Przemyśl, Galicia: A Garrison Town Before, During, Between and After War (1873-1953)

Przemyśl, Galitzia: Una ciudad guarnición antes, durante, entre y después de la guerra (1873-1953)

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Abstract: The fortress town of Przemyśl, now located in Southeastern Poland, exemplifies many trends in Eastern European military history. Constructed in the 1870s and 1880s, Fortress Przemyśl was one of Austria-Hungary's most important military centers. I trace the growth of the fortress and civilian community from the 1880s through the end of World War II, as they underwent sieges, invasion, population exchange, economic decline, and atrocities. I argue that Przemyśl illustrates the shift from multi-national to mono-ethnic communities, the increase in ethnic violence in Eastern Europe through the period of the World Wars, and the long duration of military infrastructure.

Keywords: *Austria-Hungary, Poland, World War I, Urban History, Fortress.*

Resumen: La plaza fuerte de Przemyśl, hoy en día situada al sureste de Polonia, ejemplifica muchas de las tendencias de la historia militar de Europa oriental. Construida en los años 70 y 80 del siglo XIX, la Fortaleza Przemyśl fue uno de los más importantes centros militares del Imperio austrohúngaro. En este artículo rastreo el crecimiento de dicha plaza fuerte y su población civil desde los años 80 del siglo XIX hasta el final de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, un periodo en el que sufrirán asedios, invasiones, intercambios de población, decadencia económica y atrocidades. Finalmente, sostiendo que Przemyśl ilustra el cambio de un modelo de comunidad multinacional a otro de carácter étnicamente homogéneo, el incremento de la violencia étnica en Europa oriental durante todo el periodo de entreguerras y la larga duración de la infraestructura militar.

Palabras clave: *Austria-Hungría, Polonia, Primera Guerra Mundial, historia urbana, fortaleza.*

E ast Central Europe during the first half of the twentieth century saw tragic, tumultuous, and monumental change.[1] Merely keeping a track of the shifting borders, moving and exterminated populations, changing political ideologies and factions is a formidable task. Perhaps the best way to make sense of the changes East Central European society and life is to simply select a spot, and watch the ebb and flow of armies, migrations, and political movements and their effect on the stationary community. Site selection in such a micro history is important. The community should be both exceptional and typical –i.e. its fate should reflect broader trends in the region, but feature an exaggeration of trends in order to illustrate them more clearly. The community should also clearly illustrate both continuities and changes within its administration, legal and social structures, infrastructure, and population. Finally, when studying military history, a site should be selected with major military significance, a place that can show the effects –both advantageous and disadvantageous– of garrison presence, fortress construction, and military investment.[2] Few places are more effective microcosms of twentieth century East Central European military history than Przemyśl, Poland. One of southern Poland's oldest cities and once home to a vibrant multinational community of Poles, Ukrainians and Jews, Przemyśl was fundamentally changed in the 1870s and 1880s by military construction.[3] By the turn of the century, Przemyśl was Austria-Hungary's largest fortress complex and one of the most important defensive sites in the Empire. In turn, military construction shaped the layout of the town and drove Przemyśl's development. From 1889 through 1914, the city served as the headquarters of Austria-Hungary's X[th] Army Corps, responsible for mobilizing, training, and defending a large portion of Austrian Galicia. If the army vitalized the economic life of the city, it was also a curse –Przemyśl endured the longest siege of World War I before capitulating to the Russians in March 1915. After 1918, Przemyśl retained is military function serving as a logistical base for the Polish army during its wars against the Ukrainians and Bolsheviks, and then as Polish corps headquarters through the interwar years. In 1939, the city was divided between Nazi and Soviet occupied Poland, before becoming a Holocaust site, battlefield, and a frontier backwater in communist Poland.[4]

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[2] Some of the most important recent works in Austro-Hungarian history are urban histories, for the reasons listed above. See Börries KUZMANY: *Brody. Eine galizische Grenzstadt im langen 19. Jahrhundert*, Vienna, Böhlau, 2011; Gary B. COHEN: *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861-1914*, 2nd edition. West Lafayete, IN, Purdue University Press, 2006; Jeremy KING: *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848-1948*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2002; and Nathaniel D. WOOD; *Becoming Metropolitan: Urban Selfhood and the Making of Modern Cracow*, DeKalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 2010.
[3] I will use the term Ukrainian throughout this paper, though Ruthenian was the preferred term until World War I.
[4] There is not much written in English on Przemyśl's city history. The best Polish language general histories are Jan MALCZEWSKI: *Przemyśl w latach 1772-1914. Budownictwo, gospodarka komunalna, przemiany przestrzenne*, Przemyśl, Wydawnictwo "Carpathia", 2012; and Maciej DALECKI: *Przemyśl w*

Przemyśl's journey from an imperial bastion of the Habsburgs, to a center of Polish national defense, to a dividing line between two totalitarian states, and finally to obscurity illustrates the life cycle of many cities within East Central Europe, but is particularly useful as an example of garrison towns. One of the most important drivers of urban development throughout history is military spending. Armies shape cities by building garrisons, logistical infrastructure, fortifications, and dictating spatial layout. Beneficiaries and victims of their state's military policies, garrison towns are where imperial or national policies have the most direct impact on local life, and rise and fall in importance as a result of state policy. In East Central Europe, fluid borders and multi-ethnic populations make garrison towns especially important —they are often the only real manifestation of imperial or national identity and power, and enforce the otherwise invisible boundaries between states.[5]

This paper will survey the history of Przemyśl from the construction of its fortress complex in the 1870s through the immediate post World War II era. While this will necessitate a quick march through several decades, it will enable long term trends to come to the fore. Przemyśl's journey from Austrian to communist administration shows a transition from a multi-cultural to a mono-cultural society.[6] Tied to this trend is a steady increase of nationalist conflict and political violence by increasingly irregular forces. These trends are unfortunately fairly common across the region.[7] More unique to Przemyśl is a trajectory from a position of imperial significance to insignificance and consequent economic and social stagnation and reinvention. The city's rise and fall in importance is an example of how decisions by the central government of a state can affect conditions for local communities. Within this time period, Przemyśl's strategic purpose also shifted from a generally anti-Russian to an anti-Ukrainian focus. This shift from opposing a Great Power to opposing an ethnic community reflecting the priorities first of Austrian and then of Polish military planners and personnel. Finally, Przemyśl illustrates recycling and repurposing of military and imperial infrastructure, and the resultant contested memories and memorials of the past.

Latach 1891-1939: Przestrzeń, Ludność, Gospodarka, Przemyśl, Archivum Państwowe w Przemyślu, 1999.

[5] For a discussion of frontier cities, see Alfred J. RIEBER: "Changing Concepts and Constructions of Frontiers: A Comparative Historical Approach," *Ab Imperio* 1 (2003). For a discussion of fortified cities see G.J. ASHWORTH: *War and the City*, London, Routledge, 1991, pp. 52-58.

[6] In 1870, Przemyśl had a population of 15,000 - 42% Roman Catholic (i.e. Polish), 19% Greek Catholic (i.e. Ukrainian), and 38% Jewish. Curt DUNAGAN: *The Lost World of Przemyśl: Interethnic Dynamics in a Galician Center, 1868 to 1921*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Brandeis University, 2009, pp. 111.

[7] For a regional overview, see Ivan T. BEREND: *Decades of Crisis: Central and Eastern Europe before World War II*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1998, or Joseph ROTHSCHILD: *East Central Europe between the Two World Wars*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1974.

Fortress Construction.

Located in southeastern Poland near the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains, Przemyśl was originally founded in the 11th century AD. Przemyśl's castle and portions of its medieval city walls still stand, echoes of a vibrant medieval and renaissance urban life, but the city mostly stagnated economically through much of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Annexed to Austria as part of the First Partition of Poland in 1772, Przemyśl was home to a small garrison, two bishoprics, several monasteries and synagogues, and not much else.[8] This changed in 1854 when tense relations with Russia during the Crimean War resulted in the construction of a ring of brick artillery works around the city in 1854.[9] The city was to guard key passes over the Carpathian Mountains in order to protect the Hungarian plain from attack in a war with Russia. This role led to Przemyśl being referred to as the Hungarian Gate or the Przemyśl Gate.[10]

Relations between Russia and Austria were generally cordial during the late 1850s and 1860s, so there was no significant additional work on the fortifications until Austria re-evaluated their strategic stance and military organization after the disastrous Austro-Prussian War of 1866. Austria, now Austria-Hungary, altered its political and military structure, and invested heavily in fortifications to overcome its obvious military deficiencies. As part of this construction boom, Austria-Hungary's Chief of Staff, Frederick Beck worked to fortify key cities along the Austro-Russian border.[11] Krakow, by dint of its geographical position, served as the western foundation for the Austrian defense. The Austrians also fortified Lviv, Zalishchyky and the river crossings at Jaroslau and Sierdawa. After Beck's building program, the most heavily fortified of these cities was Przemyśl. Favorably located near several tributaries of the Vistula and San Rivers and mountain passes over the Carpathian Mountains, Przemyśl was also located on a key railroad junction and was to serve as a fortified supply base for any potential Austrian offensive into Russian Poland.[12] After major construction was completed by the end of the 1880s, Przemyśl was surrounded by two rings of fortifications, and housed barracks and warehouse facilities for around 80,000 men, though the usual garrison was closer to 9,000.[13]

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[8] Kazimierz GIRTLER: *Przemyśl w zaraniu doby doby autonomicznej*, Przemyśl, Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Nauk. w Przemyślu, 1999.

[9] Hermann HEIDEN: *Bolwerk am San: Schicksal der Festung Przemysl,* Oldenberg, Gerhard Stalling Verlag, 1940, pp. 34-36.

[10] Beata ŚWIĘTOJAŃSKA: "Miasto Przemyśl: Garnizonem Armii Austro-Węgierskiej w Okresie Autonomii Galicyjskiej," *Rocznik Przemyski*, XL vol 4 (2004), pp. 29; Aleksy GILEWICZ: "Twierdza Przemyśl w XIX I XX w." *Rocznik Przemyski* XII (1968), pp. 197.

[11] Scott LACKEY: *The Rebirth of the Habsburg Army: Friedrich Beck and the Rise of the General Staff,* Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1995, pp. 117.

[12] Ralph BUTLER: "Frontiers of Central Europe and their Defense," in *The Geographical Teacher*, 6:6 (Autumn, 1912), pp. 336-341.

[13] Curt DUNAGAN: op. cit., pp. 7, 278. The most comprehensive work on the construction of Fortress Przemysl is Franz FORSTNER: *Przemyśl: Österreich-Ungarns bedeutendste Festung,* Vienna, Österrei-

Przemyśl's strategic role was solidified by the transfer of the Xth Army Corps headquarters to the city in 1889. The presence of this corps meant that additional buildings, offices, and administrative services like engineers, surveyors, artillery, and technical troops were available in the city. The corps brought more funds and staff officers, and local recruitment of troops was increased. There was also much more training of men and officers.[14] As units were transferred out to Przemyśl, local recruits filled in the ranks, but the army still brought considerable diversity to the town. Most of the infantry units stationed in Przemyśl were made up of Polish and Ukrainian soldiers. The cavalry regiments were Hungarian and Polish, and the artillery units were mixed German and Czech. As was typical in the Austro-Hungarian army, the officer corps in all units was largely German and Hungarian.[15]

City life in Austria-Hungary.

The army attempted to shape the scattered loyalties and character of the town, to create loyal civilians and a stable frontier zone. The army was supposed to serve as a unifying imperial institution, and in Przemyśl it was a major representative of the Imperial government along the Russian border. The construction of fortifications required massive capital investment by the imperial government as well as large numbers of laborers and material. While many fortified cities are curtailed by their fortress belts, Przemyśl grew significantly during the construction period.[16] These rings of fortifications and sizable barracks complexes were integrated into the city, and took up a large portion of Przemyśl's landscape, even within the city center.[17] Before World War I, there were over ninety separate military buildings or complexes

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chischer Bundesverlag, 1987. See also Tomasz IDZIKOWSKI: *Twierdza Przemyśl: Powstanie, Rozwój, Technologie*, Krosno, Arete Spółka z o.o., 2014 for a thorough architectural and technical examination of the fortress rings.

[14] See Johann GRAULIK: *Das k.und k. Corps-Artillerie-Regiment Leopold Prinz-regent von Bayern No. 10: Chronik der Ereignisse vom Jahre 1854 bis 1894*, Vienna, Aus der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1894, pp. 229-230. According to Graulik, when the regiment moved out to Galicia in 1883, the officers tried everything to avoid going, fearing the harsh conditions and lack of coffeehouses on frontier. See pp. 211-212.

[15] See Glenn JEWISON & Jörg C. STEINER: "Austro-Hungarian Armed Forces 1914," *Austro-Hungarian Land Forces 1848-1918,* http://www.austro-hungarian-army.co.uk/comd1883.htm (last accessed Sept. 15, 2015) and DUNAGAN: op. cit., pp. 284.

[16] For a discussion of the issues involved with fortified cities see G. J. ASHWORTH: op. cit., pp. 52-58. For examples of city growth being restrained by city walls, see Carl E. SCHORSKE: *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, New York, Vintage Books 1981; Jacek PURCHLA: "The Urban Development of Kraków," in Eve BLAU and Monika PLATZER (ed.), *Shaping the Great City: Modern Architecture in Central Europe, 1890-1937*, Munich, Prestel, 1999, pp. 148-153; Ileana PINTILIE: "The Center of the Periphery: Timişoara's Urban Architectural Evolution," in Eve BLAU and Monika PLATZER (ed.), op. cit., pp. 154-157; Jacek PURCHLA: *Cracow in the European Core*, Cracow, Wydawnictwo BOSZ, 2008, pp. 157-158.

[17] See the "Stadtplan von Przemyśl," (1907). http://www.lvivcenter.org/en/umd/mapdetails/stadtplan-von-Przemyśl -1907/. (last accessed Sept. 1, 2015).

interspersed with houses, businesses, and workshops.[18] Both the fort and the attendant garrison served as a direct spur to urbanization by requiring a supporting service economy. The military was by far the largest single employer in Przemyśl, with the number of soldiers dwarfing the numbers of workers, farmers, or tradesmen.[19]

Soldiers made up around twenty percent of the city population in the decades around the turn of the century. As a result, the garrison brought thousands of officers and men to the city, all of whom had disposable income. The city was unable to directly tax the soldiers, but they did resort to heavy taxation of commodities used by soldiers. In 1901 alone, Przemyśl raised a quarter of a million Kronen (or over half of the city budget) by taxing alcohol.[20] The garrison also spurred the development of a variety of military support industries. In 1890, there were 56 saddle makers, over 500 gunsmiths, and over 1700 construction workers.[21] These in turn helped to drive growth in the city population (from 22,000 in 1880 to 54,000 in 1910) and resultant civilian construction. The number of civilian buildings exploded. Just in the period from 1880 to 1900, there was an almost two fold increase of both freestanding houses and apartments.[22] Before the construction of the forts, Przemyśl boasted no significant industry or administrative function, so population growth was directly spurred by jobs related to the defense sector. Przemyśl's population rose rapidly during the construction of fortifications –from 15,000 to 54,000 between 1869 and 1910. While this era was generally a time of rapid urbanization, Przemyśl grew more rapidly than other Galician towns of similar size largely as a result of imperial defense spending.[23]

In addition to its indispensable role in the local economy, the army had a significant impact on local governments. As the most important instrument of the Habsburg state, the army was probably the imperial government's main point of contact with the local population

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[18] Bogusław BOBUSIA, Marek GOSZTYŁA, and Monika ZUB: *Plany Twierdzy Przemyśl* vol. 3, Przemyśl, Archiwum Państwowe w Przemyślu, 2010, lists the existing Austro-Hungarian military buildings or complexes in and around Przemyśl as well as their current condition and use.
[19] Franz FORSTNER: op. cit., pp. 15.
[20] *Echo Przemyskie*, "Budżet miasta Przemysla na rok 1901" (13 January 1901), pp. 2; Krzysztof BROŃSKI, "The Roll of Mayors in the Development of Medium-sized Galician Towns Using the Examples of Nowy Sącz, Przemyśl and Stanisławów," in Jacek PURCHLA (ed.), *Mayors and City Halls: Local Government and the Cultural Space in the Late Habsburg Monarchy,* Krakow, International Cultural Center, 1998, p. 90. See also DALECKI: "Gospodarka finansowa samorządowych wladz miejskich Przemyśla w latach 1867-1914," *Rocznik Przemyski* 28, (1991-1992), pp. 202-204.
[21] Walerjan KRAMARZ: *Ludność Przemyśla w Latach 1521-1921,* Przemyśl, Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1930, pp.*,* 68-71. Other trades likely working partially or entirely for the military include 852 cafeteria workers, 13 veternarians, and 1220 tailors.
[22] Jacek BŁOŃSKI: "Przemyśl: 'Najzacniejszy plac broni Galicji," *Nasz* Przemyśl, 54:3 (March 2009), pp. 41. KRAMARZ: op. cit., pp. 107. In 1880 there were 1208 freestanding houses, and by 1900 there were 2103. For apartment units, it was 3892 and 7658 respectively.
[23] Krzysztof BROŃSKI: "The Roll of Mayors in the Development of Medium-sized Galician Towns Using the Examples of Nowy Sącz, Przemyśl and Stanisławów," in Jacek PURCHLA (ed.), *Mayors and City Halls…,* pp. 86.

and government.[24] Thanks to several laws granting Galician towns effective autonomy, Przemyśl's city council theoretically had control over military recruitment, local elections, taxation, and building barracks. [25] However, zoning, changes to infrastructure, and construction even of civilian buildings required approval from the fortress engineer.[26] The army effectively also controlled the police. Przemyśl's small civilian police force was supplemented by military police, and assisted by patrols of regular soldiers when necessary.[27]

The army attempted to encourage loyalty and culture in Przemyśl by holding frequent concerts, parades, and inspections by members of the Habsburg family, but there was plenty of room for other cultural currents. The city was predominantly Polish, and was run by a Polish mayor, but the city council and government invariably had Ukrainian and Jewish representatives. While Polish culture was dominant, there was plenty of space for other peoples. Przemyśl featured many Polish nationalist clubs and associations, Jewish schools, and Ukrainian political parties and schools. Przemyśl served as a center for Ukrainian language education in several Greek Catholic run schools and seminaries.[28] The Greek Catholic church was a key component in Habsburg Galician politics and as the seat of a bishopric, Przemyśl was intimately involved in church politics.[29] Meanwhile, Jews were highly influential in the trade and business sectors, and ran run four synagogues and several schools, though through the fortress era, they declined as a percentage of the population from 41% in 1869 to 30% in 1910.[30]

Nationalist conflict did occur, though it was relatively minor when compared to elsewhere in Galicia. The Austrian administration in Galicia seems to have been much more concerned with Krakow and Lviv as centers of nationalist agitation than Przemyśl, which remained

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[24] For the importance of the Austro-Hungarian army in the Dual Monarchy, see Istvan DEAK: *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848-1918*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. ix; Gunther E. ROTHENBERG: *The Army of Francis Joseph*, West Lafayette, Indiana, Purdue University Press, 1976; Alan SKED: "Social Attitudes and Legal Constrains: Army Life in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1890-1914," *Journal on European History of Law*, 2 (2012), pp. 11-32.

[25] Zbigniew BIERSDORF: "Town Halls in Galicia," in PURCHLA: op. cit., pp. 125-141.

[26] For example, the 1891 "Plan regulacyi miasta Przemyśla" was written "in accordance with the k.k. military authorities" as well as the city Magistrate, city council, and other local authorities. This army influence over city plans resulted in many regions of the city being designated as restricted or off limits. See Archiwum Państwowe w Przemyślu, frond 129, folder 1713, pp. 1.

[27] Beata ŚWIĘTOJAŃSKA: "Twierdza Przemyśl," pp. 30, 215.

[28] See Christopher HANN: "Limits of Galician Syncretism: Pluralism, Multiculturalism and the Two Catholicisms," in Christopher HANN and Paul Robert MAGOCSI (eds.), *Galicia: A Multicultured Land,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2005, pp. 225-240.

[29] See John-Paul HIMKA: *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia, 1867-1900,* McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston, 1999, pp. 43-48.

[30] Of course, the size of the Jewish population increased, just less quickly than the rest of the city. In 1869 there were 5,962 Jewish residents of Przemyśl, while in 1910 there were 16,062. See August S. FENCZAK: "Uwagi o rozmieszczeniu ludności żydowskiej w Przemyślu na przełomie wieków XIX i XX," in Feliksa KIRYKA (ed.), *Żydzi w Małopolsce: Studia z dziejów osadnictwa i życia społecznego*, Przemyśl, Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Nauk. w Przemyślu, 1995, pp. 265-272; DUNAGAN: op. cit. For Jews in Galicia more generally, see Piotr WRÓBEL: "The Jews of Galicia under Austro-Polish Rule, 1869-1918," *Austrian History Yearbook*, 25 (1994), pp. 97-138.

relatively quiet on the national front until the early 1900s, when a scattering of Ukrainian student led demonstrations occasionally disturbed the peace.[31] Ukrainian nationalism was generally for additional rights within the Austrian system, and thus not especially threatening to imperial officials.[32] Pro-Russian sentiment, though, was threatening. Ukrainians were often suspected or arrested for promoting pan-Slavism, worse, spying. Przemyśl was the frequent target of Russian spies, which were generally assumed to use the Ukrainian population for cover and support.[33]

Austrian authorities were more concerned with the Social Democratic movement in Przemyśl who were vehemently opposed to the military and would constantly push against the army's influence in the city. Przemyśl was a major center for socialists in Galicia.[34] Led by Dr. Herman Lieberman, the Social Democrats in Przemyśl were associated with the Austrian Social Democratic party.[35] Lieberman was interested in the usual workers issues, but was deeply concerned with the role of the army in Przemyśl. He edited the radical *Głos Przemyski* and frequently attacked army policy and actions. As a result, his memoirs recount frequent harassment by officers. In 1900, a succession of officers challenged Lieberman to duels and threatened his family. Soon after, bands of offended workers attacked numerous officers one night, resulting in the arrest of Lieberman and twenty other socialists.[36] Bad blood continued between socialists and the garrison – on one occasion socialists attacked an army band celebrating the Emperor Franz Joseph's birthday.[37] Despite conflict with the army, the socialist mo-

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[31] For some examples, see See OStA - AVA Inneres MdI Präsidium Carton A 2109 (Galicia 1903-1905) Zl. 1613/pr (24 November 1903), a report on 60 Ukrainians who met outside of Przemyśl.

[32] For a good summary of nationalist conflict within Galicia, see Kerstin S. JOBST: "Compromise and confrontation: The so-called national question in Galicia," in Jacek PURCHLA and Wolfgan COS (eds.), *The Myth of Galicia*. Krakow, International Cultural Center, 2014, 166-169.

[33] For a few examples, see "Szpieg," *Głos Przemyski* (27 August 1899), pp. 3; "Znow areztowanie szpiegów rosyjskich w Przemyślu," *Głos Przemyski* (9 August 1902), pp. 3; and "Szpiedzy w twierdzy przemyskiej," *Głos Przemyski* (17 January 1903), 3-4. The most famous and damaging of these spies was COL Alfred Redl, who turned over plans for fortress Przemyśl along with war plans and other sensitive information to Russian intelligence. See Geoffrey WAWRO, *A Mad Catastrophe: The Outbreak of World War I and the Collapse of the Habsburg Empire,* New York, Basic Books, 2014, pp. 83-90.

[34] For an overview of the Social Democratic movement in Galicia, see Kerstin S. JOBST: *Zwischen Nationalismus und Internationalismus. Die polnische und ukrainische Sozialdemokratie in Galizien von 1890 bis 1914,* Hamburg, Dölling und Galitz, 1996. One report to the Austrian Ministry of the Interior warned that there were nine chapters of the Social Democratic Party in Przemysl. See OStA - AVA Inneres MdI Präsidium Carton A 2108 (Galicia 1898-1902), Zl: 126/pr. "Bericht des k.k. Statthalteri-Rattes in Bezirkshauptmannschaftsleiten im Przemyśl vom 5/7 1898," pp. 9.

[35] Przemyśl was the site of the first Polish Social Democratic party (thanks to a split with the Ukrainians) in Galicia. See Martin POLLACK: *Galizien: Eine Reise durch die verschwundene Welt Ostgaliziens und der Bukowina*, Frankfurt am Main, Insel Verlag, 2001, pp. 22-23; Paul ROAZEN: *Helene Deutsch: A Psychoanalyst's Life,* New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 1992, pp. 31-34.

[36] See excerpts from Lieberman's memoirs in Stanislaw WIATER: *Przemyśl w Oczach Pisarzy: Antologia XX Wieku*, London, Oficyna Poetow I Malarzy, 1994, pp. 58-66; "Aresztowanych," *Echo Przemyskie* (11 November 1900), pp. 3; and OStA Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (AVA) Inneres (MdI) Präsidium Carton A 2109 (Galicia 1903-1905) P. Nr. 8984/MI 1903 (26 December 1903).

[37] OStA - AVA Inneres MdI Präsidium Carton A 2109 (Galicia 1903-1905), P. Nr. 6147/MI 1904 (25 August 1904) and P. Nr. 6756/MI 1904 (21 September 1904).

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vement grew substantially to the point that Lieberman was elected to Parliament in 1907, much to the dismay of the garrison. A celebratory march of eight thousand workers on 17 May 1907 turned into a test of strength between Lieberman's supporters and the army. While the protest turned violent and protestors threw rocks at a police barricade, soldiers and police officers, responded with bayonets and sabers. According to the police, there was only one protestor killed, but the socialists claimed that around two hundred workers had been wounded.[38] While events clearly got out of hand during this riot, the army also quickly and repeatedly reacted to quash pogroms and ethnic violence, usually effectively maintaining order.[39] Despite some resentment towards imperial officials, Przemyśl had a dynamic and multicultural civil society during the late Habsburg years.

World War I.

Though always a significant presence in the city, the military dominated civic life during World War I. The garrison ballooned to over 100,000, and Austria-Hungary's chief of staff Conrad von Hötzendorf directed the initial weeks of fighting from there.[40] Przemyśl was caught up in the varying fortunes of the Austro-Hungarian army –the city underwent two sieges, before surrendering to the Russian army on 22 March 1915. After a two-month Russian occupation, the city was recaptured by the Central Powers as part of the Gorlice-Tarnow offensive. After recapture, Przemyśl served as a logistical hub for further fighting on the Eastern Front and was never seriously threatened by Russian action again.[41] Through these catastrophes, Austrian authorities and soldiers turned against the Ukrainian population, and Russian occupiers indulged in anti-Semitic persecution. Thus, Przemyśl illustrates how pre-existing tensions between ethnic and religious groups were exacerbated and turned to violence during

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[38] OStA - AVA Inneres MdI Präsidium A (Galicia 1907) carton 2111, Nr. 5992/MI 1907. At least 14 soldiers and police were injured while repressing the protest. See also "Das Polizeimassacre in Przemyśl," *Arbeiter Zeitung* (24 May 1907), pp. 4.

[39] One of the most significant was a pogrom on 23 May 1898. In response to a large riot attacking Przemyśl's Jewish sector, a full battalion of the 77th Infantry Regiment arrested over 100 and quickly restored order. See "Zaburzenia głodowe w Przemyślu" *Kuryer Lwowski* (27 May 1898), pp. 1-2; "Roboty lub chleba," *Echo Przemyski* (29 May 1898), pp. 2.

[40] Laurence SONDHAUS: *Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf: Architect of the Apocalypse*, Boston: Humanities Press, 2000, pp. 152-155.

[41] For further details on Przemyśl during World War I see John FAHEY: "From Imperial to National: Przemyśl, Galicia's Transformation Through World War I," *REGION: Regional Studies of Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia*, 4:2 (2015), pp. 195-218; Graydon A. TUNSTALL: *Blood on the Snow: the Carpathian Winter War of 1915*, Lawrence, Kansas, University Press of Kansas, 2010; ÍD.: *The Verdun of the East: Fortress Przemyśl in World War I*, Bloomington, Indiana, Indiana University Press, 2016; Bruno PROCHASKA: *Przemsyl 1914/15*, Vienna, Kommanditgeffschaft Payer & Co, 1935; HEIDEN; and Kevin J. STAPLETON: *Lives of Przemyśl: War and the Population of a Fortress Town in Galicia, Austrian Poland, 1914-1923*, unpublished master's thesis, University of Central Florida, 2016.

the First World War. In harsh conditions, the various ethnic communities turned increasingly against each other as the Austrians lost credibility and capacity to govern.[42]

In September 1914, General Hermann Kusmanek, the fortress commander, ordered the destruction of over forty villages around Przemyśl. These were mostly inhabited by Ukrainians, and though there was some need to clear fields of fire for the fortress zone, the Austrians explicitly wanted to punish the perceived pro-Russian Ukrainian population and spies.[43] One Austrian Colonel even described leaving bombs and mines in abandoned Ukrainian houses near Przemyśl in order to prevent the inhabitants from returning.[44] As the Austrian army resorted to deliberately persecuting segments of the Galician population, local government officials were not far behind.[45] Przemyśl's city government supported Kusmaek in his actions forcibly relocating Ukrainian villagers. During the two sieges, the city government was largely subsumed by the fortress command, which took control over most aspects of city life. This proved a brutalizing experience, as hunger, low supplies and cold eventually forced Przemyśl to surrender to the Russian army. Before the surrender, soldiers and civilians trapped inside the fort saw the old imagined Habsburg values replaced with scrabbling for survival, distrust of Jews and Ukrainians, and ethnic hostilities.[46] Unequal resource distribution made things worse –soldiers and civilians justifiably resented the carefree and well fed lifestyle of some of the garrison's officers.

Ethnic hostilities came back to the forefront during the Russian occupation of Przemyśl. The Russians encouraged anti-Polish and anti-Jewish actions and around 4000 civilians were deported to Russia.[47] Several former Austrian officials collaborated with Russian led actions against Jews and Poles. The most notable of these is police inspector Eugen Wierzbowski, who guided Russians to Jewish houses to plunder, forced respected Jews to conduct menial and humiliating labor like street cleaning, and assisted the Russians in deporting Jews from the city.[48]

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[42] John Deak has argued that the "state of exception" –Austria's decision to suspend normal rights and governance during World War I– directly contributed to the empire's collapse. See DEAK: *Forging a Multinational State: State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War,* Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2005, pp. 261-276.

[43] Hadtörténelmi Levéltár II. 169. M. kir. 23 honv. Gyaloghadosztaly 3. K.u.k. Festungskommando in Przemyśl Op. Nr. 51/7 "Im Einvernehmen mit dem Artstbschef," (21 September 1914).

[44] Austrian State Archives, KA, NFA Karton 1322, Folder 1345, K.u.K. 3 Verteidigüngsbezirkskommander Res Nr. 397, "Aüszüg aüs dem Bericht über die Aktionen im III Verteidigüngsbezirke während der Einsthlustüng." (3 November 1914), pp. 12-13.

[45] Most of the victims were Ukrainians, who were subjected to summary execution and relocation due to suspicions of Russophilia. For examples, see Alexander WATSON: *Ring of Steel: Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I: The People's War.* New York, Basic Books, 2014, pp. 144-145; PURCHLA and COS: op. cit., pp. 450.

[46] For an example see the diary of Helena Jabłńska, who blamed Jewish hoarders for much of the city's problems. Quoted in Curt DUNAGAN, op. cit., pp. 294.

[47] Yosef ALTBAUER: "Przemysl During the Time of the Siege," in Arie MENCZER (ed.), *Przemysl Memorial Book,* Israel, Irgun Yotzei Przemysl, pp. 174-177.

[48] Austrian State Archives, AVA Inneres MdI Präsidium A (Galicia 1915) carton , Protokoll Nr 15635 (1915), "Verhalten der Polen in Galizien gegenuber der dartigen ju:dischen Bevo:lkerung. Anonyme An-

The city was recaptured by the Germans and Austrians on 3 June 1915, and the city regained its logistical and administrative role for Austrian forces in Galicia through the rest of the war. Upon regaining control of Przemyśl, the Austrian military authorities struggled with the dwindling resources and cohesion endemic in the crumbling Habsburg Empire. Soldiers in Przemyśl were required to gather nettles, encouraged to give to charitable organizations for widows and orphans, and attend concerts to raise money for the Red Cross.[49] Disciplinary problems became endemic —Russian prisoners of war apparently were able to wander around the street and cafes of the city, to the point that when Frederick Augustus of Saxony visited, the local commander had to order POWs off of the street, at least for the time of the visit.[50] Jaroslav Hašek's fictional Good Soldier Švejk visited Przemyśl during these later years of the war – only to narrowly avoid death at the hands of a general who felt that his command needed more courts martial and summary executions.[51]

As the war dragged on, Przemyśl, like much of Austria-Hungary and the Polish lands, became less stable, less loyal and more nationalistic. There were several patriotic Polish demonstrations during 1917 and 1918. Most disturbingly, for the Austrians, was the reaction of town officials to these demonstrations. For example, a city wide demonstration against the diplomatic recognition of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic on 18 February 1918 was joined by representatives of the county government, the *Regierungskommissät* of the city of Przemyśl, and a large number of teachers. Some of the officials even attended the demonstration in their civic uniforms. The protest morphed into a Polish nationalist demonstration and reached around 10,000 people.[52] A week later, the Ukrainians held a counter-demonstration in favor of the peace treaty. This demonstration numbered 20,000 and ended with mass declaration of loyalty to Emperor Charles of Austria.[53] While this demonstration ostensibly supported the regime, it illustrated the instability of the region, and growing hostility between Ukrainians and Poles.

These trends came to a head in late October and early November 1918. As Austria-Hungary's military and political control over Galicia faded, Poles and Ukrainians scrambled to

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zeige." See also Alexander WATSON: *Ring of Steel: Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I: The People's War,* New York, Basic Books, 2014, pp. 193-194. After the Central Powers recaptured Przemyśl, Wierbzowski recieved 22 months of hard labor for collaboration.

[49] For example, Austrian State Archives, Kriegsarchiv, Terr Befehle 66 Przemyśl 10 Korps, K.u.k. Militarstationskommando in Przemyśl, "Militarstationskommandobefehl No. 183" (3 July 1916), pp. 1-3; "Militarstationskommandobefehl No. 301 (29 October 1916), 1-2; "Militarstationskommandobefehl No. 345 (12 December 1916), pp. 1-2.

[50] Austrian State Archive K.u.k. Brückenkopfkommando Przemysl, "Reservat-Militärstationskommando-Befehl Nr. 7 (5 September 1917), pp. 1.

[51] Jaroslav HAŠEK: *The good soldier Švejk: and his fortunes in the World War,* New York, Crowell, 1974.

[52] Austrian State Archive, KA ZSt, KM Präs Akten, Carton 2428 Präsidium 52/5/16-2 "Sonderbericht u:ber polnische Demonstrationen und Versammlung" (19 February 1918), pp. 24-27. See also Präsidium 52/5/16, "Polnische Demonstrationen in Galizien; Teilnahme von k.k. Beamten; Antrag auf deren Enthebung; Anregung anderer Massnahmen" (24 Feb 1918).

[53] Austrian State Archive, KA ZSt, KM Präs Akten, Carton 2428 Präsidium 52/5/13, "Politischer Stimmungsbericht" (7 March 1918), pp. 1-3.

fill the power vacuum. The Przemyśl city government contacted the Polish Regency Council on 10 October, which advised them to declare independence and unite with the Polish nation.[54] As Austrian troops finally withdrew, the Ukrainians attempted to seize the city to join it with the Western Ukrainian People's Republic on the night of 3-4 November. After a few days of skirmishing, Polish reinforcements arriving from Krakow forced Ukrainian forces out of the city.[55] Unfortunately, victorious Polish forces imprisoned Ukrainian nationalists and started a pogrom against the Jewish residents of the city. Both groups were subject to preemptive imprisonment and internment camps.[56] Many Poles saw these harsh actions as necessary, as Poland in 1918-1919 was in real danger of being overrun by most of its neighbors, requiring a strong demonstration of Polish national unity and power.

City Life in Interwar Poland .

When World War I ended in Eastern Europe, it rapidly transitioned into regional and local conflicts. In Przemyśl's case, after repelling the Ukrainians in early November, the city served as a logistical hub for the war between the Western Ukrainian People's Republic and the Polish Second Republic. The Austrian era military barracks, railroad stations, and warehouses were intact enough to let the city support Polish campaigns against Ukrainian held Lviv, as well as serve as a location to hold prisoners of war.[57] By 1920, fighting against the Ukrainians had been sidelined in favor of the war with the Soviet Union, which ended with Polish victory by early 1921. Faced with hostile neighbors on virtually all sides, and saddled with what it saw as a demeaning treaty on minority rights, the Interwar Polish Republic struggled with its multi-national character and political fragmentation.[58]

Interwar Poland faced an incredible array of potential enemies, both internal and external. Most of Poland's neighbors objected to the country's existence or borders, and Poland contained a huge minority population which complicated the political makeup of the state. Located on the boundary between Polish lands to the west and Ukrainian lands to the east, Przemyśl was 64% Polish, 26% Jewish and a mere 10% Ukrainian in 1931.[59] However, the countryside around and to the east of Przemyśl was largely Ukrainian, so Przemyśl's Polish residents went out of their way to emphasize their national character. After violent birth of the

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[54] Archiwum Panstwowe w Przemyśl, frond 129, folder 2164, "Zarzad miasta Przemyśla" (1918).
[55] Yosef ALTBAUER: "Przemysl Passes under Polish Rule," in MENCZER (ed.), op. cit. pp. 187-188; Curt DUNAGAN, op. cit.; LUFT: "November 1918," pp. 194-197.
[56] Israel COHEN: "My Mission to Poland (1918-1919)," *Jewish Social* Studies, 13: 2 (April 1951), pp. 162; "The Pogroms in Poland," *The Times* [London], 8 February 1919, pp. 7, *The Times Digital Archive*; WEST UKRAINIAN REPUBLIC: *The Bloody Book: Returns Concerning the Invasion of the Poles into the Ukrainian Territory of East Galicia in 1918/19*, Vienna, Waldheim-Eberle, 1919, pp. 53-55.
[57] *The Bloody Book*, op. cit.
[58] See Peter D. STACHURA: *Poland, 1918, 1945: An Interpretive and Documentary History of the Second Republic*, London, Routlege, 2004.
[59] Zdzisław KONIECZNY: "Przemyśl w latach 1918-1939," in *Tysiąc lat Przemyśla: zaras historyczny* vol. II, Warsaw, Państwowe Wydawn. Naukowe, 1974, pp. 271.

Second Polish Republic, it was important to establish national heroes to replace the Habsburg, Prussian, and Russian ones fostered by the various partitioning powers. Naturally, the Austrians left plenty of imperial monuments and iconography. Statues of Habsburgs, Austrian Eagles, and other imperial paraphernalia were removed in favor of new Polish flags, eagles, and heroes. Excluding cemeteries, the only Habsburg era monuments left in Przemyśl are religious or Polish nationalist in nature.[60]

As Poland removed old Habsburg memorials, they had to be replaced by new Polish ones. In Poland's new pantheon of heroes, Joseph Pilsudski and his legionaries received most of the glory, and Przemyśl was the first city in Poland to build a monument to Pilsudski.[61] However, there were other heroes and groups in the national pantheon. During the 1919-1920 war with the Ukrainians, many high school students and other young people –notably Irena Benschówna, referred to by Polish nationalists as a Polish Joan of Ark– fought and were killed. These young eagles –Eaglets– became martyrs in the aftermath of the war. A local movement to erect a monument in Przemyśl to the Eaglets started in 1924. It took a few years to raise enough momentum, but in 1936 the city council donated land and raised funds. A committee headed by Przemyśl's mayor Leonard Chrzanowski erected the statue. Unveiled on 11 November 1938, the Eaglets Monument consisted of a bronze statue of a young soldier, and a tall stone column topped with a bronze eagle, all in a modernist, interwar style.[62] Located on a square next to the San River and 3rd of May Street, the monument is a powerful marker of Polish identity. As such, the monument proved controversial –as a prominent symbol of Polish nationalism, Ukrainian partisans tried to blow it up it in 1939. The monument was demolished by the Germans during World War II.[63]

Przemyśl also served as the site of a Polish corps headquarters during the interwar years. The transition from an Austrian Corps to a Polish one was reflected in the more national character of the units stationed in Przemyśl, which included the 22nd Mountain Infantry Division. The 22nd Division modeled its uniforms and customs off of the Gorale –Polish highlanders,

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[60] For a discussion of the importance of Habsburg memorials and the post-war era, see Nancy WING-FIELD: "Conflicting Constructions of Memory: Attacks on Statues of Joseph II in the Bohemian Lands after the Great War," *Austrian History Yearbook*, 28 (1997), pp. 147-171.

[61] The original monument was destroyed in World War II –the current monument to Pilsudski was built in 2002.

[62] Kazimierz M.OSIŃSKI: "Orlętom Przemyskim poległym za Ojczyznę, 1918-1921," *WZLOTY* (November 1938). [http://w.kki.com.pl/pioinf/przemysl/dzieje/orleta/orleta.html]

[63] Zdzisław KONIECZNY: "Krótko o historii pomnika "Orląt Przemyskich'," *Walki polsko-ukraińskie w Przemyślu i okolicy: listopad, grudzień 1918*, Przemyśl, Tow. Przyjació·l Nauk, 1993. The monument remained in the minds of Przemyślers, though –as the Polish government became briefly more open to public participation in the 1980s–, residents began to agitate for the reconstruction of the monument. They argued that Przemyśl was one of the few places in Poland where young people actively worked for Polish independence, and that the Eaglets monument was an important reminder of Polish nationalism. The monument's reconstruction was slowed by the transition out of communism, but was finally completed in 1994. The monument still sends a firm message of Polish nationalism, and Polish-Ukrainian relations. See Archiwum Państwowe w Przemyślu Zespol 1270 Sygnatur 196, 1 and Juraj BUZALKA: *Nation and Religion. The Politics of Commemoration in South-East Poland,* Münster, Lit, 2008, pp. 98.

a major change from the imperial army of the pre-war era.[64] The Polish 10th Corps was one of the few Polish commands that did not directly border the Soviet Union or Germany –Poland's most likely regional opponents. As such, the corps was one of the few reserve forces available, and there were no major fortifications built during the interwar period. The Austrian forts continued to serve, though primarily as raw material for other construction, and the former cleared fields of fire were now available for civilian use. Newly available land was the largest source of urban and economic growth during the early 1920s and the 1930s. Former fortress areas were especially used for residential construction.[65] In general though, the economy struggled through the interwar years to find a replacement for Austro-Hungarian revenue. Feliks Mantel complained after World War I that Przemyśl had too many lawyers, too many doctors, and too many luxury good stores. These services had been supported by the Austrian army, but now «there was no longer the Austrian garrison, which fed everything.»[66]

Though the city retained its military role as a new Polish headquarters, the municipality was the primary mover in the city rather than the army in the interwar years. Within the municipal government, Jews made significant progress. The first assistant Jewish mayor was elected in 1928 and city funds were allocated to Jewish schools and charities through the mid 1930s, when fresh elections solidified the control of the city council to more nationalistic Poles.[67] During this period, the army was a relatively minor presence in the city, without the massive spending of the pre-war era, or harsh actions of World War I. As such, Przemyśl's role in defending the nation was more metaphorical, with emphasis on building Polish national identity on the border with the Ukrainian lands.

World War II.

In September 1939, war again dominated Przemyśl. Przemyśl's 22nd Mountain Infantry Division served in various battles against the German invasion of the country. Since it lacked the time to properly concentrate, the division served piecemeal alongside other units. Przemyśl itself was defended by elements of the 24th Infantry Division, along with other hastily assembled reserve forces. These forces managed to hold the city for three days (11-14 September 1939) before retreating from the Wehrmacht.[68] The San River, which bisects Przemyśl, became the border between German and Soviet occupied zones of Poland. Sadly, during 1939-1941, many people crossed bridges in Przemyśl from one occupation zone to the other, thinking

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[64] Franciszek GROŃSI: "Jednostki i instytucje Wojska Polskiego w Garnizonie Przemysl w latach 1918-1939," in Bogusław BOBUSIA: *85 Lat Garnizonu WP w Przemyśl*, Przemyśl, Archiwum Panstwowe w Przemyślu, 2003, pp. 35-141.
[65] See Maciej DALECKI: *Przemyśl w Latach 1891-1939…*
[66] Quoted in Stanislaw WIATER: op. cit. pp. 34.
[67] Y.A.: "The Nation, City and Community" in Arie MENCZER (ed.), op. cit., pp. 200-201.
[68] See Jacek BŁONSKI and Anna CIEPLIŃSKA: *Przemyśl w Czasie II Wojny Światowej*, Przemyśl, Muzeum Narodowe Ziemi Przemyskiej, 2015, pp. 6-15.

that life under the Soviets or Nazis could only be an improvement. The Soviet zone was relatively safe for Jews, but only because the Germans started extermination efforts two days after conquering the city. *Einsatzgruppen* rounded up and killed between over five hundred Jewish men in mid-September alone.[69]

Przemyśl suffered severe damage during the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. The site of heavy fighting, around half of the city's buildings were damaged or destroyed. German occupation was equally harsh, particularly on the Jewish segment of the city. Of a refugee swollen Jewish population of over 23,000 Jews, only three hundred survived through the war Nazi actions against the Jewish population followed a fairly typical pattern – Jews from Przemyśl and the surrounding area were forced into a ghetto for around a year, accompanied with an escalating pattern of harassment, which culminated in a succession of mass deportations. Around two-thirds of Przemyśl's Jewish population was sent to Belzec in late July/early August and November 1942, with other large groups sent to Auschwitz or killed on site in 1943.[70] Some Jews were saved in Przemyśl through the actions of a few local Poles, and in one case a German Wehrmacht officer who moved over 100 Jews to army barracks in order to protect them from the SS.[71]

Jews were not the only victims of the Nazi occupation. Former Austrian barracks were used to house mostly Soviet, but also Dutch, French, Yugoslavian, and Italian POWs in harsh conditions.[72] In 2014, archeologists found the bodies of over 2,500 Russian Prisoners of War and Italians deemed to be traitors after Italy switched sides in 1944. Most of the victims starved to death or died of disease.[73] The remaining Polish population of Przemyśl was likewise harshly treated and resorted to underground schools and resistance led by the Home Army.[74]

Open conflict between Ukrainians and Poles was another depressing feature of World War II, the result of the new Nazi ethnic order. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), inspired by the possibilities of ethnic cleansing achieved by the Nazis attempted to eliminate Poles from Ukraine.[75] Poles responded with defensive militias, which also resorted to ethnic clean-

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[69] For oral histories of the Holocaust in Przemyśl, see John J. HARTMAN and Jacek KROCHMAL (ed.): *I Remember Every Day… The Fates of the Jews of Przemyśl during World War II*, Przemyśl, Towarzystwo Przyjaciól Nauk w Przemyślu, 2002.

[70] M. SCHATTNER: "From outbreak of WW II until the liberation," in Arie MENCZER (ed.), op. cit., 371-372.

[71] See for example The Jewish Foundation for the Righteous, "Albert Battel." https://jfr.org/rescuer-stories/battel-albert/

[72] Jan RÓŻAŃSKI: "Przemyśl w latach drugiej wojny światowej," in *Tysiąc lat Przemyśla: zaras historyczny* vol. II, Warsaw, Państwowe Wydawn, Naukowe, 1974, pp. 351-436.

[73] Ludovica IACCINO: "Poland: 2,500 corpses of WW2 'traitor' soldiers found in Nazi camp mass graves,*"* *International Business Times*, 4 December 2014. [http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/poland-2500-corpses-ww2-traitor-soldiers-found-nazi-camp-mass-graves-1478057] (accessed 15 September 2015).

[74] Jacek BŁONSKI and Anna CIEPLIŃSKA: op. cit., pp. 31-39.

[75] For an overview of the Polish-Ukrainian conflict, see Grzegorz MOTYKA: *Tak było w Bieszczadach: Walki polsko-ukraińskie 193-1948,* Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza Volumen, 1999; Jerzy KOCHANOWSKI, "Gathering Poles into Poland: Forced Migration from Poland's Former Eastern Territories," and "Expulsion, Resettlement, Civil Strife: The Fate of Poland's Ukrainians, 1944-1947" in Philipp THER and Ana

sing. While the heaviest fighting between Ukrainians and Poles took place east of Przemyśl, raids by Ukrainian partisans started as early as May 1943 in nearby villages. After the Soviets occupied Przemyśl, fighting continued in the region, which necessitated several battalions of the new Polish army, the NKVD, and other forces to suppress.[76]

Postwar.

World War II ended slowly in Przemyśl. It took time to end fighting between Polish and Ukrainian militias. Ethnic tensions exacerbated in World War I and enflamed in World War II culminated in the Polish and Soviet led Operation Vistula. This action forcibly removed over 100,000 Ukrainians, including the Lemko minority, from southeastern Poland to territories in newly acquired Western Poland.[77] Units stationed in Przemyśl took active part in removing Ukrainians from southeastern Poland.[78] Operation Vistula removed over 95% of Ukrainian residents in the regions around Przemyśl and Rzeszow, including 57,000 from the Przemyśl district. The Ukrainians were replaced by Poles transferred from Ukraine, but years of extensive violence by state and non-state actors shattered the region's civil society.[79]

During the late 1940s and early 1950s, Przemyśl's residents struggled to recover from the war, to replace the cultural and economic contributions of Jews and Ukrainians, and sought to rebuild its shattered buildings and infrastructure. It also looked to find a broader economic role. With much of the city's traditional hinterland cut off by the Ukrainian border, the city stagnated economically. Military spending in southeastern Poland was minimal – Przemyśl housed a few battalions of the Polish Army, as well as border control forces, but as the city bordere Poland's obstentiable ally the Soviet Union, the actual defensive role of the city was nonexistent.[80] The World Wars left Przemyśl a shadow of itself –depopulated, cut off from its hinterland, economically stagnant, geopolitically insignificant, and deprived of a leadership role in even southeastern Poland.

SILJAK ed.: *Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944-1948*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001.

[76] Grzegorz MOTYKA, pp. 321-333; Dariusz IWANECZKO: "Powiatowy Urząd Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego w Przemyślu – ognśsystemu represji komunistycznych 1944-1956," in *Powiat Przemyski w latach 1944-1956*, Przemyśl: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa w Przemyślu, 2006, pp. 13-32.

[77] Marek JASIAK: "Overcoming Ukrainian Resistance: The Deportation of Ukrainians within Poland in 1947," in Philipp THER and Ana SILJAK (ed.), op. cit.

[78] Tadeus ZAWITOWSKI: "Zarys Historii Jednostek Wojska Polskiego Garnizonu Przemyśla w Latach 1944-2003," in Bogusław BOBUSIA: *85 Lat Garnizonu WP*, pp. 195-208.

[79] Zdzisław KONIECZNY: "Przemyśl w latach 1944-1948," in *Tysiąc lat Przemyśla: zaras historyczny* vol. II, Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawn. Naukowe, 1974, pp. 437-546; Timothy SNYDER: *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003, pp. 196-198.

[80] See Tadeus ZAWITOWSKI: op. cit., pp. 198-199.

Conclusion.

Today, Przemyśl has a strange relationship with its time in the limelight, and the role thrust upon it by Austro-Hungarian strategic planning. The Austrian era fortress belt is now Przemyśl's major tourist attraction, and now features interactive maps, museums, guidebooks and biking paths. In the 1990s, Przemyślers even attempted unsuccessfully to have the fortress ring designated a UNESCO World Heritage site.[81] However, the long years of Communism are a much more recent and relevant historical trauma, and direct knowledge of the old multi-national city and pre-Communist world is mostly faded. This loss of historical memory was driven home by a conversation I had with a local historian Thomas Idzikowski about graffiti. "1909" and "1918" are perhaps the most common pieces of graffiti in Przemyśl. Curious, I asked Thomas what specific events these refer to –perhaps Polish independence, the war with Ukraine, or major socialist demonstrations. He replied that they are the years that Przemyśl's two soccer clubs were founded.[82]

There is a tremendous change between multinational Habsburg Przemyśl and today's city –the loss of a multinational state has meant the loss of Przemyśl's diverse civil society. The Jewish community is essentially gone. The two surviving synagogues are now abandoned, and the Jewish cemetery is largely upheld by foreign donations.[83] While Przemyśl is again the home to a Greek Catholic cathedral, a Ukrainian consulate, a Ukrainian cultural center, and small Ukrainian population, their presence has been controversial. This was very apparent in the early 1990s. The Greek Catholic church had used the Carmelite Church for several centuries before the church was handed over to the Roman Catholics in 1946. Pope John Paul II planned to return the Carmelite Church to the Ukrainians during a visit in June 1991. However, a few dozen members of the Association for the Commemoration of the Przemyśl Eagles occupied the church throughout April and May to prevent it from being handed over to the Ukrainians. Eventually, the Ukrainians were given the former Jesuit Church instead, though this was also resented by Polish nationalists.[84] Later, over controversies over church spires, the mayor publicly said that Ukrainian culture is more foreign to Poles than Eskimo culture.[85] Today,

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[81] Archiwum Państwowe w Przemyślu frond 1270 folder 227, pp. 16-17 and 35. UNESCO turned down Przemysl, saying that their application was insufficiently documented.

[82] The teams are Polonia Przemyśl, founded in autumn 1909, and Czuwaj Przemyśl, founded in March 1918. Appropriately, Polonia's first game was against a team of Czechs and Slovaks from the Austrian garrison. See mkspolonia.pl/node/4

[83] The New Synagogue on ul. Slowackiego, built in 1910, served for a while after World War II as the city library, but is now empty. Dr. John Hartmann has been instrumental in restoration efforts at the Jewish cemetery.

[84] See Juraj BUZALKA: *Nation and Religion: the Politics of Commemoration in South-East Poland,* Berlin, Lit Verlag, 2007, pp. 91-94; Dmytro BLAZEJOWSKYI: *Historical Šematism of the Eparchy of Peremyšl including the Apostolic Administration of Lemkivščyna (1828-1939),* Lviv, Kamenyar, 1995, pp 369-370.

[85] Timothy SNYDER: op. cit., pp. 220.

Przemyśl is a strong supporter of the Law and Justice Party, which ran in part as a Eurosceptic party opposed to immigration.

While nationalist reactions in border regions are sadly common, Przemyśl's case is exacerbated by its loss of status. Przemyśl entered the Post-Stalinist world without its minority communities, but also without its fortress, without any national or regional significance, and without economic vitality. The beneficiary of imperial defense spending, Przemyśl flourished as the third largest city in Austrian Galicia, until Austria-Hungary collapsed, and the city's strategic role changed completely. As a Polish corps command or a Soviet dominated border post, the city lacked its prewar significance and had to find new sources for economic growth. Despite the ultimately fleeting economic benefits of defense spending, much of Przemyśl's infrastructure has remained unchanged since the days of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Former Austrian barracks are still used by the Polish Army, and in some cases have been used since 1918.[86] For example, Barrackenlager II, built in 1902 and used by various Austrian infantry brigades, was used by a Polish engineering detachment during the interwar years, is now home to the 5th Batalion Stzelcow.[87] The barracks have seen updates with electricity, new fencing, a basketball court, etc., but remain architecturally largely unchanged. Other barracks have been repurposed into schools, offices for the border patrol, and a city hospital.[88] Most locals are aware that the buildings used to be Austrian, but otherwise the memory of the multi-ethnic garrison town is mostly gone, replaced with an outpost of Polish culture on the border with Ukraine.

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[86] See Bogusław BOBUSIA, *85 Lat Garnizonu WP,* Przemyśl: Archiwum Panstwowe w Przemyślu, 2003.
[87] Archiwum Państwowe w Przemyślu frond 577 folder 68, pp. 23-25.
[88] For example, Barackenlager 1 is now the Gimnazjum Nr. 1 im Orlat Przemyskich, Barrackenkasserne V is now the Biedszczadzki Oddzal Strazy Granicznej, and Garrison Hospital No. 3 is now the Szpital Miejski w Przemyślu.