bierut himself became secretary general of the PPR. After the PPR absorbed the already dependent Polish Socialist Party to form the Polish United Workers' Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza [PUWP]) in December 1948, Bierut assumed the post of first secretary of the CC of the PUWP. He led the purge in the party

apparatus and consolidated the party's strictly Stalinist leadership. He increased the number of Soviet advisers in the police and military. From May 1950 to March 1954 he was president of the Secretariat of the Organizational Bureau of the CC and then the first secretary of the CC of the PUWP. From May 1950 he was the actual head of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, and between November 1952 and March 1954, prime minister. From 1949 until his death Bierut presided over the Public Security Commission of the PUWP CC Politburo. In this role he was directly responsible for the persecution of Polish pro-independence activists. He personally supervised investigations against officers and soldiers of the Home Army and the Polish Army and against some activists of the PPR and the wartime People's Army, including Gomułka. Bierut accepted cruel methods of extorting testimony. He also led the struggle against the Catholic Church, which culminated in the arrest of Primate Stefan Wyszyński in September 1953. Bierut supported the policy of collectivization and accelerated industrialization, which brought about a sharp supply crisis in 1954–56. Between May 1951 and July 1952 Bierut presided over the Constitutional Commission. As head of state, Bierut did not use his right to grant pardons in the cases of hundreds of people unjustly sentenced to death.

Bierut built a personality cult around himself modeled on that of Stalin. After Stalin's death in March 1953 Bierut opposed changes in the government system of Poland. However, under pressure from the Kremlin's "collective leadership" and because of ferment in the PUWP linked to the revelations of Józef Światło (a high-ranking security functionary who had fled to the West), Bierut resigned as prime minister in March 1954. Then, in December of the same year, he agreed that the Ministry of Public Security be replaced with the Public Security Committee. Formally supporting the "thaw," Bierut did all he could to deter the thaw process in Poland. In February 1956 he went to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU in Moscow. During the debates he developed influenza, and after the congress his health deteriorated further. While Bierut was in Moscow, the PUWP's "active core" (i.e., the most active comrades) held a conference in Warsaw. At the meeting, the party leadership was subjected to much criticism. A few days later Bierut died in a Moscow hospital. (WR)

Sources: Mołdawa; Zbigniew Błażyński, *Mówi Józef Światło: Za kulisami bezpieki i partii* (London, 1985); Marek Łatyński, *Nie paść na kolana: Szkice o opozycji lat czterdziestych* (Warsaw, 1987); Jan Nowak, *O proces Bolesława Bieruta* (Warsaw, 1989); Krystyna Kersten, *Narodziny systemu władzy: Polska 1943–1948* (Poznań, 1990); Czesław Kozłowski, *Namiestnik Stalina* (Warsaw, 1993); Andrzej Werblan, *Stalinizm w Polsce* (Warsaw, 1993); Andrzej

Garlicki, *Bolesław Bierut* (Warsaw, 1994); *Polska-ZSRR. Struktury podległości. Dokumenty WKP(b), 1944–1948* (Warsaw, 1995); Piotr Lipiński, *Bolesław Niejasny* (Warsaw, 2001).

BIJEDIĆ Džemal (22 April 1917, Mostar–18 January 1977, Inač kod Kreševa), Bosnian Communist activist. Born into a Muslim family, Bijedić graduated from high school in Mostar and studied law at the University of Belgrade. In 1938 he joined the Union of Yugoslav Communist Youth (UYCY), and in 1939, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY). In 1940–41 he was secretary of the UYCY committee in Herzegovina. From the end of 1941 he fought with the Communist guerrillas of **Josip Broz Tito**. He was secretary of local CPY organizations in Mostar, Sarajevo, and Tuzla. From the founding congress of the Communist Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1948 he was a member of its Central Committee. In 1970 he was elected speaker of the federal National Assembly. From 30 June 1971 until his death he was president of the Federal Executive Council (government) of Yugoslavia. In this capacity he advocated rapprochement between Yugoslavia and the Arab countries, which caused tension in the southern republics of the Yugoslav federation. Bijedić was killed in a plane crash. There were unconfirmed rumors that the accident could have been the work of anti-Muslim forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina. (WR)

Sources: *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vol. 1 (Zagreb, 1980); Ante Čuvalo, *Historical Dictionary of Croatia* (Lanham, Md., 1997).

BIL'AK Vasil (11 August 1917, Krajná Bystrá, near Svidník), Slovak Communist activist of Ukrainian descent. Bil'ak worked as a tailor until 1949. From 1945 he belonged to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC), and during the period of accelerated advancement of workers after 1948 he joined the party apparatus and was a Central Committee (CC) member from 1954. In 1955–68 he was secretary and member of the CC Presidium of the Communist Party of Slovakia (CPS), and from January to August 1968 he was first secretary of the CPS CC. From December 1958 to February 1963 he was plenipotentiary for education (the equivalent of minister in the Slovak government). From July 1960 to January 1963 he was also minister of education in the Czechoslovak government. In 1960–63 he was deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council. From 1960 to 1969 he was MP to the National Assembly, and from 1969 to 1989 he was deputy to the House of Commons of the Federal Assembly.

In April 1968 during the "Prague Spring," Bil'ak was elected as a representative of the party hardliners, to the Presidium of the CPC CC. A staunch opponent of demo-

cratic change, in August 1968, along with other dogmatists, such as **Alois Indra** and Antonín Kapek, he signed a letter to the Soviet leadership asking for intervention in the defense of “socialism.” In August 1968 he took part in Moscow talks between Czechoslovak and Soviet leaders, openly supporting the Soviet point of view. In November 1968 he became secretary of the CPC CC responsible for foreign policy and ideology. In the 1970s and 1980s he belonged to the chief engineers of “normalization,” and, among other things, he was responsible for the purges of intellectuals. Trusted by Leonid Brezhnev, he had significant influence in the CPC apparatus and shaped the neo-Stalinist line of the party. After 1985 he was a fierce opponent of *perestroika*. In December 1989, as one of the most compromised functionaries of the regime, he was deprived of all positions. Removed from the CPC, he retired to Bratislava. From June 1990 there was an investigation into his role in the preparation of the Warsaw Pact invasion of August 1968, but in 2002 he was acquitted of high treason. Despite his protests, in 1991 his unauthorized memoirs, *Mílniky mŕjho života* (Milestones of my life), were published. (PU)

Sources: *ČBS; Kdo byl kdo v našich dějinách ve 20. století*, vol. 1 (Prague, 1998); *Who's Who in the Socialist Countries of Europe*, vol. 2 (Munich, London, and Paris, 1989); *Českoslovenští politici: 1918–1991* (Prague, 1991); Gordon H. Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution* (Princeton, 1976); Vladimír V. Kusin, *From Dubcek to Charter 77: A Study of “Normalization” in Czechoslovakia 1968–1978* (New York, 1978); Zdenek Mlynař, *Nightfrost in Prague: The End of Humane Socialism* (New York, 1980); Alexander Dubcek, *Hope Dies Last* (New York, 1993).

BILCZEWSKI Józef (26 April 1860, Wilamowice, near Kęty–20 March 1923, Lwów), Roman Catholic archbishop of Lwów. Bilczewski came from a peasant family and was one of nine children. After finishing high school, he worked in Mogiła, near Kraków, and then he went to study archeology and theology in Vienna, Rome, and Paris. Ordained in July 1884, in 1890 he defended a postdoctoral degree thesis in archeology at the Jagiellonian University, where he started working the following year. In 1893 he received the title of professor of archeology. From 1900 he was a member of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (Akademia Umiejętności), and in 1900–1 he was rector of the Jagiellonian University. On 17 December 1900 he was appointed archbishop of Lwów in the Latin rite. He followed the program of social Catholicism in the spirit of the teachings of Pope Leo XIII. For example, he founded many professional, educational, economic, and charity organizations. In 1906 he was one of the co-founders of the Catholic Social Union. He was also a patron of Catholic trade unions in Galicia; these were coming into existence

at that time. Bilczewski used his income to found schools, shelters for orphans and poor children, libraries, and reading rooms. He was the author of (among other works) textbooks on archeology and catechism and volumes of *Listy pasterskie* (Pastoral letters; 1922–24), which were translated into several foreign languages. During World War I he defended its victims regardless of whether they were Poles, Ukrainians, or Jews. In November 1918, along with **Andrey Sheptytsky**, Bilczewski tried in vain to prevent the outbreak of Polish-Ukrainian fighting, and when the struggle took place (1918–19), he was able to maintain good relations with the Greek Catholic hierarchy. On 26 June 2001 Pope John Paul II beatified Bilczewski during ceremonies in Lviv. (WR)

Sources: *Encyklopedia historii Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1999); *Osservatore Romano* (weekly edition in English), 2001, nos. 25 and 27.

BILIŃSKI Leon (15 June 1846, Zaleszczyki–6 June 1923, Vienna), Polish economist and politician. Biliński graduated in law from the University of Lviv (Lwów). In 1867 he earned a doctorate there, and a year later, a postdoctoral degree. In 1879 he was elected rector of this academy, as a result of which he entered the State Diet in Lviv. In 1883 he was elected to the Austrian Council of State, where he attracted attention with his speeches on taxation and the budget. In 1892 he became the president of the General Management of State Railways, and between 1895 and 1897 he was minister of finance in the government of Kazimierz Badeni. Next he assumed the post of governor of the Austro-Hungarian Bank, in which he served until 1909. From 1909 to 1911 he was again minister of finance of Austria, and from 1912 to 1915, minister of finance of Austria-Hungary. In July 1914 Biliński was one of four ministers who supported a moderation of the demands of an ultimatum presented to Serbia so that its government could accept them. After the end of the war he moved to Warsaw, where from August 1919 he served as minister of finance in the Polish government headed by **Ignacy Paderewski**. He attempted to balance the budget and to control inflation by floating an internal loan. His criticism of uncoordinated government expenses led to a serious clash between him and Paderewski, and in November 1919 Biliński resigned. In 1920 he returned to Vienna, where he assumed the presidency of the Polish-Austrian Bank. He was also a member of the liquidation committee of the Austro-Hungarian Bank and the author of many scholarly works—for example, *Wykłady ekonomii społecznej* (Lectures on social economics; 1873–74) and *System nauki skarbowej* (System of financial science; 1876). He represented theoretical views similar to those of the historic

school. He published *Wspomnienia i dokumenty* (Memoirs and documents, 2 vols.; 1924–25). (WR)

Sources: *Polacy w historii; Encyklopedia historii Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1999).

BĪLMANIS Alfreds (2 February 1887, Riga–26 July 1948, Rehoboth Beach, Delaware), Latvian diplomat. After graduating from high school in 1905, Bīlmanis studied in the Department of History of Moscow University. He graduated in 1910, and later he received a Ph.D. at the University of Vilnius (Wilno). In 1910–11 he served in the army, and between 1912 and 1914 he worked as a teacher and director of a high school in Yerevan and Volhynia. Mobilized into the army as a reserve officer in July 1917, he served on the staffs of various armies and edited military periodicals. He was moved to the reserves in April 1918 and returned to his job as a teacher and social worker in Równe. After returning to Latvia in 1920, he was secretary and then head of the Press Department of the Foreign Ministry. From June 1932 to October 1935 he was ambassador to the USSR and then to the United States. After Latvia was occupied by the Red Army and incorporated into the USSR, in July 1940 Bīlmanis was dismissed by the new authorities, but he continued his mission as Latvian ambassador to the United States until his death. In this capacity he was deputy to the ambassador to Great Britain, **Kārlis Zariņš**, whom the last independent Latvian government had appointed an extraordinary minister plenipotentiary to direct diplomatic services and to represent the state in case its legal authorities would not be able to. Bīlmanis authored and edited a number of historical works illustrating the Latvian right to independence, including *Latvia in the Making* (1928); *Latvia in the Present World Crisis* (1941); *Three Stars between the Anvil and Hammer* (1942); *Baltic States and the Problem of Freedom of the Baltic Sea* (1943); *Latvian-Russian Relations* (1945); and *The Church in Latvia* (1945). His *History of Latvia* was published posthumously in 1951. (EJ)

Sources: *Latvijas darbinieku galerija* (Riga, 1928); *Es viņu pazīstu* (Riga, 1939); *Latvia in 1939–1942* (Washington, D.C., 1942); J. Feldmans, “Alfreds Bīlmanis,” *Tēvzeme*, 14 August 1948; A. B., “Dr. A. Bīlmanis un viņa mūža darbs,” *Latvija Amerikā*, 20 October 1951; A. Dzirkale, “Alfrēda Bīlmaņa piemiņai,” *Latvija Amerikā*, 2–6 February 1952; P. Priedītis, “Dr. Alfreds Bīlmanis diplomāts un tiesību cīnītājs,” *Universitas*, 1974, no. 33.

BIRK Aadu (Ado) (14 November 1883, Tarvastu–2 February 1942, Sosva, Sverdlovsk region), Estonian politician and economic activist. Birk studied at the Orthodox theological seminar in Riga and later at the Theological Academy in Petersburg. Afterward he studied law at the

universities in Dorpat (Tartu), Petersburg (1908–11), and Leipzig (1911). In 1911 he became head of the Statistical Office in Tallinn, where he was noticed by one of the city’s most prominent lawyers, **Jaan Poska**, mayor of Tallinn from 1912. In 1912–17 Birk was Poska’s assistant, and he advanced with the increasing influence of his boss. In 1917 he became secretary of the Estonian Provincial Assembly (Eesti Maanõukogu [EPA]). After Estonia was occupied by Germany in 1918, Birk went to Helsinki, where he tried to get local politicians involved in the Estonian cause. After the liberation of Estonia, in 1918–19 he was EPA president and chaired a committee preparing elections to the Estonian Constituent Assembly (Eesti Asutav Kogu). Later he became its deputy speaker. In 1919–20 he was twice minister of foreign affairs. From 28 to 30 July 1920 he was briefly prime minister and then ambassador to Moscow until 1925.

In 1925 Birk was appointed foreign minister again. He tried to avoid frictions with the USSR. When at the end of 1925 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was taken over by the pro-Polish **Ants Piip**, Birk was sent as ambassador to Moscow again. The Kremlin tried to win over Estonia through trade contracts, but differences in perceiving the long-term benefits of such cooperation became a source of problems for Birk, who was recalled home in 1926. He refused to return and stayed in the USSR, where he fell victim to a GPU (gosudarstvennoe politicheskoe upravlenie) provocation and was arrested. In 1927 he managed to return to Estonia, where he was arrested on account of spying for the Soviet Union. His case became one of the most publicized political trials in the country, and prominent lawyers were engaged in his defense, including the Social Democratic leader **August Rei**. The accusation against him was not proved, and in November 1927 Birk was released. The question of whether he was or was not a Soviet agent remains open. Until 1940 he was involved in business and social work, with, among others, the Estonian Rifle Association and the Estonian Apostolic Orthodox Church. After the Soviet invasion, on 14 June 1941 he was arrested and transferred to the Sosva labor camp, where he was sentenced to death. He died a few days before execution. (AG)

Sources: Piotr Łossowski, *Stosunki polsko-estońskie 1918–1939* (Gdańsk, 1992); www.president.ee/eng/riigipead/AaduBirk.html; Pekka Erelt, “Eesti Diplomat GPU Võrgus,” *Eesti Ekspress*, 3 June 1999, www.ekspress.ee/Arhiiv/1999/22/Aosa/Elu.html, www.orthodoxa.org/estonie/histoireaoc/theseqb.htm.

BIRKAVS Valdis (28 July 1942, Riga), Latvian politician. Birkavs graduated from the Department of Law of the Latvian State University (LSU) in Riga in 1969. In

1968–86 he worked as an expert, head of section, and director of a criminological laboratory, and from 1986 he lectured at the LSU in Riga, where he received a Ph.D. A member of the Communist Party of Latvia, in 1988 he was co-founder and chairman of the Association of Latvian Lawyers. In 1990–93 he was deputy to the Supreme Council of the Latvian SSR, and after restoration of independence, of the Supreme Council of Latvia. He represented the Latvian National Front and was deputy chairman of its parliamentary club. In 1993 he was elected to the parliament (Saeima) on behalf of the Latvian Way (Latvijas Ceļš) as one of its leaders and was chairman from 1997. From 8 July 1993 to 15 September 1994 he was prime minister. He resigned as the result of a split in the ruling coalition of his party and the Latvian Agrarian Union. The collapse of the coalition resulted from different approaches to tariff policies and to the disclosure in the parliament that two members of the cabinet—Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs and minister without portfolio Edvins Inkers—had been KGB agents. In 1994–98 Birkavs was minister of foreign affairs; from September 1994 to November 1995 he was deputy prime minister, and from July 1999 to May 2000, minister of justice. He played an important role in Latvia's endeavors to integrate with European and Atlantic security structures. In October 2000 he was reelected to the parliament. (EJ)

Sources: *Who Is Who in Latvia 1996: Biographical Dictionary* (Riga, 1996); *Wielka Encyklopedia PWN*, vol. 4 (Warsaw, 2001); Andrejs Plakans, *The Latvians: A Short History* (Stanford, 1995); Jurijs Dreifelds, *Latvia in Transition* (Cambridge, 1996); *Kas ir kas Latvijā* (Riga, 1999); www.rulers.org.

BIRŽIŠKA Mykolas (12 August 1882, Vieکشniai–24 August 1962, Los Angeles, Ca.), Lithuanian historian of literature and politician. The son of a doctor, in 1907 Biržiška graduated in law from Moscow University and settled in Vilnius (Wilno). In 1910–11 he edited the periodical *Visuomenė* and took part in the activities of the Lithuanian Research Society and the Social Democratic Party. After Vilnius was occupied by the Germans in 1915, he stayed and worked for the Lithuanian Committee of Aid to War Victims. He also directed the first Lithuanian high school in Vilnius. He wrote several textbooks on the Lithuanian language and the history of literature, and he lectured at the Higher School of Humanities. During a September 1917 conference he joined the Lithuanian Council (Lietuvos Taryba), and on 16 February 1918 he co-signed the declaration of Lithuanian independence. From December 1918 to March 1919 he was minister of education. When Vilnius came under Polish self-government, representing the

Polish majority of the city, on 2 January 1919 Biržiška published a protest, and after the city was seized by the Bolsheviks, he was temporarily arrested. When the Polish Army took the city in April 1919, he was elected chairman of the Lithuanian Committee. He took part in talks held with the Poles in Suwałki; these were concluded on 7 October 1920 with an agreement on the separation of Polish and Lithuanian troops, leaving Vilnius on the Lithuanian side. After the violation of this agreement and seizure of the city by the Polish troops under General **Lucjan Żeligowski**, Biržiška secretly published papers and leaflets criticizing Polish activities. Arrested by the Polish authorities, in February 1922 he was released on the condition that he leave for Lithuania.

Biržiška settled in Kaunas, where he directed a high school and lectured in the history of Lithuanian literature at the newly founded Vytautas Magnus University. In 1925 he published his main work, *Mūsų raštų istorija* (History of our literature). In 1922–25 he was dean, and in 1926–27 rector, of the Kaunas university. He belonged to the editorial board of the Lithuanian encyclopedia (1932–44), and from 1940 to 1944 he was a member of the Lithuanian Academy of Literature. He was engaged in publicizing true or alleged Polish wrongdoings to the Lithuanians—for instance, in the Union of Liberation of Vilnius (Vilniui Vaduoti Sajunga). He published a chronicle, *Vilniaus Golgota* (The Golgota of Vilnius; 1930), exaggerating Polish repression. In 1931 he visited the United States, promoting the Lithuanian vision of the historical and contemporary reality of Vilnius. He published *Iš mūsų kultūros ir literatūros istorijos* (From the history of our culture and literature, 2 vols.; 1931–38). When Lithuania got the Vilnius region from the Soviets, Biržiška became rector of Vilnius University, purged the Polish teachers, and published his version of its history as *Senasis Vilniaus Universitetas* (The old Vilnius University; 1940). He remained the rector under the German occupation. In April 1943 he chaired a meeting of Lithuanian politicians who supported the creation of Lithuanian troops to fight against the Soviets and published a proclamation on the subject that was censored by the Germans. Biržiška signed the document. Before the return of the Red Army in the summer of 1944, Biržiška left for Germany, where he was professor of the Baltic University in Hamburg and then in Pinneberg until 1949, when he settled in the United States. He also published a collection of documents in Polish, *Na posterunku wileńskim* (On the Vilnius outpost, 4 vols.; 1920–36). In exile he published *Lietuvių tautos kelias* (The way of the Lithuanian nation, 2 vols.; 1952–53) and two volumes of memoirs, *Dėl mūsų sostinės* (For our capital; 1960–62). (WR)

Sources: *EL*, vol. 1; V. Maciunas, "Mykolas Biržiška," *Aidai* (Brooklyn), 1952, no. 7; Alfred E. Senn, *The Emergence of Modern Lithuania* (New York, 1959); Piotr Łossowski, *Litwa a sprawy polskie 1939–1940* (Warsaw, 1982); Alfonsas Eidintas and Vytautas Žalys, *Lithuania in European Politics: The Years of the First Republic, 1918–1940* (New York, 1997).

BISTRAS Leonas (20 October 1890, Liepaja–18 October 1971, Kaunas), Lithuanian politician. In 1911–14 Bistras studied medicine in Geneva and Dorpat (Tartu), as well as philosophy in Fribourg, Switzerland, where he received a Ph.D. in 1921. From 1910 he wrote for a Catholic periodical, *Ateitis*, and he belonged to the Christian Democratic Party. For some time he was its chairman, and for many years he belonged to its leadership. Three times elected to the parliament, in 1922–23 he was its speaker. From 25 September 1925 to 15 June 1926 he was prime minister and minister of defense. For some time he also directed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His government failed to convince the Holy See about its vision for the Lithuanian province, including Vilnius (Wilno). When in April 1926 Pope Pius XI attached the Vilnius metropolis to the Polish church organization, the Lithuanian Christian Democrats suffered a defeat in prestige. Bistras resigned as a result of the May 1926 elections lost by the right. After the Nationalist coup of December 1926, he returned to the government as minister of education and held this office until May 1927, when the Christian Democrats withdrew from the government. During the regime of **Antanas Smetona** he remained in opposition until March 1939, when the Nationalists attempted to widen the political foundation of their government and offered him the portfolio of education again. He held this office until November 1939. From 1922 to 1940 he lectured in philosophy at Kaunas University. In 1929–36 he was editor-in-chief of the Catholic daily, *Rytas*, critical of the Nationalist dictatorship to the extent that was allowed by censorship, and from 1936 he contributed to the periodical *XX Amžius*. He translated the papal encyclicals *Rerum navarum*, *Graves de communi*, and *Quadragesimo anno* into Lithuanian. After Lithuania was occupied by the Red Army, on 11 February 1940 Bistras was arrested and then deported to Siberia. He spent sixteen years in the Gulag and in forced settlement. In 1956 he was allowed to return to Kaunas. (WR)

Sources: *EL*, vol. 1; Alfonsas Eidintas and Vytautas Žalys, *Lithuania in European Politics: The Years of the First Republic, 1918–1940* (New York, 1997).

BISZKU Béla (13 September 1921, Márokpapi), Hungarian Communist activist. Biszku was born into a peasant family that moved to Budapest in 1929. He qualified as a metalworker and started working in a crane and machinery

factory in 1937. In 1943 he joined the Metalworkers' Trade Union, and in 1944, the illegal Hungarian Communist Party (HCP). Between 1944 and 1945 he was one of the leaders of armed resistance in the Thirteenth Quarter of Budapest, Angyalföld. After the war he organized the HCP structures there. From 1946 he worked in the Budapest committee of the party, and in June 1949 he became head of its personnel department. In 1951 he was appointed secretary of the Tenth Quarter (Kőbánya) committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party (HWP), and in September 1953 he started studying in the HWP Higher Political School. From the spring of 1955 he was secretary of the Angyalföld HWP committee. In the first days of the 1956 revolution he organized armed groups of party members and workers in order to suppress the insurgency.

After the revolution was suppressed, Biszku became a member of the Central Committee (CC) and Politburo of the new Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP). On 8 December 1956 he became first secretary of the Budapest party committee, and in February 1957, minister of interior in the government of **János Kádár**. Biszku bears the responsibility for the repression against the insurgents of 1956. He played a key role in preparing the trial of **Imre Nagy** and his aides. In August 1957 in Moscow he discussed the general idea of the trial, the indictment, and possible sentences. In 1958–71 and 1975–85 Biszku was MP, and in September 1961 he was promoted to the post of deputy prime minister. In November 1962, at the eighth party congress, he was elected the CC secretary for administration. At the same time he left his government post. From December 1963 he was the CC secretary for organization, and from 1966, for both administration and organization. He represented the extreme dogmatic wing of the party leadership, in opposition to the economic mechanism launched in 1968, and largely contributed to its failure. In the fall of 1972, enjoying the support of the Kremlin, Biszku tried to force a more conservative line, challenging Kádár. In January 1973 he was appointed head of the Commission for Physical Education and Sports. In 1980 he was dismissed from the Politburo and in 1985 from the HSWP CC. (JT)

Sources: *Magyar Nagylexikon*, vol. 4 (Budapest, 1995); *A magyar forradalom és szabadságharc enciklopédiája*, CD-ROM (Budapest, 1999); *Ki kicsoda 2000* (Budapest, 2001); Bennet Kovrig, *Communism in Hungary from Kun to Kádár* (Stanford, 1979); Miklós Molnár, *From Béla Kun to János Kádár: Seventy Years of Hungarian Communism* (New York, 1990).

BIZAUSKAS Kazimieras (2 February 1893, Pavilosta–26 June 1941, near Minsk), Lithuanian Christian Democratic politician. Bizauskas studied law in Moscow, and after

that he worked as a teacher. Elected to the Lithuanian Council (Tarybe) in 1917, he signed the declaration of independence of Lithuania of 16 February 1918. From 1920 he was an MP representing Christian Democracy. He negotiated the Soviet-Lithuanian peace treaty of 12 July 1920. In 1922 he was a Lithuanian representative to the Vatican, and from 1923 he was at missions in the United States, Latvia, Great Britain, and the Netherlands. From 28 March 1939 to 17 April 1940 he was deputy prime minister in the government of **Antanas Merkys**. In September 1939 he opposed an alliance of Lithuania with Germany against Poland that was proposed by some members of the government. After the fall of Poland he was summoned to Moscow, and on 10 October 1939 he signed a treaty of mutual assistance with the USSR providing the incorporation of the district of Vilnius (Wilno) to Lithuania. In November 1939 he assumed the post of government plenipotentiary in that region. In relations with the local Polish committee he remained moderate, although he opposed the patriotic gestures of the Polish clergy. At the time of the invasion of the Soviet forces, on 15 June 1940, he represented the Lithuanian authorities to the special representative of the USSR, Vladimir Diekanozov. After the “elections” to the new National Assembly he was arrested in November 1940. After the outbreak of the German-Soviet war in June 1941 he was evacuated from prison in a death march and was shot by the NKVD somewhere around Minsk. (WR)

Sources: *EL*, vol. 1; Piotr Łossowski, *Litwa a sprawy polskie 1939–1940* (Warsaw, 1982).

BLACHNICKI Franciszek Karol (24 March 1921, Rybnik–27 February 1987, Carlsberg), Polish Catholic priest and social activist. In 1939 Blachnicki graduated from high school in Tarnowskie Góry. He fought in the Polish-German war of September 1939 and then worked in the underground. Arrested in the spring of 1940 and deported to the concentration camp in Auschwitz (identification number 1201), he was held there until September 1941. In March 1942 he was sentenced to death, but owing to the efforts of his family, his sentence was commuted to ten years’ imprisonment. Released by the American Army in April 1945, Blachnicki returned to Poland and entered the Silesian Theological Seminary in Kraków. Ordained in June 1950, he worked as a curate in the parishes of Upper Silesia (1950–56). In 1957 he founded a sobriety movement called the Temperance Crusade. In August 1960 the Polish Communist authorities liquidated the headquarters of the movement in Katowice. In response, he sent out a number of memorials. Arrested in March 1961 and sen-

tenced to nine months, after his release he pursued further studies and scholarly work at the Catholic University of Lublin. In 1965 he defended his doctoral thesis, and in 1977 he received a postdoctoral degree. He published around one hundred scholarly and popular works. Between 1964 and 1980 he worked for the postconciliar renewal of the liturgy in Poland.

In 1963 Blachnicki began to conduct retreats that evolved into the “oasis” movement. From 1969 this movement was called the Living Church Movement, and from 1976, the Light and Life Movement. His initiative was accepted in hundreds of Polish parishes, becoming the basis for great educational work among the youth, as well as among the elderly, and in 1973 Blachnicki began to create the Home Church Movement for the renewal of family life in Poland. In 1981 in Lublin he established the Independent Christian Social Service, whose aim was to prepare staff for social and political work. On 9 December 1981 he left Poland and went to Rome. He was there when martial law was declared in Poland. He settled in Marianum, a Polish center in Carlsberg in Germany. There he established the International Evangelization Center, Life and Light. In June 1982 Blachnicki founded the Christian Service for the Liberation of Nations, which propagated the ideals of nonviolent resistance in Eastern Europe. He also initiated the establishment of consecrated life communities: a women’s Institute of the Immaculate Mother of the Church and the Community of Priests of Christ the Servant. In February 1994 he was posthumously decorated with the Commander’s Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta. In November 2001 the diocesan phase of his beatification process was completed. Blachnicki published, for example, *Dziesięć kroków ku dojrzałości chrześcijańskiej* (Ten steps toward Christian maturity; 1977) and *Prawda–Krzyż–Wyzwolenie: Ku polskiej teologii wyzwolenia* (Truth–Cross–Liberation: Toward a Polish theology of liberation; 1985). (AGr)

Sources: *Słownik biograficzny katolickiego duchowieństwa śląskiego XIX i XX wieku* (Katowice, 1996); M. Paluch, *Zarys historii Ruchu Światło-Życie* (Lublin and Kraków, 1998); J. Mikulski, *Polska teologia wyzwolenia: Teologia wyzwolenia człowieka w ujęciu ks. Franciszka Blachnickiego*; an extensive bibliography included (Tarnów, 2000).

BLAGA Lucian (5 May 1895, Lančrâu, Transylvania–6 May 1961, Cluj), Romanian diplomat, poet, and philosopher. The son of an Orthodox priest, Blaga initially studied in a theological seminary in Sibiu (Hermannstadt) and then at Vienna University (1916–20), where he received a Ph.D. on the basis of his work *Kultur und Erkenntnis* (Culture and knowledge). Later he wrote poems and was

engaged in journalism. For many years he contributed to a traditionalist periodical, *Gladirea* (1921–41). He was in large part influenced by Friedrich Nietzsche and Oswald Spengler, and he glorified nature and the national mystique. He used elements of Dionysian expressionism, both in his philosophical works and in his poems and plays. He combined his reflections on the mystical ethos of the Romanian peasantry (“Mioritic space,” from the folk ballad “Miorița”) with the intuitive German philosophy of his time. He also opposed French influence on Romanian culture and advocated replacing it with German influence.

This philosophical stance was instrumental in Blaga’s political activity. From 1926 he worked in diplomacy, advancing from attaché in Warsaw to counselor of the embassy in Switzerland (1928–32) and Vienna (1932–37) and ambassador in Lisbon (1938–39). His diplomatic career came to an end with the development of the royal dictatorship of Charles II. His Germanophilic and mystical philosophy was unacceptable to the regime, since it was too close to the extreme nationalism of the Iron Guard. In 1937 Blaga became a member of the Romanian Academy of Sciences, and in 1939 he was appointed professor of the philosophy of culture at Cluj University (1939–49). After the Communist takeover he was deprived of the right to teach, although he formally remained a “scholarly worker” of the university. He was ostracized, kept under police surveillance, and died in oblivion. In 1966 his memoirs, *Hronicul și cînterul vîrstelor* (Chronicle and song of life) were published. In the 1980s some aspects of his intellectual output were rehabilitated by the Communist regime, and since its collapse his thought has revived. In 1989 a large collection of his poems was published in the United States as *At the Court of Yearning: Poems*. In 1990 his autobiographical novel, *Luntrea lui Caron* (Charon’s boat), was published, in which he presented the tragic fate of the Romanian intelligentsia and nation after World War II. (MC)

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; Kurt W. Treptow and Marcel Popa, *Historical Dictionary of Romania* (Lanham, Md., 1996); Dimitrie Vatamaniuc, *Lucian Blaga, 1885–1961: Biobibliografie* (Bucharest, 1977); I. Oprîșan, *Lucian Blaga printer contemporani: Dialoguri adnotate* (Bucharest, 1987); Corin Braga, *Lucian Blaga: Geneza lumilor imaginare* (Iași, 1998); Dorli Blaga, *Blaga supraviețuit de Securitate* (Cluj, 1999); Mircea Muthu, *Lucian Blaga: Dimensiuni rasaritene* (Pitești, 2000); R. T. Allen, “The English Language Web Site for Lucian Blaga (1895–1961),” <http://homepage.ntlworld.com/rt.allen/blagaindex.html>.

BLAGOYEV Dimiter (14 June 1856, Zagorichane, Aegean Macedonia [now in Greece]–7 May 1924, Sofia), Bulgarian theorist of Marxism and revolutionary activist. Blagoyev came from a poor peasant family. From

1870 to 1877 he was educated in Istanbul, Adrianople, Gabrovo, and Stara Zagora, and in 1878 he went for further education to Russia. During his natural science and law studies in Petersburg he became involved in the Russian revolutionary movement. In 1883 he created the first Social Democratic organization in Russia, from where he was expelled in 1885 because of his revolutionary activities. After his return to Bulgaria he propagated Socialist ideas in the *Syvremennyi pokazatel* newspaper and in *Den* magazine. On his initiative the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party was created at a congress in Buzludzha in 1891. In his first original Bulgarian work on Marxism, *Shto e sotsializym i ima li toi pochva u nas?* (What is socialism and does it have roots in our country? 1891), he argued with the proponents of socialism who pursued limited, mainly economic, aims without forming a strong party of the working class. After the unification of the Socialist organizations in 1894 Blagoyev became the leader of the Marxist current within the Bulgarian Workers’ Social Democratic Party (BWSDP). He expressed his views in *Novo Vreme* magazine, which he edited. There he also published many articles including “Marksizym ili bernshtainianstvo?” (Marxism or revisionism? 1901), and “Opportunizym ili sotsializym?” (Opportunism or socialism? 1902). He also published articles in the Leninist *Iskra*.

In 1903 Blagoyev, along with Gavrilko Georgiev and Georgi Kirkov, caused a split in the BWSDP into “broad” and “narrow” Socialists, and he became the leader of the latter (Tesnyaks). With his direct involvement, the General Workers’ Syndicate Union was created in 1904, the organization that led a wave of strikes in 1906–9. Blagoyev laid the foundations for Marxist philosophical and economic thought in Bulgaria. He was also the author of works on the history of the workers’ movement in Bulgaria, esthetics, and the theory of literature. He wrote (for example) *Dialektychen materializym i teoriia na poznanieto* (Dialectical materialism and the theory of cognition; 1903–4) and *Prinos kym istoriata na sotsializma v Bylgariia* (Contribution to the history of socialism in Bulgaria; 1906). During the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and World War I (1914–18) the BWSDP (Tesnyaks) under his leadership struggled against “militarism” and “Greater Bulgarian chauvinism,” putting forward slogans of peace and cooperation among the Balkan nations for the sake of the revolution. Blagoyev attended two Balkan Socialist conferences and the congress of the Second International in Copenhagen (1910) as the chairman of the Tesnyak delegation. In 1902–19 he was elected to the parliament three times, and he presided over the parliamentary group of Tesnyaks; between 1911 and 1915 he was also a councillor in the Sofia commune.

There, especially after 1914, he spoke against granting credits for war purposes. It was with satisfaction that he welcomed the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. He was a co-organizer of the Communist International. The party he led evolved in 1919 into the Bulgarian Communist Party and passed a programmatic declaration in the Leninist spirit. Blagoyev published (mainly in the *Rabotnicheski vestnik* newspaper) articles denouncing imperialism and criticizing the views of Karl Kautsky, who spoke against the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the spring of 1923 Blagoyev withdrew from active political life due to ill health. (JJ)

Sources: *Entsiklopediya Bulgariya*, vol. 1 (Sofia, 1978); *Dimiter Blagoev 1856–1966*, eds., Ruben Avramov and Maria Chervendineva (Sofia, 1970); *Letopis za zhivota i deynostta na Dimiter Blagoev 1856–1924*, vols. 1–2 (Sofia, 1974–1975); Kiryl Vasiliev, *Dimiter Blagoev: A Biography* (Sofia, 1977); Tadeusz Wasilewski, *Historia Bułgarii* (Wrocław, 1988).

BLAHO Pavel (25 March 1867, Skalica–29 November 1927, Bratislava), Slovak Agrarian politician and cultural and educational activist. Blaho came from a peasant Catholic family. In 1898 he completed medical studies in Vienna, where he was a leader of the Slovak academic youth, and then he worked as a doctor in Skalica. From 1903 to 1914 and in 1918 he also worked seasonally at the health resort of Luhačovice in Moravia. Along with **Vavro Šrobár** he founded and edited the magazine *Hlas* (1898–1904), which provided a platform for young Slovak intellectuals who opposed conservatism, Russophilia, and the policy of passive resistance of the Slovak National Party (Slovenská Národná Strana) leadership. From 1906 to 1918 he was a member of the Hungarian parliament. Along with **Milan Hodža** he was one of the main proponents of the agricultural cooperative movement. He conducted extensive educational work in the Slovak countryside, established libraries and temperance societies, and organized education for the youth in Czech schools. He advocated cooperation with the Czechs and initiated the so-called Luhačovice conferences (1908–14), at which the representatives of the Slovak and Czech national independence movements met. He organized training trips for Slovak farmers to farms in Bohemia and Moravia. From 1912 to 1913 he traveled throughout the United States, giving lectures that contributed to the political activation of Slovak émigrés.

At the end of 1918 Blaho participated in the organization of the Czechoslovak state administration in Slovakia, and he joined the Slovak Club in the National Assembly in Prague. The assembly was convened under the provisional constitution that was passed by the Czechoslovak National

Committee. In 1919 he became president of the National Republican Peasant Party (Národná a Republikánská Strana Rolnícka), later renamed the Slovak Agrarian Party (Slovenská Národná a Rolnícka Strana), which in 1922 merged with the Czech Agrarians into a nationwide party, the Republican Party of Farmers and Peasants (Republikánská Strana Zemědělského a Malorolnického Lidu). In 1920–27 Blaho was member of the National Assembly and deputy president of the Agrarian parliamentary club. In 1921 he became president of the Agricultural Council in Bratislava. (MG)

Sources: *SBS; Reprezentačný–biografický lexikón Slovenska* (Martin, 1999); *Politická elita meziválečného Československa 1918–1938: Kdo byl Kdo* (Prague, 1998); Štefan Janšák, *Život Dr. Pavla Blahu*, vols. 1–2 (Trnava, 1947); Włodzimierz Winclawski, *Lud, naród, socjologia: Studium o genezie socjologii słowackiej* (Toruń, 1991).

BLAKYTYNYI Vasyl [originally Ellanskyi], pseudonyms “Markiz Popelastyi,” “Vasyl Ellan,” and others (12 January 1894, Kozel, Chernikhiv region—4 December 1925, Kharkiv), Ukrainian writer and Communist activist. Blakytnyi graduated from the Chernikhiv theological seminary, and in 1912–15 he studied in the Trade Institute in Kiev, where he was active in illegal student revolutionary groups. In 1917 he joined the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries (Ukraińska Partiiia Sotsialistiv-Revolutsioneriv), becoming a leader of its leftist wing, which became the Ukrainian Communist Party. The left wing group was the so-called Borotbists, named after their periodical, *Borot’ba*, meaning Struggle. Blakytnyi was also editor of this periodical and of the research and literary biweekly *Zshytky borotby*. One of the initiators of the merger of the Borotbists with the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine (Komunistyczna Partia [Bilzowykiw] Ukrajiny [CP(B)U]), from 1920 Blakytnyi was a member of the CP(B)U, and from 1920 to his death, of its Central Committee. In 1920–21 he was director of the Ukrainian State Publishing House, and from 1921 to his death, editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Visti VUTsVK*. He started his literary career in 1912, but he published his first works in 1918. He was one of the pioneers of Ukrainian Soviet literature, editor of and contributor to many periodicals (such as *Shlakhyy mystetstva*, *Vsesvit*, and *Chervonyi perets*), and co-founder (1923) and leader of Hart, the Association of Proletarian Writers. In 1920 he published a volume of proletarian lyrics, *Udary molota i sertsia* (Hammer strokes and heartbeats). He also wrote political satire. In 1924 he published *Notatky olivtsem* (Pencil notes) and *Radyanska hirchytisia* (Soviet charlock), and in 1925,

Derzhavnyi rozum (State reason). In the 1930s Stalinist authorities found nationalistic elements in his writings, so his works were confiscated, and his statue in Kharkiv was demolished. The most complete edition of his works is *Tvory* (Works, 2 vols.; 1958). (BB)

Sources: *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1, (Toronto, 1984); *Ukrainian Literary Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1988); *Malyi Slovník Istorii Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1997); *Dovidnyk z Istorii Ukrainy* (Kiev, 2001).

BLANDIANA Ana [originally Otilia Coman] (6 February 1942, Timișoara), Romanian poet and dissident. Blandiana's father spent fourteen years in a Communist prison, which strongly influenced her childhood and youth. She made her literary debut in 1959, and in 1967 she graduated in philology from the university in Cluj. In 1968–84 she edited a student periodical, *Amfiteatrul*, and from 1968 she wrote columns for *Contemporanul* and *România Libera*, critical of Stalinist schemes. In her collections of poems and essays, such as *A tria taina* (Third secret; 1969); *Cinzece de poeme* (Fifty poems; 1970); *Cele patru anotimpuri* (Four seasons; 1977); *Întîmplări din gredina mea* (Events from my garden; 1980); and *Stea de pruda* (Rapacious star; 1985), she was not only innovative, but also intellectual and sensible. In 1968 she won an award from the Association of Romanian Writers, in 1974 an award from the Romanian Academy, and in 1982 the Herder Award. In view of the repression of the freedom of creativity and the violation of human rights of the **Nicolae Ceaușescu** regime, Blandiana spoke up against it. In 1984 she wrote *Questionarul pentru Ana Blandiana* (A questionnaire for Ana Blandiana), in which she protested against artistic conformism. She also wrote a series of poems, *Analogica*, in which she warned against the demographic policy of the regime, which forbade abortion so as to increase the population but caused such ills as poverty and depersonalization. Publication of this collection was banned and *Amfiteatrul* was closed down, but her poems circulated in *samizdat*. In 1988 Blandiana was punished again with the ban on the publication of a collection of verses for children, *Întîmplării de pe strada mea* (Events in my street), whose hero, a cat by the name of Arpagic, was a parody of the dictator. On 3 March 1989 she wrote an open letter to Ceaușescu protesting censorship and stressing that her poems could have been published in the USSR and East Germany: and not in Romania.

After the revolution of December 1989, Blandiana was included in the Council of the National Salvation Front (Frontului de Salvare Național). Soon, however, she resigned in protest against post-Communist manipulation,

which deprived the council of a democratic character. In 1991 she published *100 poeme* (100 Poems). She co-organized the Civic Alliance (Alianța Civică [CA]) and joined its leadership. The organization declined to seek power but aimed at a critical analysis of systemic transformation and democratic development. The CA became one of the foundations of the Democratic Convention of Romania (Convenția Democrată Română [RKD]). After the convention took over power in 1997, the CA left it in 1999, criticizing its anti-democratic policies and excessive submission to the post-Communist Democratic Party, its coalition partner. Blandiana was in favor of this secession, expressing her attachment to democracy. In 1990 a collection of her poems was published in London as *The Hour of Sand*. From 1994 she was director of the Museum of Remembrance of the Victims of Communism. (ASK)

Sources: Andrei Codrescu, *The Hole in the Flag* (New York, 1991); Daniel N. Nelson, ed., *Romania after Tyranny* (Boulder, Colo., 1992); Șerban N. Ionescu, *Who Was Who in Twentieth Century Romania* (Boulder, Colo., 1994); www.memorialsighet.ro.

BLAUMANIS Rūdolfs (1 January 1863, Ērgļi, Livonia—4 September 1908, Takaharju, Finland), Latvian writer and poet. Blaumanis's father worked as a cook at an estate. In 1881 Blaumanis graduated from a German trade school in Riga. He lived in his rural district, and for some time he was a scribe at the estate in Koknese. He published his first novel, written in German, in 1882. In 1887–93 he wrote reviews in a German newspaper in Riga. Later, in Riga and in Ērgļi, he concentrated entirely on writing. Between 1898 and 1903 he contributed to Latvian newspapers in Riga and St. Petersburg, and from 1906 he edited a newspaper, *Latvija*. He wrote poems, stories, and stage plays. Latvian peasants, estate workers, and fishermen were predominant in his works; they were representatives of the life he knew from experience. He used humor extensively. Among other works, he was the author of *Skroderdienas Silmačos* (Tailors' days in Silmaci; 1902), the most often produced Latvian stage play, and a comedy, *Ugunī* (Fires; 1906). He also wrote patriotic poetry about the heroism of Latvian soldiers in the fight against the Teutonic knights in the thirteenth century: *Tālavas taurētājs* (Trumpeter from Tālava). Blaumanis died of tuberculosis and was buried in Ērgļi. (EJ)

Sources: P. Zālīte, *Rūdolfs Blaumanis: Viņa darbi un nozīme literatūrā* (Riga, 1923); Antons Birkerts, *Rūdolfs Blaumanis dzīvē un darbā* (Riga, 1930); Alfons Vilsons, *Latviešu literatūras klasiķis Rūdolfs Blaumanis* (Riga, 1956); *Rūdolfs Blaumanis laika biedru atmiņās* (Riga, 1962); Lutsia Volkova, *Tapšana* (Riga, 1988); Andrejs Plakans, *Historical Dictionary of Latvia* (Lanham, Md., 1997).

BŁODNIEKS Ādolfs (24 July 1889, Tukums, Courland–21 March 1962, Brooklyn, N.Y.), Latvian politician. Born into a peasant family, Błodnieks was educated in a trade school in Tukums. In 1905 he took part in the revolution and was seriously injured. Later he graduated from a high school oriented toward the natural sciences and mathematics in Kursk, and from 1910 he studied at the Riga Polytechnic Institute. During World War I he volunteered for the Russian Army and served in the air force. In 1917 he was elected a member of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Petrograd. Later, however, he was a co-founder of the Latvian Party of National Democrats and was active in the Union for the Defense of the Fatherland and Freedom, an anti-Bolshevik organization under the leadership of Boris Savinkov. In 1919 he returned to Latvia and became head of a department in the Ministry of Finance. He was a member of the Latvian Provisional National Council and then a deputy to the Constituent Assembly and the parliaments (Saeima) of subsequent terms. He was one of the founders of the new Farmers' and Smallholders' Party (Jaunsaimnieku un Sīkgruntnieku Partija), and from 1921 he was editor of the party newspaper, *Latvija*. From 23 March 1933 to 17 March 1934 he was prime minister. After the occupation of Latvia by the Red Army in 1940 he avoided deportation, and in 1944 he went into exile. In 1960 in New York he published *The Undeclared Nation*. (EJ)

Sources: *Latvijas darbinieku galerija* (Riga, 1928); *Latvijas vadošie darbinieki* (Riga, 1935); *Es viņu pazīstu* (Riga, 1939); Piotr Łossowski, *Kraje bałtyckie od demokracji parlamentarnej do dyktatury (1918–1934)* (Wrocław, 1972); Andrejs Plakans, *Historical Dictionary of Latvia* (Lanham, Md., 1997).

BNIŃSKI Adolf (21 August 1884, Kossowo, near Gostyń–7/8 July 1942, near Poznań), Polish politician and social worker. Bniński graduated from high school in Inowrocław in 1905, and then he studied at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków and later in Munich and Halle in Germany. He was active in laying the foundations of the Polish administration in Greater Poland (Poznań) and Central Poland; he was government commissioner in Łódź (1918–19) and head of the county administration (*starosta*) in Środa Wielkopolska (1919–20). In 1923–28 he was provincial governor (*wojewoda*) of Greater Poland. He sympathized with National Democracy, and with its support he ran in the 1926 presidential election, but he lost to **Ignacy Mościcki**. Apart from his political activities, Bniński ran family estates in Gułtowy and Biskupice in Greater Poland and took part or presided over many social and economic organizations, such as the Greater Polish Agricultural Chamber (1920–22), Catholic Action, and the

Supreme Council of Landowners' Organizations (1937). He was also one of the chairmen of the Chief Administration of Popular Reading Rooms. After the May coup of 1926 he approached the ruling group of **Józef Piłsudski**, and as a result he was appointed senator. In the 1930s he tried to stimulate conservative circles, creating the Conservative Party (Stronnictwo Zachowawcze) in 1938, but to no major avail. After the German invasion of 1939 he joined in underground activities under the pseudonym "Białoń," de facto holding the position of delegate of the government-in-exile for the territories incorporated into Germany from 3 May 1940. Prime Minister General **Władysław Sikorski** confirmed him formally in this position on 4 December 1940. At the end of July 1941 Bniński was arrested by the Gestapo in Poznań, imprisoned in Fort VII, sentenced to death, and shot (probably with seven aides) in a forest near Poznań. (AG)

Sources: *Kto był kim w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1994); S. Dworacki, ed., *Wojewoda Adolf hr. Bniński (1884–1942): Materiały do sesji okolicznościowej w Gułtowach* (Poznań, 1997); Andrzej Kwilecki, *Ziemiaństwo wielkopolskie* (Poznań, 1998); Krzysztof Jasiewicz, *Lista strat ziemiaństwa polskiego 1939–1956* (Warsaw, 1995); Waldemar Grabowski, *Delegatura Rządu Rzeczypospolitej na Kraj* (Warsaw, 1995).

BOBAN Mate (1940, Sović, near Grude–7 July 1997, Mostar), Croatian leader from Bosnia. In 1958 Boban joined the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY). For more than twenty years he was its local functionary. A turning point in his career came in 1990, when he founded the Democratic Union of Herzegovina and soon merged it into the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina (CDUBH). On behalf of this party he won a parliamentary seat. Soon he became the CDUBH deputy chairman and later chairman. He took over from the previous party leader, Stjepan Kljujić, who had lost the support of the Croatian president, **Franjo Tuđman**. On 3 July 1992 Boban took the lead of Herceg-Bosnia, thought to be a Croatian state within Bosnia-Herzegovina and supported militarily by Croatia. For about a year heavy fighting took place in the Lašvanska Valley between the Croats and Muslims, and about thirty thousand people perished. Boban initially took part in international negotiations and accepted the Cyrus Vance and David Owen Plan of 1992–93. Boban's idea of resettling Bosnian Croats to parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina where they were in the majority, thought to be coordinated with the Roman Catholic Church, in fact led to a conflict between Boban and Archbishop **Vinko Puljić**. In view of growing international criticism of the Bosnian Croats—it was connected to information about the torture of Muslims in concentration camps—Tuđman

called upon Boban to respect international law. Finally, accused of ethnic cleansing, Boban was dismissed as a result of international pressure. (AO)

Sources: Laura Silber and Allan Little, *The Death of Yugoslavia* (London, 1995); David Owen, *Balkan Odyssey* (New York, San Diego, and London, 1995); Norman Cigar, *Genocide in Bosnia* (Texas A&M University Press, 1995); Susan L. Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy* (Washington, D.C., 1995); Ante Čuvalo, *Historical Dictionary of Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Lanham, Md., 1997); www.rferl.org; www.bosnet.org.

BOBOSHEVSKI Tsvetko (8 August 1884, Vratsa–21 December 1952, Sofia), Bulgarian politician and lawyer. In 1906 Boboshevski completed law studies in Paris. He returned to Bulgaria and became a lawyer in Vratsa. He joined the National Party, and after it merged with the Progressive Liberal Party, he joined the United National Progressive Party, in which he served as secretary from November 1920. Having joined the oppositional Constitutional Bloc in 1922, he participated in the preparations for the military coup of 9 June 1923, in which he took an active part. After the coup he joined the People's Alliance. In the government of **Aleksandur Tsankov** he served as minister of trade, industry, and labor (June 1923–November 1924) and as minister of justice (November 1924–January 1926). In the cabinet of **Andrei Liapchev** he again assumed the position of minister of trade, industry, and labor (January 1926–May 1930). In the 1930s he joined a political group centered around the magazine *Mir*. He supported the coup of 19 May 1934. In 1934–36 he was president of the Bulgarian Mortgage Bank. During World War II he maintained an anti-Fascist and anti-German stance, but he refused to cooperate with the Communists. He was also against organizing a guerrilla movement. In March 1943 he was involved in a movement to save the Bulgarian Jews. He was a supporter of the pro-English and pro-French lines in foreign policy. However, he joined the Fatherland Front as an independent intellectual. The Communists rewarded him for that, appointing him, along with **Venelin Ganey** and **Todor Pavlov**, one of the three regents of Bulgaria. Boboshevski took an ambiguous stance on various issues; sometimes his attitude was even favorable to the opposition. He held the post of regent from 9 September 1944 until 8 September 1946, when Bulgaria was proclaimed a republic. (JJ)

Sources: *Entsiklopediya Bulgariya*, vol. 1 (Sofia, 1978); Tasho V. Tashev, *Ministrите na Bulgariia 1879–1999* (Sofia, 1999).

BOBROWSKI Czesław (17 February 1904, Sarny–17 May 1996, Warsaw), Polish economist and politician. In 1925 Bobrowski graduated from Warsaw University and

in 1927, from the Ecole des Sciences Politiques in Paris. In 1925–26 he worked in the Polish General Consulate in Prague; from 1931 to 1932 he was director of a Polish-Soviet trade company, Sovpoltorg, in Moscow; and in 1936–39 he was director of a department in the Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reforms. In 1931 and 1933–36 he edited the biweekly *Gospodarka Narodowa*. During World War II he lived in the West, where he co-authored the “plan for the first six months” of Polish economic policy after the war. He came back to Poland in August 1945. A deputy to the Communist-controlled Home National Council (1945–47) and to the Constituent Assembly (1947–51), from August 1946 to December 1948 he was a member of the Supreme Board of the Polish Socialist Party (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna [PPS]), and from November 1945 to March 1948 he chaired the Central Planning Office (Centralny Urząd Planowania [CUP]) and was deputy chairman of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers. He co-authored the Three-Year Plan for Economic Reconstruction, passed in September 1946 and based on a well-balanced concept of an even rate of growth in all branches of the economy. He distanced himself from the Soviet model of planning and from the “battle for trade” policy of the (Communist) Polish Workers' Party (Polska Partia Robotnicza [PPR]), which meant complete nationalization. At a joint meeting of PPS and PPR leaders on 18–19 February 1948 **Hilary Minc** (PPR) attacked the CUP for favoring consumption and not production, for deviation from Marxist “science,” and for mixing up planning and forecasting. The resignation of Bobrowski and liquidation of the CUP are thought to be the beginnings of Stalinization in the Polish economy.

In 1948–50 Bobrowski was an ambassador to Sweden, and then he remained abroad. In 1952–56 he worked in the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris. On 30 October 1951 he was stripped of his parliamentary mandate. He returned to Poland during the “thaw.” From 1956 he worked at Warsaw University, where in 1959 he became a full professor. In 1957–63 he was deputy chairman of the Economic Council of the government and favored the decentralization of economic management and a more flexible, indicative planning. From 1964 to 1968 he was president of the Main Board of the Popular Knowledge Society. In the 1960s and 1970s he worked for various international organizations. He was UN planning adviser for the governments of Algeria, Ghana, and Syria. He also taught in France and Italy. As dean of the Department of Economics, on 8 March 1968 he intervened with the authorities on behalf of repressed students. After the introduction of martial law in December 1981, he took the position of chairman of the Consultative Economic

Council, authenticating party and government policies. From 6 December 1986 to 17 July 1989 he belonged to the Consultative Council for the Chairman of the Council of State, General **Wojciech Jaruzelski**. Bobrowski authored numerous works, including *U źródeł planowania gospodarczego* (At the roots of economic planning; 1956), and *Wspomnienia ze stulecia* (Memoirs of one hundred years; 1983). (PK)

Sources: Mołdawa; *Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna*, vol. 4 (Warsaw, 2001); Jan Drewnowski, "Proces Centralnego Urzędu Planowania," *Zeszyty Historyczne*, 1974, no. 28; Krystyna Kersten, *Narodziny systemu władzy* (Poznań, 1990).

BOBRZYŃSKI Michał (30 September 1849, Kraków–3 July 1935, Poznań), Polish historian of law and politician. After graduating from St. Ann High School in Kraków, Bobrzyński studied law at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. In 1872 he received a Ph.D. there. He mainly dealt with the history of Polish and German law. From 1879 he was a full professor at the Kraków university. In 1878 he became a member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences. In the next dozen years he published several works, including *Dzieje Polski w zarysie* (Outline of Polish history; 1879), revised and reedited many times. He was of the opinion that Old Poland's problems were a result of a weak state authority and not the greed of its neighbors. This view stimulated fierce debates among historians and politicians. One of the founders of the so-called Kraków historical school, in 1885 Bobrzyński was elected to the Galician Land Parliament (Sejm) and to the parliament in Vienna, where he sat until 1908 (with a break in 1900–1903). He was one of the leaders of the Kraków Conservatives, the so-called Stańczyk group, advocating "organic work" and not armed insurrections as the best national policy. He thought Galician Poles should support the Habsburgs in exchange for guarantees of national development. In 1891–1901 Bobrzyński was vice-president of the Land School Council in Lwów (Lviv) and contributed to the extension of the school network and the upgrading of Galician education.

When Governor Andrzej Potocki was assassinated by a Ukrainian in April 1908, Bobrzyński became his successor. In the five years of his term his main goals were the easing of Polish-Ukrainian tensions and a reform of the Galician electoral law. He thought it in the interest of Poland to support Ukrainians against Russia, which he perceived as the main threat to Poland. On both issues he faced strong opposition from the National Democrats, and when both projects failed, he resigned in May 1913. After the outbreak of World War I he tried to push through a plan for the unification of the Russian-controlled former

Kingdom of Poland with Austria. In 1916–17 he was Austrian minister for Galicia, focusing his efforts on a draft law separating Galicia and making it easier for its future merger with the rest of Polish territories. After Poland regained independence, Bobrzyński retired from political life. In 1919 he settled on the Poznanian estate of Graby and returned to scholarly work. In 1919 he chaired the Inquiry (Ankieta), a group of experts evaluating various projects of the constitution. In 1922 he co-authored a proposal for the autonomy of Lwów (Lviv), Stanisławów (Ivano-Frankivsk), and Tarnopol (Ternopil) Provinces, and in 1926 he took part in the Commission of Three to prepare a reform of the administration. He was also the author of *Wskreszenie państwa polskiego* (Revival of the Polish state, 2 vols.; 1920–25) and the memoirs *Z moich pamiętników* (From my diary, 2 vols.; 1957). (PU)

Sources: *PSB*, vol. 2; *Encyklopedia historii Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1999); Waldemar Łazuga, *Michał Bobrzyński: Myśl historyczna a działalność polityczna* (Warsaw, 1982); Henryk Wereszycki, *Historia polityczna Polski 1864–1918* (Wrocław, 1990); Wojciech Kaute, *Synteza dziejów Polski Michała Bobrzyńskiego* (Katowice, 1993); Józef Buszko, *Polacy w parlamencie wiedeńskim 1848–1918*; (Warsaw, 1996); Piotr Majewski, ed., *Michał Bobrzyński o potrzebie "silnego rządu" w Polsce* (Warsaw, 2001).

BOCHEŃSKI Józef [monastic name Innocenty] (30 August 1902, Cuszów, near Kraków–8 February 1995, Fribourg, Switzerland), Polish logician and philosopher. Born into a landowner's family, in 1920 Bocheński took part in the Polish-Soviet war. Later he studied economics in Poznań (with, among others, with **Florian Znaniecki**), philosophy in Fribourg, and theology in Rome. At first he considered being an agnostic; in 1926, however, he entered a theological seminary in Rome, and in 1932 he was ordained in the Dominican Order. In 1931 he received a Ph.D. in philosophy, and in 1934, in theology. Afterward he lectured at the Collegium Angelicum in Rome and at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. He took part in the Polish-German war of 1939, and as chaplain of the Polish Army in the Italian campaign, he was at the Battle of Monte Cassino (May 1944). From 1945 he was a professor at Fribourg University, where he lectured in the history of twentieth-century philosophy. In 1950–51 he was dean of the Philosophical Department and from 1964 to 1966, rector of this university. He also taught at the University of Notre Dame (1955–56), UCLA (1958–59), the University of Kansas (1960), the University of Pittsburgh (1968), and the Canadian University of Alberta in Edmonton (1971). In 1972 he retired but continued intensive scholarly activities.

As a philosopher Bocheński firmly opposed relativism

and skepticism. He was of the opinion that the world is a logic structure, recognizable through experience and common sense. In numerous works and public presentations he criticized nationalism, racism, pacifism, feminism, and anarchism as contrary to the rudiments of European culture. He also opposed a liberal interpretation of humanism and democracy and argued that they stemmed from Christianity. His main philosophical interest was in liberty and authority. The most important of his early works include the following: *De cognitione existentia Dei* (On the recognition of the existence of God; 1936); *Elementa Logicae Graecae* (Elements of Greek logic; 1937); *Europäische Philosophie der Gegenwart* (Contemporary European philosophy; 1947); *The Ancient Formal Logic* (1951); *Formale Logik* (Formal logic; 1956); and *The Logic of Religion* (1965). Until 1994 he was president of the World Council of Societies of Logic and Methodology of Science.

Bocheński was a pioneer of Sovietology. He founded the Institute of Eastern Europe in Fribourg and was its first director. He advised the governments of West Germany (the Konrad Adenauer cabinet), the United States, Argentina, and Switzerland. He considered Marxism as a set of false enunciations and stressed the contradictions between communism and the European tradition. He edited *Studies in Soviet Thought* and the series *Sovietica*. He authored dozens of books, including *Handbuch des Weltkommunismus* (Handbook of world communism; 1958); *Der sowjetrussische dialektische Materialismus (Diamat)* (Soviet dialectics of materialism [Diamat]; 1962), and *Sto zabobonów: Krótki filozoficzny słownik zabobonów* (One hundred superstitions: A short philosophical dictionary of superstitions; 1987). He held numerous honorary doctorates, from Polish, U.S., Latin American, and African universities. He founded the Polish Catholic Mission in Switzerland and was its first rector. From 1945 to 1989 his works were banned in Poland, but after the fall of communism he was reappeared in the Polish media and publications. (PK)

Sources: *International Who's Who 1983/84*; Ks. D. Gabler, "Józef Maria Bocheński: Logik, filozof, mędrzec," *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 25 October 1987; Aleksander Bocheński, *Materiały do kroniki rodzinnej Bocheńskich* (Fribourg, 1981); *Słownik historii doktryn politycznych*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1997); E. Morscher and O. Neumaier, *Joseph Maria Bocheńskis Leben und Werk* (Salzburg, 1988); *Między Logiką a Wiarą. Z Józefem M. Bocheńskim rozmawia Jan Parys* (Warsaw, 1998).

BODNARAŞ Emil (10 February 1904, Kolomyia–24 January 1976, Vienna), Romanian Communist activist. Bodnaraş' father was Ukrainian, and his mother was German. After graduating from high school he studied law at the university in Iaşi. However, he did not complete

his studies, and he switched to the Officers' Academy in Timișoara, from which he graduated in 1927. Next, he began his military service, first in Craiova and then in Sadagura, close to the Soviet border. From there, as an agent of Romanian intelligence, he managed to get to the USSR in 1931. Captured, he agreed to switch loyalties; he underwent training in the OGPU (Obedinennoe gosudarstvennoe politicheskoe upravlenie) center in Astrakhan and started working in the foreign intelligence of the NKVD. As an NKVD agent, Bodnaraş, who was fluent in German, went on many spy missions to Poland and the Baltic states. On his way to Bulgaria in 1934 he was recognized at a station in Bucharest, and he was arrested. Condemned to death for desertion and for crimes against the security of Romania, he had his sentence commuted to ten years' imprisonment. He served his sentence in prisons in Doftana, Aiud, Galați (Galatz), Braşov, and Caransebeş, where he met the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP), became close to **Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej**, and formally entered the RCP.

Released on 7 November 1942, Bodnaraş settled in Brăila, where, under the pseudonym "Engineer Ceauşu," he continued to spy for the USSR despite the fact that he was under police surveillance. The most mysterious period in his life was between 1942 and 1944. In those years he visited Tîrgu-Jiu Prison and met the RCP leaders who were being held there. This must have taken place with the full knowledge of Siguranța, the security police of Marshal **Ion Antonescu**, who probably hoped that Bodnaraş might become a willing tool in his hands when Romania joined the side of the Allies. However, Bodnaraş was a key figure chosen by the Kremlin not only to direct the Communist takeover, but also to remove unwanted persons from the Communist leadership. As early as April 1944 he dismissed the formal head of the party, **Ştefan Foriş**. As a result, the leadership of the RCP was assumed by a group that arrived from the USSR and by Gheorghiu-Dej. Bodnaraş represented the RCP in the group of politicians who were preparing Romania's shift to the side of the Allies. In May 1944 he attended a meeting with King **Michael** at which the overthrow of Antonescu was mentioned for the first time. During the coup in August 1944 Bodnaraş commanded the Patriotic Guard, a unit of which imprisoned Antonescu and then handed him over to the Soviets. The Patriotic Guard was the germ of the Communist political police, to which Bodnaraş recruited not only Soviet agents, but also criminals and members of the Fascist Iron Guard who wanted to avoid responsibility. On 15 January 1945 the prime minister, General **Nicolae Rădescu**, called for the dissolution of the Patriotic Guard, but Bodnaraş ignored this order.

In February 1945 Bodnaraş was instrumental in overthrowing the government of Rădescu. In the cabinet of **Petru Groza**, Bodnaraş served as undersecretary of state in the Prime Minister's Office, and in fact he controlled Groza's moves. In April 1945 Groza formally appointed him head of the government political information service. In this capacity, until 1947 Bodnaraş was in charge of the cruel suppression of opposition leaders. In December 1947 he became defense minister and was promoted to general. He monitored the army's behavior toward the Communist-imposed abdication of King Michael, and then he conducted a purge of the army. As a member of the party Politburo, Bodnaraş often acted as a mediator between fractious factions. He was also responsible for brutal persecutions in the Greek Catholic Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Orthodox Church, as well as for collectivization, during which many resisting peasants were killed and tens of thousands were sent to forced labor camps—for example, along the Danube-Black Sea Canal.

Bodnaraş supported Gheorghiu-Dej in his efforts to eliminate the group of **Ana Pauker**, **Vasile Luca**, and **Teohari Georgescu** in 1952 and to dismiss and then murder **Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu** (1948–54). Bodnaraş gradually removed direct Soviet executors from the security apparatus and from the army and replaced them with similar Romanian elements. During the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, when the leadership was afraid that the unrest might spread to Romania, Bodnaraş became head of the government's special military and police command. This command pressured the Kremlin to launch a military intervention in Budapest. When the Communists arrested **Imre Nagy** and took him to Bucharest, Bodnaraş also had an opportunity to interrogate him. At the end of November 1956 he arrived in Budapest to help **János Kádár** rebuild the political police, with the assistance of Hungarian agents from Transylvania.

Bodnaraş supported Gheorghiu-Dej in his struggle against **Miron Constantinescu** and **Iosif Chişinevschi** in 1957. From 1956 to 1959 Bodnaraş was formally only a minister of transport, and his position in the party leadership was due to his position in the KGB. From the end of the 1950s he closely cooperated with Gheorghiu-Dej in his efforts to carve out a more independent foreign policy for the RCP. However, the degree of the Kremlin's tolerance for this policy, as well as Bodnaraş's true motives in this matter, are controversial. As early as 1955, Gheorghiu-Dej and Bodnaraş were intending to demand the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Romania, and they achieved this goal in May 1958. In February 1964 Bodnaraş was a member of the Romanian delegation sent to Moscow and Beijing in an

attempt to ease the conflict between China and the USSR. He was closely connected with **Nicolae Ceauşescu** from the time the latter was his subordinate as chief political commissar of the army. After Gheorghiu-Dej's death, in March 1965 Bodnaraş supported Ceauşescu's candidacy as Gheorghiu Dej's successor. At the Ninth Congress of the RCP in July 1965 Bodnaraş joined the new seven-member Standing Presidium of the CC. He remained a member of this presidium until the end of his life, probably to make credible the RCP's "independent line" toward the Kremlin. Although in 1954 he voted in favor of the execution of Pătrăşcanu, after Pătrăşcanu's rehabilitation in 1968 Bodnaraş published an article mourning the death of a "great personality" and a "good friend." Bodnaraş supported the consolidation of Ceauşescu's power, delivering, for example, the main speech on amendments to the constitution in 1974. (WR)

Sources: Michael Shaffir, *Romania: Politics, Economics and Society* (Boulder, Colo., 1985); Victor Frunză, *Istoria stalinismului în România* (Bucharest, 1990); Edward Behr, *Kiss the Hand You Cannot Bite: The Rise and Fall of the Ceauşescus* (New York, 1991); Şerban N. Ionescu, *Who Was Who in Twentieth Century Romania* (Boulder, Colo., 1994); G. Iavorschi, "Pentru cine a lucrat 'inginerul Ceauşu'?" *Magazin Istoric*, 1994, no. 9; Dennis Deletant, *Communist Terror in Romania: Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State, 1948–1965* (New York, 1999).

BŐHM Vilmos (6 January 1880, Budapest–28 October 1949, Stockholm), Hungarian politician and trade union activist. A mechanic by trade, Bőhm started his political career in the Hungarian Social Democratic Party (HSDP) with trade union activity. In 1912 he was elected to the HSDP leadership and soon became secretary of the National Union of Iron and Nonferrous Metal Workers. During the republican revolution of late 1918, he was secretary of state in the Ministry of Defense and chairman of the committee for demobilization. From January 1919 he was minister of defense in the government of Dénes Berinkey. After the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic (HSR) in March 1919 he continued directing this ministry and took over the high command of the Hungarian Red Army fighting in Slovakia. In the spring of 1919 he favored armistice with the Entente and opposed the Soviet-type rule of "the dictatorship of the proletariat." In March and April 1919 he was also people's commissar for nationalization. He was proud that nationalization in Hungary went further than in Soviet Russia.

From July 1919 Bőhm was minister plenipotentiary in Vienna, where he held talks with the representatives of the Entente on the international recognition of the HSR. After the fall of Soviet rule in Hungary he stayed in Vienna, where he worked as a senior salesman in a

department store. At the same time he wrote memoirs and articles on the Hungarian revolution, including *A Magyar Tanácsköztársaság keletkezése és összeomlása* (The rise and fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic; 1920) and *Két forradalom tüzeiben* (In the flames of two revolutions; 1923). From 1934 he lived in Czechoslovakia and then in Sweden, where he was active in the Hungarian Social Democracy movement abroad. Among other things, during World War II he was a go-between in the talks between the Hungarian government and the anti-German coalition. In 1945 he returned to Hungary, taking the lead of the right wing of the Social Democratic Party, unwilling to merge with the Communists. From 1946 he was ambassador to Sweden. In 1948 he resigned and refused to go back to Hungary. In Communist historiography he is shown as a representative of the conservative, or even treacherous, attitude of the Social Democrats. (MS)

Sources: *Magyar Nagylexikon*, vol. 3 (Budapest, 1994); *Nagy Képes Milleniumi Arcképcsarnok* (Budapest, 1999); *Új Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 2001); Rudolf L. Tókes, *Béla Kun: The Man and the Revolutionary* (New York, 1966); Éva Szabó, "Adalékok Böhm Vilmos politikai életrajzához," *Történelmi Szemle*, 1980, no. 1; László Havanyecz, "Egy elsőgenerációs hazafi," *Népszabadság*, 1997, no. 107.

BOJKO Jakub (7 July 1857, Gręboszów, near Dąbrowa Tarnowska–7 April 1943, Gręboszów), Polish peasant politician. Bojko did not finish school but was an autodidact. He worked on his family farm and was also a peasant teacher, a communal writer, and an administrative head of the Gręboszów rural district. He published articles in *Wieniec* and *Pszczółka* and then in *Przyjaciel Ludu* and *Piast*. From the beginning of the 1890s he was active in the peasant movement. He was a co-founder of the Peasant Party (Stronnictwo Ludowe [SL]) and a member of the party's top executive body. He was the SL deputy to the Galician Diet (1895–1914) and to the Austrian Reichsrat (1897–1918). After the split in the SL he joined the Polish Peasant Party Piast (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe Piast), and in 1914–18 he was president of the party. In independent Poland Bojko was a member of the Main Board (1918–20) and of the Chief Council (1919–27) of the PSL Piast. On behalf of this party he was elected to the Constituent Assembly and served as deputy speaker. From 1922 to 1927 he was senator and deputy Senate speaker. He backed the coup of May 1926; therefore in 1927 he left the PSL Piast and founded Peasant Unification (Zjednoczenie Ludu), a party that supported the new regime. However, his new party did not gain any significant support among the peasants, so he was reelected to the Assembly in 1928 on behalf of the Nonparty Bloc

of Cooperation with the Government (Bezpartyjny Blok Współpracy z Rządem [BBWR]). In 1930 he became a BBWR senator. However, owing to his age and health he was less and less active, and he focused mainly on writing his memoirs. In his village, Bojko was a well-known storyteller, and his articles, stories, and poems were very popular. It was his book *Dwie dusze* (Two souls; 1904) that brought him the greatest fame. He also authored *Ze wspomnień* (From the memoirs; 1959). (WR)

Sources: *Kto był kim w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1994); Wilhelm Feldman, *Stronnictwa i programy polityczne w Galicji 1846–1906* (Kraków, 1907); Zygmunt Lasocki, *Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe w czasie wojny* (Kraków, 1935); Andrzej Zakrzewski, *Wincenty Witos* (Warsaw, 1978).

BOLETINI Isa (15 January 1864, Boletin, near Mitrovica–23 January 1916, Podgorica), Albanian independence activist. Boletini came from a rich family from Kosovo. From 1878 he participated in the League of Prizren, which was instrumental in the Albanian national awakening. He took part in the last battle of the league's supporters with the Turkish troops at Slivove (22 April 1881). After the fall of the league, with his detachment Boletini continued operations in the neighborhood of Sokolica, avoiding Turkish pacification in 1884–85. During the Greek-Turkish war of 1897 he cooperated with the Greeks. As a representative of the Mitrovica region, he took part in the congress of Albanian delegates in Peje (Peć) in 1899. In 1899–1900 he was aligned with **Bajram Curri** and with the Beselidhja Shqiptare society in Peje. In 1902 he went to Istanbul, trying to organize support for the Albanian cause in Turkey, but he was interned. He returned to political activity in 1908, after the Young Turk revolution. In 1910–12 he was one of the most influential leaders of the anti-Turkish uprising in northern Albania. His troops controlled the area between Mitrovica and Prishtina. During the First Balkan War, in October 1912 he fought against Serbian troops that entered this territory. He took part in the Congress of Vlorë, which proclaimed Albanian independence on 28 November 1912. In 1913, along with **Ismail Kemal**, Boletini represented Albania at a conference of major European powers in London and tried to counteract a division of the territories inhabited by Albanians. Then he returned to Kosovo, where he organized an anti-Serb uprising. In 1914 his troops supported Prince **Wilhelm von Wied** against separatists operating in the region of Shijak. Boletini was killed in an ambush organized by a Montenegrin detachment. (TC)

Sources: *Fjalori Enciklopedik Shqiptar* (Tirana, 1995); Bardhosh Gaçe, *Ata që shpallën Pavarësinë Kombëtare* (Tirana, 1997).

BONDARCHUK Sergei (29 September 1920, Bilozerka, near Kherson—October 20, 1994, Moscow), Soviet actor and movie director of Ukrainian descent. Before World War II Bondarchuk studied at the Theater School in Rostov. After the German invasion in 1941 he played in various front-line theaters, and in 1945–48 he studied at the All-Union Institute of Cinematography in Moscow. He made his stage debut in 1948 in the play *Molodaia Gvardiia* (Young Guard), based on a novel by Aleksandr Fadyeev. His movie directing debut was *Fate of a Man* (1959), based on a story by Mikhail Sholokhov, for which he received the top award at the film festival in Moscow. In it Bondarchuk played the lead role of Andrey Sokolov, a Soviet soldier and prisoner of war who fulfilled his duties to the fatherland but lost out in his private life. The movie was thought to be a metaphor for the Soviet man. Bondarchuk was the first Soviet actor who after the war played in a Western movie—*Era notte a Roma* (There was a night in Rome; 1960). In 1966–67 Bondarchuk directed the Russian national saga *War and Peace*, based on the novel by Leo Tolstoy; in it he played Pyotr Bezukhov. He also directed an Italian-Soviet-British production of *Waterloo* (1970), one of the best battle films in history. He strengthened his international reputation with subsequent movies: *Oni srazhalis za rodinu* (They fought for the fatherland; 1975); a Yugoslav film, *The Peaks of Zelenogore* (1976); and *Step* (Steppe; 1978). Ukrainians—also the Ukrainian émigré community—applauded his leading role in the biographical films *Taras Shevchenko* (1951) and *Ivan Franko* (1956). (TS)

Sources: *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1985); Jurij Chanjutin, *Sergei Bondarchuk* (Moscow, 1962); Nina Tolczenowa, *Mera krasoty: Kino Sergeia Bondarchuka* (Moscow, 1974); Vyacheslav Podvig and A. Chernenko, *Masterskaia Sergeia Bondarchuka* (Moscow, 1985); Yuri Tiurin, *Serguēi Bondarchouk* (Moscow, 1988).

BOREJSZA Jerzy [originally Beniamin Goldberg] (14 July 1905, Warsaw—15 January 1952, Warsaw), Polish Communist activist. The son of the editor-in-chief of the Jewish newspaper *Haint*, Borejsza was the half-brother of **Józef Różański**. The name Borejsza was a literary pseudonym. Borejsza attended high school in Warsaw, where he was active in a radical youth organization called Hashomer Hatzair. In 1924 he went to Germany. He was expelled from high school for smuggling revolutionary books. Between 1924 and 1925 he studied at the Polytechnic College in Toulouse, and then he moved to Paris, where he worked as a laborer and also studied Romance philology, especially Spanish literature, at the Sorbonne. In 1926 he took part in the preparations for the Catalanian

revolt and became editor of the Spanish magazine *Acción*. At the end of 1927 he returned to Poland. Drafted into the army, Borejsza served in an infantry regiment in Grodno and Sokółka, and then he worked as a printer and proofreader in Warsaw. In 1929 he joined the Communist Party of Poland (Komunistyczna Partia Polski [KPP]). He worked as secretary for agitation and propaganda of the KPP Warsaw committee. Arrested several times for his Communist activities, he was always released after a few months. He was secretary of the Trade Union Central Department (Centralny Wydział Zawodowy) and the KPP CC and its instructor in Upper Silesia, where he edited *Tygodnik Robotniczy*. From 1936 he wrote for the official newspapers—for example, *Lewar*, *Dziennik Popularny*, *Sygnaly*, *Wiadomości Literackie*, and *Skamander*. With the consent of the KPP, Borejsza entered into cooperation with the *Czarno na Białem* and with *Dziennik Poranny*, the organ of the Polish Teachers' Union. In 1937 he co-organized a sit-in strike of this newspaper. He gained publicity after a series of articles in defense of the Spanish Republic for the *Wiadomości Literackie* and a book on the subject, *Hiszpania (1873–1936)* (Spain, 1873–1936; 1937). After the dissolution of the KPP, in 1938–39 he contributed to *Robotnik*.

At the end of 1939 Borejsza managed to get to Lwów (Lviv), where he worked as a director of Ossolineum (a museum and archive). From 1940 he belonged to the Soviet Writers' Union. The outbreak of the German-Soviet war in June 1941 found him in Kiev. Next, he went in Moscow and Kuibyshev. Owing to the support of Georgi Dimitrov, Borejsza was admitted to the Red Army as a volunteer, and he fought as a captain on the front. In 1943 he took an active part in organizing the Union of Polish Patriots (Związek Patriotów Polskich [ZPP]) and the First Tadeusz Kościuszko Infantry Division. In 1943–44 he contributed to *Nowe Widnokreghi*, the organ of the ZPP, and was editor-in-chief of *Wolna Polska*. He also served as a major in the First Polish Army, publishing a series of battlefront reports.

From 1944 Borejsza was an activist in the Polish Workers' Party (Polska Partia Robotnicza [PPR]). Thanks to his efforts, a part of the Ossolineum collections was brought to Wrocław after the war. In April 1947 he was appointed a deputy member of the CC, and on 1 October 1948, deputy head of the Department of Propaganda, Culture, and Education of the PPR CC. From May 1945 he was a deputy to the National Home Council (Krajowa Rada Narodowa [KRN]). Borejsza was the first editor-in-chief of *Rzeczpospolita*, the organ of the Polish Committee of National Liberation (Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego [PKWN]). He organized and was president of the publishing cooperative *Czytelnik* (1945–48) and was editor-in-chief of the social

and literary magazine *Odrodzenie* (1948–50). He also initiated the construction of the publishing house Dom Słowa Polskiego. At the Unification Congress of the PPR and the Polish Socialist Party in December 1948 Borejsza was appointed a deputy member of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza [PUWP]) and deputy head of the Department of Culture, Education, and Science of the PUWP CC. Borejsza was a co-organizer and secretary general of the World Congress of Intellectuals for Peace, initiated for Soviet propaganda purposes and held in Wrocław in 1948. In January 1949 a serious car accident drastically reduced his political activity. His books include *Rewolucja łagodna* (Mild revolution; 1945); *Ostrożnie z bombą atomową* (Careful with the atomic bomb; 1945); and *Na rogatkach kultury polskiej* (On the turnpike of Polish culture; 1947). (WD)

Sources: *Słownik Pracowników Książki Polskiej*; CA KC PZPR, zespół Jerzego Borejszy, 257 BSK PZPR 237/XXIII, personal file no. 15; *10 lat książki "Czytelnika"* (Warsaw, 1954); K. Małek, *Z Mazur do podziemia* (Warsaw, 1970); Zofia Nałkowska, *Dzienniki czasu wojny* (Warsaw, 1970); *Organizacja i działalności bojowe LWP 1943–1945*, vol. 4 (Warsaw, 1963); Edmund Osmańczyk, *Był rok 1945* (Warsaw, 1970).

BORETSKY Mykola (19 December 1879, Sarny–1936, Leningrad?), Metropolitan bishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, victim of Communist persecution. In 1901 Boretsky graduated from the theological seminary in Kiev. Ordained in 1904, in 1921 he joined the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, established by Archbishop **Vasyl Lipkivsky**. From 1922 he was bishop of Haysyn. When the Soviet authorities removed Lipkivsky, on 17 October 1927 the Second Ecumenical Council chose Boretsky as the metropolitan bishop and the head of the Ukrainian autocephalia, composed of around three thousand parishes. As a conciliatory hierarch, he was able to organize ecclesiastical conferences and edit *Tserkva i Zhyzn* magazine for some time. Despite his efforts to maintain correct relations with the authorities, he was ordered in 1930 to liquidate the autocephalia. As a result of his refusal he was arrested by the authorities and sent to a camp in Medvezhegorsk and then to the Solovets Islands, where he is believed to have turned insane as a result of the appalling living conditions. His later life is unknown. According to one version, he died in prison in Leningrad. (WR)

Sources: *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (Toronto, 1984); *Russian Oppression in Ukraine* (London, 1962).

BORILĂ Petru (13 February 1905, Silistra–?), Romanian Communist activist. From the early 1920s Borilă was active in Communist youth organizations, and from 1924,

in the Communist Party of Romania (CPR). He took part in the Tatar-Bunar uprising in 1924. Serving in the army, he escaped to the USSR and was tried in Romania for desertion. He graduated from the Leninist School of the Comintern and the Mikhail Frunze Memorial Military Academy, and in the late 1930s he fought in the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War. He commanded a battalion and was wounded. After returning to the USSR, he co-organized and was one of the commanders of the Tudor Vladimirescu Division within the Red Army, to which former Romanian POWs were recruited. In August 1944 he came back to Romania, where he joined the Central Committee of the Communist Party. From April 1947 he was secretary of the party organization in Bucharest. In 1948 he was appointed political commissar of the Romanian Army and advanced to general. From February 1949 to March 1950 he was deputy minister of defense and chief of the Political Directorate of the army. From March 1950 to March 1951 he was minister of construction and then chief of the state control commission. After the purge of **Ana Pauker**, **Vasile Luca**, and **Teohari Georgescu** in 1952, Borilă joined the Politburo of the CC of the Romanian Workers' Party (RWP), and from October 1953 to October 1955 he was deputy prime minister. In April 1954 he extensively and falsely testified against **Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu**. Closely connected with **Gheorghe Gheorgiu-Dej**, Borilă was RWP delegate to the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet party in February 1956 and to the Moscow conference of Communist parties in 1960. From March 1961 to March 1965 he was deputy prime minister again. In the course of the elimination of Gheorgiu-Dej's followers by **Nicolae Ceaușescu**, Borilă was dismissed from the Politburo in December 1968; his daughter, Ioana, was married to Ceaușescu's son, Valentin. (WR)

Sources: Lazitch; Stephen Fischer-Galati, ed., *Romania* (New York, 1957); Dennis Deletant, *Communist Terror in Romania: Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State, 1948–1965* (New York, 1999); Ion Alexandrescu, Ion Bulei, Ion Mamina, and Ioan Scurtu, *Enciclopedia de istorie României* (Bucharest, 2000); Thomas Kunze, *Nicolae Ceaușescu: O biografie* (Bucharest, 2002).

BORIS III Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha (30 January 1894, Sofia–28 August 1943, Sofia), Tsar of Bulgaria. Boris was the son of **Ferdinand** and Maria-Louisa Bourbon-Parma. After his father's abdication he succeeded him on 3 October 1918. The change in sovereigns was, along with territorial concessions and war reparations, one of the conditions of armistice and later of the peace treaty signed by the victorious coalition with Bulgaria in Neuilly on 27 November 1919. From 1918 to 1923 Boris played a strictly titular role. On **Aleksandur Stamboliyski's**

demand, he dissolved the National Assembly in February 1920, which led to early elections and the assumption of dictatorial power by the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union. However, Boris's importance as an agent uniting the divided political scene grew steadily. He backed **Aleksandur Tsankov's** rightist coup of 9 June 1923 and resisted a Communist upheaval in September 1923. In April 1925 on two occasions he avoided being killed by the Communists. They organized an unsuccessful attack on him in the Arabakonak Pass, and two days they later blew up the Orthodox church of Holy Sunday in Sofia. One hundred and fifty people were killed then, and five hundred were injured. Along with his government Boris was late for the mass and therefore survived. After the attack, the Communist Party of Bulgaria was delegalized, and its leaders were arrested. The repressive measures alarmed the more moderate political forces, which wanted a return to democracy, so Boris persuaded Tsankov to resign.

Between 1926 and 1934 Boris supported democratic governments, but they were unstable. There was an increase in radical nationalist attitudes, on the one hand, and on the other hand, an increase in the influence of the republican military group Zveno. Boris, in turn, steadily expanded his own political base. The military coup of 19 May 1934, staged by the Zveno officers, threatened not only democracy, but monarchy as well. Prime Minister **Kimon Georgiev** announced radical reforms and established relations with the USSR. All this induced Boris to reach for a full control of power. With the help of some of the officer corps faithful to him, Boris forced the government of Georgiev to resign, purged the army of the opponents of the monarchy, and, in November 1935, appointed the cabinet of **Georgi Kioseivanov**, who proved a useful instrument of the tsarist government. The manipulated elections of 1938 gave Boris full control over the parliament. In foreign policy he chose a pro-German course, hoping for the backing of the Third Reich in the precarious surroundings of the Balkan Entente (Yugoslavia, Greece, and Romania) and for support for Bulgarian territorial claims against its neighbors in the future. The increase in trade with Germany temporarily brought prosperity to Bulgaria but subordinated its economy to the Third Reich. However, the support of Germany helped in the signing of an agreement with the Balkan Entente states in which the signatories renounced the use of force and agreed to remove the restrictions on the number of soldiers in the Bulgarian Army.

After the outbreak of the Polish-German war in 1939 Bulgaria proclaimed neutrality. The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of August 1939 gave Bulgaria a sense of stability, but in 1940 Boris became involved in the rivalry between

Berlin and Moscow for influence in the Balkans. Owing to the support of Berlin, in August 1940 Bulgaria gained southern Dobrudja, which was annexed from Romania. This intensified pressure from the USSR, which sought a treaty of mutual assistance with Bulgaria. This pressure induced Boris to seek further rapprochement with Germany. On 1 March 1941 he decided Bulgaria would join the anti-Comintern Pact. The German Army used the Bulgarian territory for an attack on Yugoslavia and Greece, and in April 1941 the Bulgarian Army occupied Macedonia, which was annexed from Yugoslavia. Despite the deterioration of Bulgarian-Soviet relations after June 1941, Boris opposed the involvement of Bulgaria in the war against the USSR. This was easier especially because Hitler no longer had much to offer Bulgaria. The declaration of war against England and the United States was of a symbolic nature, but it made Bulgaria's situation difficult at the end of the war. Temporarily, Boris's effective tactics won him great popularity. German pressure increased after the defeat at Stalingrad. In March 1943 the government in Sofia disenfranchised and expropriated the Bulgarian Jews, but Boris did not agree to their deportation to the Nazi extermination camps.

Noticing a breakthrough on the Eastern Front, in the summer of 1943 Boris started secret negotiations with England; the agreement aimed at an offensive on the Balkans, and Boris also more and more seriously considered joining the side of the Allies. On 14 August 1943 Boris arrived, at Hitler's invitation, at his headquarters in Rastenburg (Kętrzyn). Hitler demanded that two Bulgarian divisions be put at his disposal, but Boris refused. Soon after his return to the country, during a stay in a mountain health resort, Tsarska Bistritsa, on 23 August Boris suddenly fell ill, and he died after five days. There is a theory that he was poisoned because Hitler was alarmed by his attitude toward the Allies. According to the doctors who examined his heart, the cause of death was an extensive infarction. (WR)

Sources: *Biographisches Lexikon*, vol. 1; *Entsiklopediya Bulgariya*, vol. 1; Hans-Joachim Hoppe, *Bulgarien-Hitlers eigenwilliger Verbündeter* (Stuttgart, 1979); Stefane Groueff, *Crown of Thorns: The Reign of King Boris III of Bulgaria, 1918-1943* (Lanham, Md., 1987); Marshall Lee Miller, *Bulgaria during the Second World War* (Stanford, 1975); *Duma*, 12 November 1991.

BORISEVIČIUS Vincentas (23 November 1887, Bebrinkai, near Vilkaviškis–November 1946, Vilnius), Lithuanian bishop, victim of communism. Born into a peasant family, Borisevičius studied theology and philosophy in the theological seminary in Sejny and at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. In 1910 he was ordained and started

his ministry in the Samogetian parishes. In 1916–17 he was chaplain of the Tenth Russian Army in Minsk. After returning to Lithuania, he worked as a school chaplain in Marijampolė; in 1922–26 he lectured in theology in the Gižai theological seminary, and then he was chancellor of the Telšiai diocese. From 1927 to 1935 he was professor and rector of the Telšiai theological seminary. In 1940 he was consecrated bishop and appointed auxiliary bishop of the Telšiai diocese, and in 1941 he took it over as an ordinary bishop. After the Red Army returned to Lithuania in the summer of 1944, the Soviet authorities demanded that the bishops condemn the anti-Communist guerrillas. Since Borisevičius refused, he was arrested in 1946 and shot in prison. (WR)

Sources: *EL*, vols. 1 and 6; Andrius Baltinis, *Vyskupo Vincento Borisevičiaus gyvenimas ir darbai* (Rome, 1975); Constantine R. Jurgėla, *Lithuania: The Outpost of Freedom* (St. Petersburg, Fla., 1976); Irena Mikłaszewicz, *Polityka sowiecka wobec Kościoła katolickiego na Litwie 1944–1965* (Warsaw, 2001).

BOROVETS Taras, pseudonym “Bulba” (9 March 1908, Bystrzyce, near Równe–15 May 1981, New York), Ukrainian social and political activist. In the Second Republic of Poland Borovets was the owner of masonry works in Volhynia. He made a plaque for the grave of the mother (and the heart) of Marshal **Józef Piłsudski** at the Rossa cemetery in Vilnius. For his activities in the Ukrainian nationalist underground he was imprisoned in the Bereza Kartuska camp. In 1940–41, on the recommendation of the president of the Ukrainian National Republic, **Andrei Livytsky**, Borovets organized an armed underground in Polesie. After the outbreak of the German-Russian war in 1941, he formed the Polesian Sich, which fought against the remnants of the Red Army. When the Germans demanded the disarmament of his troops, he withdrew to the forests near Olevsko. There he formed the first Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukrainska Povstanska Armiiia [UPA]), which fought against the Germans and Communists. He disagreed with the unification of his formation with the UPA composed of the **Stepan Bandera** faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN-B). He also did not support the anti-Polish actions carried out by the Bandera movement, which led to mass killings in the Polish population in Volhynia in 1943. In the summer of 1943 the majority of Borovets’s people were incorporated by force into the Bandera faction of the UPA. Borovets changed the name of his divisions to the Ukrainian National Revolutionary Army (UNRA) in order to distinguish them from those of his political rivals. In the autumn of 1943 he entered into negotiations with the Germans. Arrested and sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in November 1943, he

was released in 1944. In 1946 he was arrested by the British and charged with the murder of Poles, but he was released. He did not play a major role while in exile in Germany, Canada, and the United States. In West Germany he was involved in various activities, including the organization of the Ukrainian National Guard and the editing of the magazine *Mech i Volia* (1951–53). He later went to the United States. Borovets authored the memoirs *Armiiia bez derzhavy* (An army without a state; 1981). (GM)

Sources: *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1984); Baley Petro, *Frona Stepana Bandery v OUN 1940 r.* (Las Vegas, 1997); *Entsyklopediia Ukrainoznavstva*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1993); Torzecki Ryszard, *Polacy i Ukraińcy: Sprawa ukraińska w czasie II wojny światowej na terenie II Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1993).

BOROWSKI Tadeusz (12 November 1922, Zhytomyr–3 July 1951, Warsaw), Polish writer. Borowski spent his childhood in the Soviet Ukraine. After coming to Poland, his family settled in Warsaw in 1932, and his father worked as a blue-collar laborer. During the German occupation Borowski graduated from an underground high school and started Polish studies at the underground Warsaw University. He was also active in the cultural life of the leftist youth. In February 1943 he was arrested by the Gestapo and sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp in Oświęcim. From August 1944 he was in the Natzweiler-Dautmergen and Dachau camps. Liberated by the American Army in May 1945, he stayed in a displaced persons’ (DP) camp on the outskirts of Munich. In 1946 he returned to Poland, where he graduated in Polish studies. In 1948 he joined the Polish Workers’ Party (as of December 1948, the Polish United Workers’ Party [Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza]) and wrote for the Communist press—in, among other publications, the daily *Rzeczpospolita* and the weekly *Nowa Kultura*. He made his debut as a poet during the occupation and while in the DP camp, describing the degradation of humanity under totalitarian Nazi rule. In his most popular series of short stories, *Pożegnanie z Marią* (Farewell to Maria; 1948) and *Kamienny świat* (World of stone; 1948), he dispassionately elaborated on the mechanism of moral depravation in the system of mass murder. Borowski initially interpreted totalitarianism as the result of social engineering experiments. In his later works he gave over his talent to Communist propaganda and promoted Socialist Realism. He committed suicide. A collection of his short stories was published in New York as *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen* in 1967. (WR)

Sources: *Literatura polska XX wieku: Przewodnik encyklopedyczny*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 2000); Czesław Miłosz, *Captive Mind* (New York, 1953); Tadeusz Drewnowski, *Ucieczka z*