Upper Silesia in Modern Central Europe: On the Significance of the A-National / Non-National in the Age of Nations[1]

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All round us men are rebelling against the civilization of the anthill and wish to be individuals, not units, humans not machines, and are juggling in different ways with the old human constants […]: neighbourhoods, kinships, beliefs, skills, traditions.[2]

Beginning in the mid-19th century the historic region of Upper Silesia (a century earlier split between Prussia and the Habsburg lands) was gradually infiltrated by conflicting nationalisms. Afterward, following the founding of the nation-state of Germany in 1871 and those of Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1918, Upper Silesia was divided and re-divided between these three polities. In turn, by official fiat, the region's population was once allocated to this nation, and next to another. Contrary to what the relevant national master narratives maintain, the population concerned did have their own identity(ies) of an a-national or non-national kind. Thus, instead of passively awaiting ennationalization from above, they deployed their identity as a national one or negotiated its (more or less accepted) position. It was done in the context of the currently obtaining national identity connected to the state that was at any particular time in possession of Upper Silesia or of a fragment thereof. Without bearing in mind the importance and the persistence of the non-national identity(ies) among the region's inhabitants, and without taking into consideration its salient points of reference (administrative, ecclesiastical and political borders; confession; memories of the past; or language), it is difficult or even impossible to account for the intermittent rise of the idea of the Silesian and Morawec nations or ethnic groups, and of the languages of Silesian, Morawec and Lachian from the 19th century to this day.

National Teleology

The 19th century heralded the Age of Nationalism in Europe. In the scheme of things, the 'nation' became the highest rank of recognition and 'civilizational achievement,' which a human group could ever achieve. After the splitting of Central Europe among newly founded nation-states in the wake of the Great War, no other groups but nations alone were seen as having a legitimate right to statehood. On the one hand, it meant the destruction of the thus delegitimated non-national polities (for instance, empires) and of their bodies politic (for example, empire-wide elites), while on the other, it also meant the subsuming of all other surviving human groups that were non-national in character under the mantle of this or that nation. During the second half of the 20th century, in the wake of decolonization and the breakup of the Soviet Union, the only large avowedly non-national polity, nationalism became the first-ever worldwide – universal, that is – ideology of statehood and peoplehood legitimation.[3] Significantly, whatever ideological, political, economic, religious and other differences may exist among the extant polities, they all now define and legitimate their existence through nationalism only. No other ideology is seen as legitimate in the role of statehood and peoplehood legitimation. This normative political monopoly makes of nationalism the unique, first-ever, 'infrastructural ideology' of the modern world, equally subscribed to by Iran and the United States, by China and Fiji.

In line with this ideology's view of the social world, the 'nation' is the 'natural unit' of human 'groupness'. In its stronger, essentializing, version it assumes that humanity consists of identifiable discrete nations that are very durable if not eternal, their histories extending back for a millennium or longer.[4] In the scheme of things, scholars and politicians 'simply' need to identify the extant nations and grant them their own states, thus heralding the long-awaited age of peace and prosperity. It was the nationalist 'end of history,' as proposed in the wake of the Great War by the United States President Woodrow Wilson and leaders of various stateless national movements, mainly in Central Europe.[5] (But Wilson's vision did not extend outside Europe, to 'non-white' populations – typically not considered to

be nations by Western observers – which were to remain subjected to 'civilized white nations' with their own empires.[6]) The weaker version of the national theory of humanity agrees that nations are created by humans themselves, but with the deterministic caveat that it is the 'unchangeable laws of history'[7] that require such a development. Thus the rise of nations is equated with the Western (Judeo-Christian) concept of 'progress,'[8] or a predestined linear unfolding of humanity 'from primitivism to civilization.'[9]

The Western intellectual milieu that spawned the social sciences in the mid-19th century equated the concept of 'society' with that of 'nation.' In addition, it was emphasized that 'advancement and modernity' are inextricably connected to the nation (society), and can be attained only in national states, not shared with any other nations. Furthermore, only such polities were thought to be capable of controlling their respective 'national economies,' as the very basis of 'modernization' and 'development.'[10] No 'progress' was thought possible outside the confines of the nation.

Initially, marxists (social democrats) failed to develop a theory that would account for the observed political and social force of nationalism. They came to grapple with this issue only at the turn of the 20th century in Austria-Hungary, hoping to work out a compromise that would satisfy the demands of national movements without destroying the non-national Dual Monarchy.[11] The official marxism-leninism of the Soviet Union drew on this insight by connecting the nation, as a specific type of social organization, to the 'capitalist stage of economic development.'[12] The subsequent organization of the administrative division of the Soviet Union was carried out on the national basis, as a necessary – in light of marxism-leninism – but, nevertheless, temporary step to postnational classless communism.[13] With the privilege of hindsight, it is possible now to say that the communist polity of universal, global-wide aspirations, rather than quickly scaling the 'national stage in social development' and progressing toward communism, functioned as *the* conveyor belt for the spread of nationalism across Eastern Europe and Asia.[14]

As sketched above, in the 19th century, (mostly Western) thinkers and politicians of various ideological hues and convictions worked out an increasingly accepted theory that humanity consists or should consist exclusively of nations. This was seen as the prerequisite of 'progress and development,' and the cornerstone of 'modernity' epitomized by the nation-state. This normative belief spread all over the world during the first half of the 20th century, and the entire habitable surface of the globe was divided among such national polities in the other half of that century.

In this scheme of things there was no place left for human groups construed or identifying themselves on the basis of principles other than the national one, especially if on this basis they aspired to their own statehood. In the strong version of nationalism, the existence of such groups was denied, and they were seen as merely different layers or subgroups of long-lasting (or already existing) nations. On the other hand, the weaker version of this ideology was typically adopted by national activists faced with the problem of the stunning lack of interest in the national message and project on the part of some groups that 'patently belonged' or 'should belong' to this or that nation. The activists denied such groups any agency and saw them as a 'mass without qualities,' patiently awaiting molding into its appropriate national form. Scholars tuned in, and in turn, patiently re-wrote world history in line with the national theory, tacitly equating the global-wide spread of nationalism with modernization. They apportioned appropriate pieces of the past to one nation or another, and discarded those not fitting the thus developed 'national master narratives.'[15]

What were discarded were, among other things, histories of non- or a-national groups. Not that they did not exist, but they were seen as unimportant, of no consequence in this brave new world of modernity. The approach, rendering such groups invisible or an irritant standing in the 'way of progress,' was signaled by a specific vocabulary that emerged with the goal of pushing them to the margins of political and intellectual discourse in order to make room for the national as normatively equating to progress. Karl Marx and Friedrich

Engels referred to such marginalized non- or a-national groups as 'ruins of peoples' or 'ruins of nations' slated for extinction through absorption by neighboring nations.[16] They accorded the same fate also to recognized or recognizeable nations that had no history of their own statehood (for instance, the Slovaks).

Obviously, at that time, prior to the mid-20th century, the discourse focused on Europe only, tentatively including the Americas as the continent's extension. The 'non-white' rest of the world was either 'without history' or their history and customs were not 'modern,' and thus, of no import for and of no bearing on the future.[17] This view justified colonialism and the subsequent imperial division of the world among the Western colonial empires, entailing massive seizure of land from autochthonous inhabitants,[18] and even their wholesale slaughter as 'non-human nuisance.'[19] Subsequently, the populations were redefined from above and molded in line with the wishes and theories of the colonial bureaucracies.[20] The most important of the theories, that eventually provided the tools for shaking away colonial domination, was nationalism. Ironically, liberation of the colonial world was possible only through the adoption of the West's nationalism,[21] which entailed making it the sole ideology of statehood and nationhood legitimation in the world at the turn of the 21st century.

What is in the Name?

In Central and Eastern Europe theoreticians and political proponents of nationalism referred to non- and a-national groups – Marx and Engels's 'ruins of peoples' (that is, essentially ethnic or ethnically defined groups) – with several favored coinages and collocations. The terms seem to have coalesced in the second half of the 19th century or at the turn of the following century, when the tide of European politics was turning in favor of nationalism as a new, 'modern' ideology of statehood and peoplehood legitimation. What the coinages and phrases shared with one another was the teleological assumption that human groups to which they referred would

eventually 'see the light' and become or join 'their' respective nations. No other possibility was thought viable. The future was to be national, through and through.

In Central Europe, in the case of Upper Silesia, which was contested by the Czech, German and Polish national movements, it is instructive briefly to examine such nationally teleological terms as employed in the three movements' respective languages. The most widespread of these terms, as translated into English, are as follow, 'nationally indifferent,' 'ethnographic mass,' 'intermediate layer,' 'with no / uncrystallized national consciousness,' or combinations thereof. Beginning in the 19th century the phrases set out the scope of ennationalizing work awaiting national activists and / or state administrations at the grassroots level. The non- or a-national population appeared to be an object of historical processes, awaiting 'necessary' and – for that matter – 'inescapable' ennationalization.[22] Exclusively the state and national movements were to enjoy agency in this game, and it depended solely on them and their deeds and achievements to which nation such 'nationally indifferent' 'ethnographic mass' would be ennationalized after its national consciousness has finally (been) 'crystallized.'

The lack of self-conscious national identity on part of certain segments of population was decried already in the middle of the 19th century, as the exhortation of the German phrase *ohne nationales Bewußtsein*[23] attests. At the turn of the 20th century the term popped up in Czech (*bez národního vědomí*[24]), and appears to have filtered into Polish as *brak świadomości narodowej*[25] (literally 'lack of national consciousness'), though the literal translation of the German phrase (*bez świadomości narodowej*[26]) seems to have become the standard usage later in the 20th century. Beginning at the turn of the 20th century, in Czech too the meaning was conveyed by the collocation 'nationally indifferent' (*národně indiferentní*[27]), which later also filtered into Polish (*narodowościowo indyferentny*[28]). The collocation seems, again, to have originated first in German (*national indifferenten*[29]), before making it quickly, in the 1920s, into English as well ('nationally indifferent'[30]). But nowadays, in Polish the phrase 'uncrystallized national

consciousness' (*niewykrystalizowana świadomość narodowa*[31]) (and its variants) is favored in this context. (A less teleological approach to the issue was visible in the case of the more seldom employed German phrase *national gleichgültig*[32] for 'nationally neutral' that also spawned its counterparts in Polish, *narodowo obojętny*,[33] and in Czech, *národní lhostejnost*.[34])[35]

Another approach moved away from the preoccupation with the non- / a-national population's heads and whatever consciousness might be present (or not) in them, in favor of treating the aforesaid population as an undifferentiated, agency-less mass in (desperate?) need of national molding. In German the collocation 'nationally indifferent mass' (*national-indifferenten Masse*[36]) appeared in the late 19th century and percolated into Czech as *národní masa*,[37] and into Polish as *masa narodowa*.[38] Soon it was replaced by that of 'ethnographic mass' (*ethnographische Masse*[39]) that sounded 'more scientific.' It became popular in Polish (*masa etnograficzna*[40]), sometimes in a slightly altered form, as 'ethnographic material' (*materiał etnograficzny*[41]). It never took off in Czech, though this phrase appeared in this language (and in Slovak) as *etnografická masa,*[42] apparently under the influence of the Polish example. The term 'ethnographic mass' also entered English quite swiftly in the wake of the Great War.[43]

The late 19th-century German concept of *Zwischenschicht*[44] mapped the same meaning by terming 'ethnographic mass' as an 'interlayer,' intervening between two or more nations, that would or must be divided between the nations that neighbor on this 'interlayer', or claim it. At the turn of the 20th century the term swiftly entered Polish as *warstwa pośrednia*,[45] but did not make an appearance in English. Initially, it referred to various strata in early modern estate societies or medieval monarchies, before the teleologically national ethnic (ethnolinguistic) meaning denoted by the concept became dominant in the scholarly discourse during the 20th century.[46]

As it happened, ennationalizing pressures were often applied to an ethnographic mass, or *Zwischenschicht*, simultaneously or serially, by several national movements or nation-states

competing for this non- / a-national population. As a result, the targeted population followed willy-nilly the national guidance of a given national administration currently in power or the most influential national movement in a given region. But in the contested areas of Central Europe, state frontiers frequently changed several times in the first half of the 20th century, entailing a quick succession of different national authorities. In the span of a single generation they demanded that the targeted population should change their national self-identity several times in a row, as for instance in the case of Upper Silesia, where people were required to become Czechs, Germans, or Poles. By striving not to fall foul of the powers that be, and following the conflicting impositions, members of an 'ethnographic mass' appeared, from the national vantage, to be 'disloyal' Czechs, Germans, or Poles, causing observers from the distant national capitals to come up with the term 'national vacillation' for describing this phenomenon. German and Polish scholars tend to speak of a '[nationally] vacillating population' (*labile Bevölkerung*,[47] *ludność labilna narodowościowo / narodowo*[48]), while Czech authors prefer the term 'national vacillation' (*národnostní labilita*[49]). The terms are frequently made to walk an extra mile by tacitly referring to the perceived 'mendacity' of members of an ethnographic mass, who on the outside seem to be adopting a required national identity, while in reality they stick to their non- / a-national identity, choosing to reveal it only to their family, friends and trusted neighbors. Another common variant of this suspicion was that the 'true' identity was the other nationality – that those trying to 'pass' as Polish were Germans at heart, and vice-versa.[50]

The Non- / A-National Tentatively Reconsidered

During the last two decades, the fate of non- and a-national populations in Central Europe (commonly disregarded by scholars in the nation-states where such groups still survive or survived until recently) became the subject matter of a few research projects, mainly by researchers from English-language universities,[51] though including a couple of Central European researchers who decided to publish their findings in English.[52] Some scholars from Central Europe also broached

researching the field through the lens of local / regional, comparative or ecclesiastical history.[53] But their studies, thus far, have failed to make a dent on the received national master narratives in their home countries or internationally, unlike monographs authored by the aforementioned Anglophone researchers.

The partial exception to the rule is the epistemically-driven and usually ethnolinguistic reflection on nation-building and identity formation by the Czech historian Miroslav Hroch,[54] by the late Polish sociologist Antonina Kłoskowska,[55] by Hroch's friend, the late Polish historian Józef Chlebowczyk,[56] and by the Russian philologist based in Estonia, Aleksandr Dulichenko.[57] However, quite importantly, the intellectual influence of the first three – Central European – scholars across Europe and in the world hinges on the fact that their monographs were translated into English. Dulichenko's case is somewhat similar, as he writes in Russian, which until the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 quite successfully contested, in Europe and Asia, the global dominance of English in information transfer.

Kłoskowska proposed that people's identities may be 'polyvalent,' that is, composed from several elements, a national constituent brushing sides with non- or a-national ones. Hroch showed how language and culture were utilized in a similar manner for the sake of nation-building processes in Central and Eastern Europe during the 19th and 20th centuries. On the other hand, Chlebowczyk appealed for according dignity and agency to 'small nations' (that is, ethnic groups that may or may not become nations) and non- / a-national populations; while Dulichenko – through the lens of language and culture – patiently probes into the non- / a-national cracks surviving between the Slavophone nations in Central and Eastern Europe.

However, with the exception of Dulichenko (who studies Slavic speech communities without privileging those seen as coterminous with recognized nations), none of these scholars escaped the normative pull of national teleology. Indicative of this phenomenon is Hroch's Phase model of ethnolinguistic nation-building, which stops at Phase C when a full-fledged

nation has emerged or been created.[58] But in the social world nothing is forever, and after some time nations, like all other human groups, will disappear to be replaced by other nations or human groups of a different type. Tellingly, only a relatively unknown American sociologist, Armand L. Mauss, proposed a model that would account for the rise, flourishing and the end of a human group.[59] On the other hand, a speculative (and somewhat mystical-cum-fantastic) model of the constant rise and fall of ethnically defined human groups was given by the late Soviet historian and anthropologist of Central Asia, Lev Gumilov.[60] Although his monograph presenting this model was translated into English,[61] its widespread influence is limited to the post-Soviet states,[62] where the Russian-language original is frequently reprinted, referred to and commented upon.

A critical mass of scholarship on the non- / a-national, as produced by researchers focusing on Bohemia and some other lands of former Austria-Hungary resulted in the recent proposal to make this phenomenon of the non- / a-national the subject of research in its own right.[63] In this approach agency is either to be returned to non- / a-national groups or at least the question on their agency is left open. Significantly, such groups are to be analyzed on their own terms, without teleologically linking or subjecting them to this or that national project. But the proposal to subsume the phenomenon of the non- / a-national under the heading of 'national indifference,'[64] appears to be at variance with the new approach's research goals. Namely, as shown above, the very term 'national indifference' belongs to the intellectual repertoire of national teleology. This clearly shows how difficult it is to evade the intellectual pull of national teleology in this global age, when quite counter-intuitively the underlying organizational infrastructure of globalization is none other than nationalism, which normatively ensures that today all the fully recognized polities are nation-states only.[65] Perhaps analyzing and writing on the past and present of – simply – human groups could be less teleologically driven, apart from the rather uncontroversial assumption that humans live in groups, which constitutes one of the basic features of humanity. However, the assumption should not make the researcher unaware of the fact that beginning in the early 19th century in Central Europe the aforementioned

nationally teleological thinking was increasingly a part of the socio-political reality that the 'nationally indifferent' inhabited and that it gradually more forcefully structured their lives.[66]

As the reader has surely noticed, here I employ the term 'a- / non-national groups' to refer to these groups that are not defined and / or do not define themselves as 'nations,' 'nationalities,' or somehow 'national.' It is not an ideal solution either, as the word 'nation' *is* present in the ungainly collocation; and human groups of other kinds are referred through the negation of the national. But the term is static, hence any teleology is absent from it, in contrast to the sense contained in the phrase 'national indifference.' A future-oriented temporality is built into the latter, a tacit willingness for the a- / non-national to become *at long last* national, because social reality, modernity, progress – you name it – *should be* national.

Surely, this teleology implicitly present in the term 'national indifference' may but does not have to influence or color the thinking of a scholar using it for the analysis of the past. I propose that such 'coloring' happens more often in the writings of academics working in their home nation-states in Central Europe and writing in the region's national languages. International scholars, operating in several languages and having the experience of several socio-cultural backgrounds drawn from around the globe as comparative points of reference are more immune to the tendency. On the other hand, in the English usage one can be also indifferent to something without the implication that one will eventually feel strongly about it. Indeed, references to 'religious indifference' had an opposite implicite teleology, if they had any teleology at all: not caring about religion promised or threatened to be the wave of the future.[67]

Upper Silesia in the National Crosshairs

In the case of Poland, the discourse of ennationalization as signaled by the discussion of the nationally teleological vocabulary above was initially – that is, during the 19th century

– directed mainly at the 'nationally undifferentiated' population between Poland and Russia.[68] At the turn of the 20th century, the groups, today known as the nations of Belarusians and Ukrainians, were to be ennationalized in their western half to the Polish nation and in their eastern half to the (Great) Russian nation.[69] At the same time a similar dilemma was posed to the German Empire by the Slavophone populations near Danzig (Gdańsk) (that is, Kashubs), in southern East Prussia (that is, Mazurs), in Posnania (or today, Poland's Wielkopolska) (that is, local Poles), in historic Lusatia split between Prussia and Saxony (that is, Sorbs) and in Upper Silesia (that is, Silesians), alongside Danes in Schleswig-Holstein and Lithuanians in the northeastern corner of East Prussia (or today in Lithuania's Klaipėda Region).[70] On the other hand, the Czech national movement, traditionally aspiring to a nation-state that would be comprised from the three main constituent lands of the medieval Czech Crown, aimed at the inclusion of Silesia in such a future national polity (alongside Bohemia and Moravia that nowadays form the bulk of the Czech Republic).[71] But the region's population was overwhelmingly German, while in Slavophone-Germanic Upper Silesia, at the turn of the 20th century, the Slavophones came to be claimed by the Polish national movement, as well.[72]

The historic (that is, before the region's division between the Habsburgs and Prussia) Upper Silesia, consisting of Prussia's Upper Silesia and Austria-Hungary's Austrian Silesia, became one of the most hotly contested areas in the wake of the Great War. Berlin, then negotiating peace terms with the Allies, wanted to preserve the ownership of the second largest industrial basin in continental Europe for Germany. The basin was located in eastern Upper Silesia around the industrial city of Kattowitz (Katowice).[73] Warsaw also claimed it for the freshly-founded Polish nation-state, on the relatively novel (developed during the last third of the nineteenth century) ethnolinguistic basis, since previously Polish nationalists had limited their claims to the territory of the former Poland-Lithuania, in which none of Silesia had been included.[74] In turn, Prague, sticking to the concept of the historic Czech lands, claimed for the new nation-state of Czechoslovakia Austria-Hungary's sole industrial basin of any importance, located in

the eastern half of Austrian Silesia, between the cities of Ostrau (Ostrava) and Karwin (Karviná). Poland, again playing the ethnolinguistic card, also laid claim to this basin.

Between 1919 and 1922 the Allies divided Upper Silesia among Czechoslovakia, Germany and Poland. Germany retained most of the region, but half of the population, with almost all of the industrial basin, was granted to Poland. Prague obtained the small rural territory centered on the town of Hultschin (Hlučín) that became known as the Hlučínsko in Czech and the Hultschiner Ländchen in German. In the case of the Ostrawa-Karwin (Ostrava-Karviná) industrial basin, it was passed to Czechoslovakia in its entirety, as without a single basin of this type within its boundaries the polity would have been economically unviable, while on the other hand, Poland with two industrial basins would have enjoyed an industrial potential close to or on a part with that of interwar Germany. Warsaw was placated with the rural eastern sliver of the eastern half of Austrian Silesia. The main city of eastern Austrian Silesia, Teschen, was split between Czechoslovakia and Poland, becoming Český Těšín and Cieszyn (including the city's historical center), respectively.[75]

This economic logic of the divisions informed the geopolitical decisions of the Allies who sought to recreate, often at the expense of Central Europe and its peoples, a politics of balance of power in interwar Europe. France wanted to weaken Germany as far as possible, while Britain sought to prevent the excessive strengthening of France at the expense of Germany. To a degree the United States, and then Italy, acted as an arbiter between British and French interests in this regard. In turn, Paris tried to limit the scope for the Polish-Czechoslovak conflict, as both states were France's allies in its anti-German politics. In this situation Berlin resorted to supplicating London for help.[76]

However, the economic-cum-political underpinnings of the decisions imposed on Silesia from above by the Allies in the wake of World War I have rarely been given pride of place in Czech(oslovak), German or Polish national historiographies. In school textbooks the story has usually been omitted[77] or

couched in ethnolinguistic terms that follow the logic of this or that national teleology. This logic reduces the argument to the statement that the land 'truly and rightly' belongs to nation-state A, because its population is of nation A; or alternatively the region 'should' belong to nation-state B, since from the historic vantage it used to form part of a polity the tradition of whose statehood nation-state B claims for itself.

In the case of historic Upper Silesia, none of the nationally teleological arguments provided a hoped-for Wilsonian 'clean cut' that would ensure peace and prosperity in Central Europe after the horror of the Great War.[78] Wherever a line of division was finally placed, irrespective of high-flying rhetoric linking modern statehood to history and / or linguistically-defined ethnicity, in the eyes of the population concerned the decision was arbitrary. They had no living memory of medieval states, and in most cases did not identify with the Czech(oslovak) or Polish nation, preferring the democratic (in the sense of full male suffrage electoral democracy) and self-governing political realities they had known before 1918, either of Austria-Hungary or of the *Land* of Prussia (composed of a multitude of variegated provinces) within the German Empire.[79]

With the division of Upper Silesia and Austrian Silesia, the two regions' populations were sundered as well. It was not an altogether easy task in light of both regions' inhabitants' disinterest in the national projects and great power politics that had suddenly taken an interest in their homelands. Violence came in succor of the decision-makers in the far-away national capitals. Three German-Polish wars in Upper Silesia (1919-1921) and a Polish-Czechoslovak one in east Austrian Silesia (1919), fought predominantly with troops and volunteers drawn from outside the aforementioned regions, coerced the inhabitants to choose between this or that national side. Violence is the tried-out instrument for enforcing swift polarization of identity and loyalties, irrespective of the actual needs, views and interests of the population to which it is applied.[80]

The inhabitants in the different parts of historical Upper Silesia seized or re-possessed by Czechoslovakia, Germany or Poland,

were officially posed as Czechs, Germans and Poles, respectively, and as such radically different from those Upper Silesians who happened to find themselves on the other side of the newly formed political frontier. The sought-for equation of citizenship with nationality (that is, the [f]act of belonging to an ethnolinguistically defined nation) was initially somewhat softened by the minorities treaties imposed by the Allies on the Central European nation-states. These treaties required a toleration of *national* minorities, that is, groups pledging identificational allegiance to a state-endowed nation. Despite the minority provisions, most decisions and the overall ideological rhetoric aspired to create an unambiguous national identity and national difference where there had been little of it, and notwithstanding other types of differences and commonalities organizing the social world of historical Upper Silesia before 1918.

Until the mid-19th century the main instruments of socio-political differentiation were those of 'estate' (that is, *Stand* in German, *stav* in Czech, or *stan* in Polish) and of religion.[81] The gradual democratization and the eventual grant of full suffrage to all adult males in the German Empire (1871) and the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary (1907) made estates obsolete, but the social memory of them continued and was incorporated into new social distinctions. Under the state's watchful eye the Catholic and Protestant Churches controlled the educational systems that at the elementary level were compulsory for all (girls included).[82] Hence, religion remained the main basis of identity formation and maintenance until the aftermath of World War I, when ethnolinguistic nationalism, mainly imposed in Upper Silesia from outside, began to replace religion in this role.[83] But multilingualism, or rather polyglossia (that is, the knowledge and use of different languages in different spheres of social life), as the norm in Central Europe before 1918,[84] persisted on the territory of historic Upper Silesia well into the second half of the 20th century.[85]

Hence, the sought-for replacement of the Catholic-cum-regional homogeneity of Prussian-German Upper Silesia (typical of the region before its division) with several – on the normative plane, mutually exclusive – ethnolinguistically

defined homogeneities[86] that would radically differ from one another was hard. A similar obstacle in the territories of former Austrian Silesia was posed by regional commonality that – to an extent – overrode the religious, Catholic-Protestant, cleavage, quite pronounced in the eastern half of this land (the western half centered on Troppau [Opava] was homogenously Catholic). National homogeneities imposed on Upper Silesia and Austrian Silesia made the two regions officially heterogeneous, but the former region-wide a- / non-national homogeneities proved to be rather resilient. (Obviously, these pre-national, regional and religious homogeneities were not absolute. Tensions and differences arose between some sections of Upper Silesia or Austrian Silesia, a tenth of the former region's population was Protestant, and Jews and Roma also lived in both Silesias.) Thanks to these homogeneities' unofficial dynamics, neighborhoods and families split by brand-new state frontiers often continued to feel closer to one another than to the new and distant national capitals of which they had no personal experience, with the partial exception of Berlin in the case of Upper Silesia. Unable to deny the phenomenon, the nation-states' administrations proposed that Upper Silesians on both sides of the new frontiers continued to feel close to one another because they were good Czech, Germans or Poles, not a- / not-national regionalists, Catholics or proto-national ethnic Silesians.[87]

The unacknowledged tenacity of the old – but still alive – polyglossic homogeneities of the religious and / or regional type, on the one hand, let the populations concerned play the national roles in which they were cast, while, on the other, permitted them to continue with their lives as they had done before. The subsequent changes in the state borders between 1938 and 1945, followed by radical changes in the directions of ennationalization were thus cushioned. The Upper Silesian, in the eyes of the national observers from the capital, seemingly resigned herself to the fate of being a passive object of history, an atom of 'ethnographic mass' molded into this or that national form. It was crucial not to fall foul of the national powers that be. But at a more intimate level, the Upper Silesian did retain his agency, and continued to reveal it within his family and among his friends and neighbors.[88]

This unexpected behavior, making social and political travesty of ethnolinguisticaly defined national exclusivity, was noticed by many, but only a few scholars in Czechoslovakia,[89] Germany[90] and Poland[91] deemed it important and valid, and hence decided to research this phenomenon. (The Belgian jurist and politician, Georges Kaeckenbeeck, nominated by the League of Nations as President of the German-Polish Arbitral Tribunal for Upper Silesia in Beuthen (Bytom) noticed the salience of the non- / a-national reality in Upper Silesia, but was prevented from acting upon it by the tribunal's mandate that interpreted the population of Upper Silesia as consisting exclusively of Germans and Poles, with the addition of Jews.[92]) Most observers brushed the phenomenon aside as a 'throwback from the past, slated for extinction,' and in order to accelerate 'national progress,' branded it negatively with the aforementioned nationally teleological vocabulary.[93] The authorities of the nation-states were not to be understanding but decisive in eradicating this phenomenon in line with the normative political desire to arrive at the tight spatial and ideological overlapping of language, nation and state.[94]

This vocabulary of national teleology was co-developed by and quickly seeped into scholarship as the very framework of academic thinking on the social and the political. Most researchers working on Upper Silesia in today's Czech Republic, Germany and Poland have remained largely unaware that these categories, like any self-fulfilling prophecy or teleological assumptions, are rather detrimental to their goal of disinterested analysis. But to this day, equally in learned journals and in the popular press such terms as 'nationally indifferent,'[95] 'with uncrystallized national identity,'[96] 'ethnographic mass,'[97] 'interlayer,'[98] or 'nationally labile'[99] are popularly leveled at the population of the region. They amount to an impatient remonstration to Upper Silesia's inhabitants that at long last they decide once and for all whether they are Czechs, Germans or Poles. The possibility that they may be already 'something' from the identificational vantage that does not converge with any of the three permitted choices, is rarely considered, as it would acknowledge the salience of other than

national identities, or would complicate the political picture with further national identities.

Sweeping Out the Pre-, Non- and A-National from Under the National Carpet

As alluded to above, prior to the mid-19th century, the identities of the populations in Prussia's Upper Silesia and in Austrian Silesia coalesced around estates and religion. Serfs, constituting the vast majority of the inhabitants, were limited in their spatial mobility to their villages and parishes that formed the spatial horizon of their group identities, today dubbed as 'local.' Socially they were immobile, too, but for the narrow channel of ecclesiastical education leading to Catholic priesthood or Protestant ministry. Clergy, like nobility, enjoyed a spatially wider identity transcending the local parish; in the case of a diocese the identity's scope corresponded to an administrative and / or historical region, and, indeed, frequently extended beyond that, taking in the polity (in the case at hand, Prussia/Germany or Austria-Hungary). In the case of Catholic clergymen awaiting promotions and guidance from the Holy See, their mobility potentially extended throughout Central and Western Europe as a whole. Nobles, by now increasingly turned industrialists, gentry and *Bildungsbürgertum* / intelligentsia (also joined in these new roles by burghers) like clergy, participated in different social and political spheres that spatially ranged from singular villages or towns to regions, to polities and to the Western world, extending from St Petersburg in the east to Paris and New York in the west. The loci of wider identification, binding together all the socially and politically variegated strata of population in a polity, were monarchs, to whom subjects pledged their loyalty (as usefully encapsulated by the succinct German-language adjective *kaisertreu*[100]), be it Emperor Francis Joseph in Austria-Hungary or Kaiser Wilhelm II of the German Empire.[101]

The picture changed under the pressure of modernization, as identified with the rise of industrialization, universal suffrage and universal elementary education, and with the absolutization of the principle of sovereignty within a polity,

increasingly (re-)defined as 'nation-state.' The processes entailed the non-interference of other states on the territory and among the population of the nation-state, and also legal equality for all the inhabitants in it. As a result the polity of this kind increased spatial and social mobility for former serfs and their progeny (migrating to cities and industrial centers) to the confines of the nation-state's frontiers, while simultaneously limiting it in the case of clergy (with the exception of hierarchs and career priests) and *Bildungsbürgertum* / intelligentsia to the very same national frontiers. Thus, the normatively homogenous nation was created within the confines of 'its' polity.[102]

People in historic Upper Silesia developed their own answers to the changes and pressures that are today construed as 'modernization.' Obviously, they hinged on the remaining 'pre-modern' social and political realities in the region that, despite being denied by the national projects claiming Upper Silesia, did linger (and at times prevailed over the national) until the beginning of the 21st century. Without reflecting on the continuing social and political salience of these realities, it is hard to explain how it was possible that officially in interwar Upper Silesia the region's population was composed of Germans and Poles, during the war only of Germans, after 1945 exclusively of Poles, and after 1989, again, of Poles and Germans. And it is impossible to account for the existence of Silesians and Prussians in today's Czech Silesia or for the sudden growth of Silesian organizations, complete with Silesian-language media in Poland's Upper Silesia today.

The 'pre-modern' realities that constituted the well-established points of social and political reference for the inhabitants of Upper Silesia were mainly political and ecclesiastical. Regarding the former, the province of Silesia, previously the richest possession of the Catholic Habsburgs, was annexed by Protestant Prussia in 1740-1742. It meant the division of Upper Silesia (then a wooded and swampy backwater): the bulk of the region passed to Prussia, while the southern sliver remained with Vienna. During the succeeding century Prussian Upper Silesia and Austrian Silesia emerged as administrative regions in their own right. Due to the tiny size of the latter

region (constituted from two territories separated by the so-called 'Moravian wedge') and to the existence of numerous Moravian enclaves in the region's western half, between 1783 and 1849 Austrian Silesia was merged with the Margravate of Moravia. During the time, the population of Prussian Upper Silesia gradually switched their loyalty from the Habsburgs to the Hohenzollerns; the religious tolerance existing in politically absolutist Prussia was instrumental in effecting this transfer of loyalty.

The regional estates institutions, controlled by the nobility and clergy, exerted their effective administrative and identificational influence on the majority of the population, following the gradual phasing out of serfdom during the second half of the mid-19th century. Serfs often followed their lords' and priests' guidance in matters political and ideological, and after gaining economic and personal freedom, they and their descendants frequently aspired to join the higher social strata, identified with the estates. The political importance of these institutions, though waning in the second half of the 19th century, survived until 1918, especially in Austrian Silesia. Thus, the local aristocracy, reinvented as captains of industry, often held the loyalty of vast segments of former serfs and their progeny, loyalty reinforced by wages, when the latter gradually turned industrial workers or workers-cum-peasants in both Upper Silesia and Austrian Silesia until 1945.[103]

Before the rise of ethnolinguistically-defined nation-states that would contain Silesian territories, first the German Empire in 1871, and next Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1918, the spatial (but yet not national) loci of identity in Prussia's Upper Silesia were one's locality (village, town or local quarter in a city), parish and county, then the Regency of Oppeln (Opole, coterminous with Upper Silesia), the Province of Silesia, and Prussia. The extension of Upper Silesian's identification to embrace the German Empire worked at the level of continuing with her loyalty to the Prussian King Wilhelm I in his new role of German Emperor. However, the fostering of the proposed German national identity through the German language and Protestantism alienated the mostly Catholic Upper Silesians, half of whom were Slavophone, and increasingly more bilingual

after 1871.[104] In Austrian Silesia, the spatial organization of identity looked similar, though the territorial discontinuity of the region led to the rise of East and West (Austrian) Silesian identities, while the supra-regional one was with Austria, or – after 1867 – the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary.

Since the 1742 partition of Upper Silesia, the ecclesiastical borders had criss-crossed the state frontier and administrative borders. This was of much bearing for the changes in the identity of Upper Silesia's predominantly Catholic inhabitants. Almost all of historical Silesia was contained in the Diocese of Breslau (Wrocław), but for southernmost Upper Silesia and the Moravian enclaves housed in the Moravian Archdiocese of Olmütz (Olomouc). Furthermore, easternmost Upper Silesia, coterminous with today's Upper Silesian industrial basin centered on Katowice, had been part of the Polish Diocese of Cracow until 1821, when this section of the region was passed to the Diocese of Breslau. Also in the same year the medieval inclusion of this diocese in the Polish Ecclesiastical Province of Gnesen (Gniezno) was annulled.[105]

From the perspective of Prussian Upper Silesia and Austrian Silesia, the former region (except its southern sliver) was included in the Diocese of Breslau with the eastern half of Austrian Silesia and the westernmost section of the western half of this region. The Archdiocese of Olmütz housed the southernmost part of Upper Silesia and most of the western half of Austrian Silesia.[106]

The state, administrative and ecclesiastical borders constituted the grid against which the identities of peasants freed from serfdom were shaped. Language was part of this process, especially beginning in the 19th century when the language question was introduced in censuses, but it was not of paramount importance before 1918. The part of the Regency of Oppeln contained in the Diocese of Breslau became the springboard for the Szlonzokian ethnic group, consisting of Upper Silesia's Catholic Slavophones and Slavic-German(ic) bilinguals. The Slavophone and bilingual character of the population in the eastern half of Austrian Silesia, coupled with its inclusion in the Diocese of Breslau resulted in a Slunzakian

(East Silesian) ethnic identity, the main difference being that many a Slunzak was a Protestant, which was not the case with the Szlonzoks. A Morawec ethnic identity developed in the Slavophone areas of Upper Silesia and Austrian Silesia contained in the Archdiocese of Olmütz. It came in the three main categories of Prussian Morawecs in Upper Silesia, West Silesian Morawecs in the western half of Austrian Silesia, and Moravian Morawecs in the Moravian wedge dividing the two parts of Austrian Silesia. The last group merged with the rest of Slavophone and bilingual Moravians in Moravia.

Due to the rise of ethnolinguistically defined German nationalism since the time of the Napoleonic Wars, bolstered by the founding of the German Empire as a German nation-state, German(ic)-speakers in Upper Silesia adopted a German national identity, especially after the wrapping up of the *Kulturkampf* in the late 1880s. The same linguistic group in Austrian Silesia stuck to an Austrian imperial identity and their region as a locus of identification, until the turn of the 20th century when the German national option began to attract many, because of the economic and political success of the German Empire, so tantalizingly apparent just across the border. Importantly, until 1918, the border was not policed and one could cross it at will.[107] Besides, the linguistic, confessional and ecclesiastical differences were sometimes (increasingly less often) trumped by loyalty ('being *kaisertreu*') to the German or Austrian Emperor, and identification with the region, be it (Upper) Silesia in the German Empire or Austrian (West / East) Silesia in Austria-Hungary. In addition, since the late 19th century, ethnolinguistic Czech and Polish national movements had begun to make small inroads; the former in the western half of Austrian Silesia and in the Moravian wedge, and the latter in Upper Silesia and the eastern half of Austrian Silesia. But they remained minority pursuits until after the Great War.

The State of the Art in Research on the Non- / A-National in Historic Upper Silesia

Two general comparative analyses, one by L. Pallas and my own, were published on the emergence of the aforementioned

groups in Upper Silesia and Austrian Silesia before 1918, though necessarily they sketch the situation in broad strokes.[108] Kamusella also briefly wrote on the groups' fate (though mostly in German / Polish Upper Silesia) during the 20th century.[109] Both of Kamusella's publications are based on earlier broader research work (conducted in the first half of the 1990s), which is available online.[110] Apart from a multi-author work,[111] and with the partial exception of K. Hannan's interdisciplinary ethnolinguistic analysis of identity formation and maintenance in the eastern half of Austrian Silesia and the adjacent lands,[112] quite strangely, no monograph delving into the problematic of the non- / a-national brings together Upper Silesia and Austrian Silesia. To a large degree the regions are the two sides of a single coin, or historic Upper Silesia, and many processes in one cannot be properly understood without referring to parallel ones in the other. Likewise, differences between these two, allow for tracing comparatively the tracks of different modernities, as followed and implemented in the two regions following the division of historic Upper Silesia at the threshold of the 'modern times' in the mid-18th century.

In the enumeration of the works straddling the divide between Upper Silesia and Austrian Silesia, of course, one may include the third volume of A. Lubos's history of Silesian literature, devoted to Upper Silesia in which Czech-, German-, Lachian-, Polish and Silesian-language works brush sides.[113] Recently, an attempt was undertaken to popularize the literature of Upper Silesia (including Latin-language titles) without subjecting it to this or that national paradigm.[114] It draws on insights in A. Scholtis's novel devoted to the fate of a Szlonozkian 'Everyman' in the divided Upper Silesia after 1922,[115] and on the reflection in H. Bienek's German-language tetralogy on the apparent end of the non- / a-national and of the multiethnic in Upper Silesia, steamrolled by World War II and by the vast ethnic cleansing during it and in the aftermath.[116] The same end of the non- / a-national world of Upper Silesia, as seen from the lowest ranks of society was presented by Janosch.[117] His German-language novel translated into Polish, but with dialog given in the Silesian language, remains hugely popular in Poland.[118] Recently, Z. Kadłubek's Silesian-language reflective essay-cum-epistolary confession of love to the

women whom he loved, Upper Silesia, Latin and Rome was published.[119]

However, it is Óndra Łysohorsky who remains the towering figure of non- /a-national (Upper) Silesian literature in the local vernacular. This poet and committed socialist was active in interwar Czechoslovakia. He developed the language of his captivating poetry from the Slavic dialects of southern Upper Silesia, the eastern half of Austrian Silesia and northern Moravia; and dubbed it Lachian. During the war, Joseph Stalin himself lent his ear to Łysohorsky's advice on autonomy for the Lachians, and the poet represented Lachia as a member of the All-Slavic Committee in Moscow.[120] For this Łysohorsky was castigated in postwar Czechoslovakia, and no publication of new Lachian-language writings was permitted. Łysohorsky continued writing, but in German, and as a result his poetry was published in East Germany. In 1970 Switzerland nominated him for the Nobel Prize in Literature, and today his poetry is claimed for the Silesian language.[121] Apart from a number of articles, there is no biography of Łysohorsky as a poet and politician,[122] and no monograph devoted to the Lachian (national?) movement and project.[123]

Until recently, there was no monograph devoted to the Slunzakian (national?) project and movement during the first half of the 20th century, or its leader, Josef Kożdoń, but D. Jerczyński covered both in his extensive political biography of Kożdoń.[124] Earlier he had done the same for the Szlonzokian (national?) project and movement,[125] mainly in an extensive history of Upper Silesia, written from the Szlonzokian (national?) point of view.[126]

An increase in scholars' interest in probing into the non- / a-national in Upper Silesia predominantly zooms in on the Szlonzoks and their homeland. L. Schofer, as a precursor, touched upon this issue, though indirectly, in his study of the labor force in the Upper Silesian industrial basin.[127] J. Bjork analyzed Catholicism as the ultimate locus of Szlonzokian and Upper Silesian regional identity before the division of the region in 1922.[128] B. Kerch, currently reworking his doctoral dissertation for publication, promises – quite ambitiously – to

cover the Silesian (national?) movement from the 1840s through the 1960s.[129]

G. Doose and M. W. Wanatowicz devoted their books to the Slunzakian national ('separatist') movements after the Great War.[130] The process of dividing Upper Silesia, and replacing its non- / a-national commonality with opposed ethnolingustically defined homogeneities was investigated by K. Struve, T. H. Tooley, M. W. Wanatowicz and T. Wilson. The last scholar also compared it with the contemporaneous division of Ireland.[131] G. Hitze presented the political life and ennationalization in interwar Germany's section of Upper Silesia.[132] E. Kopeć gave a parallel, though less detailed, analysis of the same processes in interwar Poland's section of the region,[133] while A. Michalczyk scrutinized the implementation of ennationalization in both sections of divided Upper Silesia.[134] Likewise, A. Ehrlich and P. Polak-Springer, in their recent doctoral dissertations, provide detailed comparative analyses of the policies of ennationalization in Upper Silesia during the interwar period, World War II and in the first decade of communist Poland.[135]

World War II and its aftermath were a shock to 'Szlonzokian Poles' from the Polish section of the region, who had to become Germans, and then – after 1945 – Poles again, alongside 'Szlonzokian Germans' from the German section of Upper Silesia. Dubbed as 'autochthons' in postwar Polish propaganda, or 'Poles unaware of their Polishness,' they became the subject of scrutiny in the works by R. Hajduk, R. Kaczmarek, T. Kamusella, B. Linek, E. Nowak, J. Sack, G. Strauchold, A. Topol and Z. Woźniczka.[136] In this respect, the last author also wrote on the postwar transportation of Szlonzoks for forced labor in the Soviet Union,[137] so poignantly depicted in the case of Swabians from Romanian Banat by H. Müller in her recent novel.[138]

D. Ratajczak and F. Scholz probed into the separation of Catholicism from the service of the faithful, irrespective of their ethnicity, when the Catholic Church became an instrument of ennationalization in Silesia ceded to Poland after 1945.[139] (With the partial and a bit ambiguous exception of Opole Apostolic Administrator, Bolesław Kominek, in 1945-1951,[140] it was only

under Opole Bishop Alfons Nossol, between 1977 and 2009, that the Catholic Church accommodated itself to the variegated needs of different ethnic and linguistic groups in postwar Upper Silesia. Apart from a book-length interview,[141] a biography of this towering figure remains to be written.) M. G. Gerlich scrutinized the feeling of humiliation, resulting from the aforementioned impositions and changes, felt by Szlonzoks who were thus deprived of their agency during the 20th century of two totalitarianisms.[142] This feeling was probed into by the journalists K. Karwat and M. Siembieda,[143] and was hauntingly depicted by the Indian author J. Basu in a novel,[144] by A. Bartylla-Blanke in the first-ever Silesian-language play,[145] by the playwright S. Bieniasz,[146] and by J. Kidawa-Błoński in a feature film.[147] K. Kutz's and J. Kidawa's films attempted a similar feat, but because they were made during the communist period, they had to write Szlonzokianness into the overarching story of Polishdom, not to fall foul of censorship.[148] Kutz made up for this deficiency in his first-ever novel, devoted to the Upper Silesian / Szlonzokian everyman, and written in Polish and Silesian.[149] The essayist and painter, H. Waniek, also reflected in a literary-cum-mystical manner on the loss of pre- / a- / non-national Upper Silesia in this age of nationalism.[150]

The protracted postwar ethnic cleansing of Germans and Szlonzoks in (Upper) Silesia recently became the subject of A. Demshuk's monograph and Kamusella's article.[151] And different aspects of modern Upper Silesia as seen through the lens of language politics and national myths, mainly aimed at (German / Polish) Szlonzoks, were scrutinized by M. Kneip, B. Linek, N. Reiter, T. Kamusella and J. Tambor.[152] Kamusella also analyzes how the Szlonzoks regained agency in regard of their language(s) after the fall of communism in 1989[153] and nowadays strive to do the same vis-à-vis their status as a (ethnic, national?) group in Poland.[154] A rather ambivalent probe into this process, to a degree seen as 'anti-Polish,' was given by M. Lis, L. M. Nijakowski and M. W. Wanatowicz;[155] while K. Dolińska, K. Frysztacki, E. A. Sekuła, K. Struve and P. Ther, and M. Szmeja offer more balanced analyses.[156] A. Roczniok's two-volume collection of documents record the Silesians' (thus far unsuccessful) endeavors, after 1996, to

regain agency in regard to deciding about themselves on the plane of politics.[157]

Furthermore, the institution of the German minority in Poland, namely, the House of Polish-German Cooperation, made available online an oral archive on the modern history of Upper Silesia that became the basis of a book on the history of multiethnic Upper Silesia in the 20th century.[158] Most of the recordings are in Szlonzokian, though some are in Polish and German.[159] It is quite an improvement on W. Lubaś's transcriptions of narrations and conversations in Szlonzokian that, as recorded during the communist period, were to illustrate social and linguistic differences without any references to 'ideologically unsavory' events from the past of Upper Silesia.[160] In cooperation with the University of Osaka, and under T. Kamusella and D. Berlińska's supervision, in 2010, the aforementioned House of Polish-German Cooperation carried out extensive sociological survey research on the German minority in Upper Silesia. It was discovered that linguistically the minority's members are more Szlonzokian than German, though on the political plane they identify themselves as Germans.[161] In 2011 the House of Polish-German Cooperation also saw into print the first-ever history of Upper Silesia co-authored by scholars from the Czech Republic, Germany and Poland,[162] in which it was seen as necessary to devote a chapter –however brief – to the Szlonzoks, too.[163] A year later, on the occasion of the 2012 UEFA European Football Championship that took place in Poland and Ukraine, the House of Polish-German Cooperation published a book on Szlonzokian players in the German and Polish national football teams.[164]

Apart from the continuing lack of works aspiring to join the parallel stories of the non- / a-national in Upper Silesia and Austrian Silesia (or roughly, Polish Upper Silesia and Czech Silesia in today's parlance), sadly, there are very few works available on the Morawecs and the Slunzaks. Pallas and Kamusella touched upon both the groups mainly before 1918; Jerczyński (and partly Pallas) have done the same in relation to the Slunzaks during the first half of the 20th century.[165] Plaček analyzed the history of the Prussian Morawecs, turned 'Hultschiners'[166] when their Upper Silesian homeland of

Hultschiner Ländchen (Hlučínsko) was transferred from the German Empire to interwar Czechoslovakia. They became known as Prussians in postwar Czechoslovakia, and took this name as their own ethnonym in the postcommunist Czech Republic.[167] L. Martiník and J. Schlossarková offer a view on the region and its inhabitants through memoirs, stories and poems.[168]

Thus far no monographs have been devoted to the history of the Slunzaks during the second half of the 20th century, to the Morawecs (*Morawci* in the Morawec language, *Morawzen* in German. Moravci in Czech and *Morawiacy* in Polish) from the Moravian wedge between the two sections of Austrian Silesia, to the Morawecs from the western half of Austrian Silesia, to the Morawecs from the westernmost sliver of the eastern half of Austrian Silesia, or to the Morawecs remaining in communist Poland. The appearance of Silesians (that is, Slunzaks) and Moravians (Moravané in Czech, Moraváci in the Moravian dialect, and Mährer in German) as ethnic (national) groups in the last Czechoslovak censuses (1991) and the subsequent Czech ones was scrutinized a bit, but with the focus firmly on the Moravians[169] (with the exception of a brief study on the feeling of Slunzakianness[170]). However, today's Moravians, identificationally and historically connected to the historical Margravate of Moravia (*not* Austrian Silesia) are concentrated in southern Moravia around the city of Brno, and as such their organizations do not constitute any direct continuation of the Morawec tradition.

Likewise, little has been written on the Protestant Slavophone populations in the Upper Silesian county of Pleß (Pszczyna) or in the northeastern corner of Lower Silesia bordering on Upper Silesia and the Province of Posen (Poznań) (that is, Wielkopolska), meaning the counties of Groß Wartenberg (Syców), Kreutzburg (Kluczbork) and Namslau (Namysłów). T. Bratus's and J. Byczkowski's studies on these issues are quite dated and nationally teleological, terming the populations as unambiguously 'Polish.'[171] Another lacuna is that of the relations of Szlonzoks and Slunzaks with Slovaks, though K. Hannan touched upon the issue.[172]

There is no work on the Prussian Morawecs' Morawec-language weekly *Katolické nowiny pro lid morawský w Pruském Slezsku* (1893-1922). And only a brief, and rather insufficient, biography is devoted to the consciously and ethnically Morawec Suffragan Bishop Josef Martin Nathan.[173] Beginning in 1916, he administered the Prussian (German) section of the Archdiocese of Olomouc / Olmütz. In 1920 this section was made smaller by the transfer of the Hultschiner Ländchen (Hlučínsko) from the German Empire to Czechoslovakia. In 1938 the border regions of Czechoslovakia's Czech lands, known as Sudetenland, were passed to Germany. The Hlučínsko was reincorporated into Germany's Province of Silesia, while the western half of former Austrian Silesia and the adjacent Moravian territories were organized as the Regency of Troppau (Opava). Almost all the area was entrusted to the ecclesiastical care of Nathan. There is no monograph on the wartime regency or Nathan's homogeneously Catholic, but otherwise multiethnic and polyglot General Vicariate of Branitz (Branice) populated by Czechs, Germans, Morawecs, Poles and Szlonzoks. Only the matter of the postwar ethnic cleansing of this area is addressed, but quite sketchily.[174] Significantly, though the Polish authorities wanted to expel Nathan to postwar Germany, as all those recognized as 'Germans' in Upper Silesia were, he claimed to be of Morawec nationality, and as a result he was expelled to Czechoslovakia.

The potential of the case of historic Upper Silesia for interdisciplinary and comparative studies on the non- / a-national, alongside the national, remains largely untapped. D. Borowicz analyzed how the national was created and the non- / a-national erased with the use of cartography.[175] M. Kalczyńska and A. Trzcielińska-Polus reflected on the fate of Szlonzokian expellees in postwar Germany.[176] A. Sakson offered a comparative view on the Szlonzoks, the Kashubs, the Mazurs and the Warmiaks under the pressure of Germanizing and Polonizing ennationalization.[177] Through the medium of personal biographies J. Cofałka presented a panorama of interactions between Szlonzoks and expellees from interwar Poland's eastern territories annexed by the Soviet Union.[178] R. Rauziński and T. Sołdra-Gwiżdż focused on the demographic history of the Polish expellees in Upper Silesia.[179] And the story

continues today, as ethnic Poles leave Kazakhstan for Upper Silesia.[180] J. Nowosielska-Sobel and G. Strauchold probed into the formation of brand-new identities among the Polish population who replaced the former German inhabitants expelled from Lower Silesia after 1945,[181] thus offering a lens through which the identities of such postwar Polish settlers in Upper Silesia may be analyzed, too. Z. Budzyński and J. Kamińska-Kwak compared the ethnic situation in Upper Silesia and Galicia, construed as borderlands.[182] The same was done for Alsace and Upper Silesia by R. Kaczmarek, M. Kucharski and A. Cybula,[183] and by E. Rimmele in the aspect of language politics.[184]

I believe that the aforementioned examples of interesting analyses and of remaining lacunae point to various areas in the history of the non- / a-national in historic Upper Silesia, which can be usefully investigated, at best, comparatively and in an interdisciplinary manner. On the other hand, without taking into consideration the non- / a-national dimension of social, political, economic and other processes and phenomena, it will remain next to impossible to account for the coalescence of the ethnic / national groups of Szlonzoks, Slunzaks and Morawecs, for the disappearance of the last group, and for the survival of the first two groups to this day in the postcommunist nation-states of Poland and the Czech Republic. The changing borders that moved widely and frequently across historic Upper Silesia during the twentieth century also indicate the necessity to seek explanations for the aforementioned processes and phenomena on each side of any given border, opening thus a rich field for fruitful comparisons. Eventually, such a broadminded approach to analyzing the past may result in a richer, more finely textured retelling of the history of Central Europe that would transcend the myopia of national master narratives and their relative disconnection from one another. Disconnection so tellingly dependent on and reflective of the absolutizing separateness secured for the region’s nation-states by political borders, demarcated and maintained in line with the principle of sovereignty.

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[2] H. Butler, 'A Visit to Hesse and Some Thoughts about Princes,' in: H. Butler (ed by J. Banville), *The Invaders Wore Slippers: European Essays*, London: Notting Hill Editions, 2012 [1968]: 137-144, p 137. (I thank Michael O Gorman for introducing me to this captivating Anglo-Irish thinker.)

[3] Cf H. Kohn, *The Age of Nationalism: The First Era of Global History*, New York: Harper & Row, 1962.

[4] Cf B. Zientara, *Świt narodów europejskich. Powstawanie świadomości narodowej na obszarze Europy pokarolińskiej* (Ser: Ceramowska), Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1996 [1985].

[5] Cf J. Křen, *Dvě století střední Evropy* (Ser: Edice dějiny Evropy), Prague: Argo, 2006, p 360.

[6] Cf P. Mishra*, From the Ruins of Empire: The Revolt Against the West and the Remaking of Asia*, London: Allen Lane, an imprint of Penguin Books, 2012.

[7] Cf A. J. Davis, *The Great Harmonia: Being a Philosophical Revelation of the Natural, Spiritual, and Celestial Universe* (Vol 5), Boston: Bela Marsh (1859), p 277.

[8] Cf R. A. Nisebet, *History of the Idea of Progress*, New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994, pp 27, 63, 316, 352.

[9] Cf A. Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society: Transformations of an Illusion*, London: Routledge, 1988.

[10] Cf A. Comte, *A General View of Positivism*, London: Tübner and Co., 1865 [1848], pp 7, 62-63, 66, 370; F. List, *National System of Political Economy*, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1856 [1841], pp 70, 81; K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, New York: Cosimo, 2006 [1848], pp 36-37, 47.

[11] O. Bauer, *The Question of Nationalities and Social Democracy*, Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000 [1908].

[12] J. Stalin, 'Marxism and the National Question,' in J. Stalin *Works* (Vol 2), Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954 [1913], p 339.

[13] S. Blank, *The Sorcerer as Apprentice: Stalin as Commissar of Nationalities, 1917-1924* (Ser: Contributions in Military Studies, Vol 145), Westport CN: Greenwood Press, 1994; T. Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939* (Ser: The Wilder House Series in Politics, History and Culture), Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.

[14] Cf R. G. Suny, *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1993; A. L. Edgar, *Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.

[15] Cf M. Baár, *Historians and Nationalism East-Central Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Ser: Oxford Historical Monographs), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010; S. Berger, C. Lorenz, B. Melman (eds), *Popularizing National Pasts: 1800 to the Present*, London: Routledge, 2012.

[16] C. Herod, *The Nation in the History of Marxian Thought: The Concept of Nations with History and Nations without History*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976, pp 32, 43, 88

[17] E. R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History*, Berkeley CA: University of Berkeley Press, 1982.

[18] J. C. Weaver, *The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World, 1650-1900*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.

[19] Cf C. Turnbull, *Black War: The Extermination of the Tasmanian Aborigines*, Melbourne: Cheshire, 1948.

[20] M. Mamdani, *Define and Rule*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.

[21] R. Tagore, *Nationalism*, London: Macmillan, 1917.

[22] I allow myself the neologism 'ennationalization' for the 'process of making a human group part of this or that nation,' in preference to the term 'nationalization,' whose primary meaning is economic.

[23] W. Wachsmuth, *Geschichte deutscher Nationalität* (Vol 1: Die Gesammtheit der deutschen Nation), Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1860, p 251.

[24] J. Kapras, *Přehled právních dějin zemí České koruny*, Prague: At Author's Expense, 1935, p 63.

[25] W. J. Bogusławski, *Dzieje Słowiańszczyzny północno-zachodniej do połowy XIII w.* (Vol 4: Dzieje Słowiańszczyzny północno-zachodniej aż do wynarodowienia Słowian zaodrzańskich), Poznań: At Author's Expense (Drukarnia *Dziennika Poznańskiego*), 1900, p 538.
[26] A. Wierzbicki, *Naród-państwo w polskiej myśli historycznej dwudziestolecia międzywojennego*, Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1978, p 62.
[27] *Česká revue. Měsičnik národní strany svobodomyslné věnovaný* (Vol 2). Prague: Nákladem Národní strany svobodomyslné, 1909, p 115.
[28] E. Maleczyńska, *Ruch husycki w Czechach i w Polsce*, Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1959, p 220.
[29] F. J. Braitmaier, *Göthekult und Göthephilologie*, Tübingen: Druck v. H. Laupp jr., 1892, p 38.
[30] H. S. Williams (ed.) *The Historians' History of the World: A Comprehensive Narrative of the Rise and Development of Nations from the Earliest Times*, London: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1926, p 111.
[31] J. Bartosz, *Proszę o powrót do Polski...*, Wrocław: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1979, p 14.
[32] K. M. Kertbeny (ed and translator), *Sechzehn erzählende Dichtungen von Alexander Petőfi*, Prague and Leipzig: Steinhauser, 1866, p XX.
[33] *Przedświt. Miesięcznik polityczno-społeczny. Organ Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej*, Cracow, 1909, p 156, books.google.co.uk/books?id=AhswAQAAMAAJ&q="narodowo+obojętny"&dq="narodowo+obojętny"&hl=en&sa=X&ei=xNE6UpazFsXK0wWZuIGQDw&ved=0CD8Q6AEwAg, Sept 19, 2013
[34] Rozhledy politické (pp 256-260). *Czech Naše doba. Revue pro vědu, umění a život sociální* (Vol 4), Prague: Jan Laichter, 1897, p 257.
[35] I thank James Bjork for the useful remark.
[36] J. W. A. von Eckardt, *Berlin - Wien - Rom. Betrachtungen über den neuen Kurs und die neue europäische Lage*, Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1892, p 12.
[37] J. Slavík, *Vznik českého národa. Úvod do českých dějin* (Vol 2: Národ a města), Prague: Pokrok, 1948, p 33.
[38] O. Górka, *Naród a państwo jako zagadnienie Polski*, Warsaw: At Author's Expense, 1937, pp 136, 262.
[39] A. Brückner, *Die Slawen und der Weltkrieg. Lose Skizzen*, Tübingen: Mohr, 1916, pp 100-101, 107.
[40] J. J. Wiatr, *Naród i państwo. Socjologiczne problemy kwestii narodowej*, Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1969, pp 199, 312; L. Wasilewski, 'Narodowość współczesna,' in: W. J. Burszta, J. Nowak and K. Wawruch (eds) *Polska refleksja nad narodem*. Wybór tekstów, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2002 [1929]: 127-137, pp 134-135.
[41] Wierzbicki, op. cit., p 62.
[42] W. Bobek, *Náčrt dejín slovenskej kultúry*, Bratislava: Slovák, 1939, p 57.
[43] S. Rudnitsky, *Ukraine, the Land and Its People: An Introduction to Its Geography*, New York: Rand McNally, 1918, pp 153-154.
[44] *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich* (Vol 22), 1898, Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, p 139.
[45] W. Czermak, *Illustrowane dzieje Polski* (Vol 1: Od początków do X wieku), Vienna: Nakładem Franciszka Bondego, 1905, p 257.
[46] S. Gierszewski, *Chojnice. Dzieje miasta i powiatu*, Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1971, p 232.
[47] *Von Deutschlands Ostnot*, Berlin: Hobbing, 1930, p 59
[48] W. Jastrzębski (ed) *Ludność niemiecka na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939-1945 i jej powojenne losy. Materiały z konferencji*, Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uczelniane WSP, 1995, p 99.
[49] *Statistický obzor. Ekonomicko-statistický časopis*, Vol 28, Prague: Státní úřad statistický, Ústředni úřad státní kontroly a statistiky 1948, p 95.
[50] I thank James Bjork for the insightful comment.
[51] Cf R. Blanke, *Polish-speaking Germans? Language and National Identity among the Masurians since 1871* (Ser: Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, edited by Herder-Institut, Marburg, vol 24). Cologne, Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2001; K. Brown, *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2004; G. B. Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861-1914*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981; J. V. A. Fine, *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans: A Study of Identity in Pre-Nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006; P. M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontier of Imperial Austria*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2006; K. Hannan, *Borders of Language and Identity in Teschen Silesia* (Ser: Berkeley Insights in Linguistics and Semiotics, Vol 28), New York: Peter Lang, 1996: J. King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848-1948*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002; A. Maxwell, *Choosing Slovakia: Slavic Hungary, the Czechoslovak Language and Accidental Nationalism* (Ser: International Library of Political Studies, Vol 37), London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, an imprint of I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2009; A. V. Prusin, *The Lands Between: Conflict in the East European Borderlands, 1870-1992*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010; or T. Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1948*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.

[52] A. Engelking 'The Natsyas of the Grodno Region of Belarus: A Field Study,' *Nations and Nationalism* 2004, Vol 5, 175-206; T. Kamusella, *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008.
[53] L. Fasora, J. Hanuš J. and Malíř (eds) *Moravské vyrovnání z roku 1905 / Der Mährische Ausgleich von 1905* (Ser: Země a kultura ve střední Evropě, Vol 3), Brno: Matice moravská pro Výzkumné středisko pro dějiny střední Evropy, 2006; W. Grocholl, *Joseph Martin Nathan. Leben und Leiden für eine grenzlose Caritas im mährisch-schlesischen Land*. Eschershausen: Selbsverl. d. Kanonischen Visitators für Priester und Gläubige aus dem Generalvikariat Branitz, 1990; Jasiński, G. *Mazurzy w drugiej połowie XIX wieku. Kształtowanie się świadomości narodowej* (Ser: Rozprawy i Materiały, Vol 143). Olsztyn: Olsztyn: Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. W. Kętrzyńskiego, 1994; G. Makarovič, *Ko še nismo bili Slovenci in Slovenke. Novoveške etnične identitete pred slovensko narodno zavestjo*, Ljubljana: Društvo Slovenska Matica, 2008; C. Obracht-Prondzyński (ed) *Kim są Kaszubi? Nowe tendencje w badaniach społecznych*, Gdańsk: Instytut Kaszubski, 2007; C. Obracht-Prondzyński and T. Wicherkiewicz (eds) *The Kashubs: Past and Present* (Ser: Nationalisms Across the Globe, Vol 2), Oxford: Peter Lang, 2011; A. Peti-Stantić, *Jezik naš i / ili njihov. Vježbe iž poredbene povijesti južnoslavenskih standardizacijskih procesa*, Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2008; A. Sakson, *Mazurzy – społeczność pogranicza*, Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1990; R. Traba, *Niemcy – Warmiacy – Polacy, 1871-1914*. Olsztyn: Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. W. Kętrzyńskiego and Wspólnota Kulturowa „Borussia", 1994; R. Traba (ed) *Akulturacja / asymilacja na pograniczach kulturowych Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w XIX i XX wieku* (Vol 1: Stereotypy i Pamięć), Warsaw: Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk and Niemiecki Instytut Historyczny, 2009.
[54] M. Hroch's monograph *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) is a translation of *Die Vorkämpfer der nationalen Bewegung bei den kleinen Völkern Europas. Eine vergleichende Analyse zur gesellschaftlichen Schichtung der patriotischen Gruppen* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1968), which in turn was translated from the Czech-language original that appeared only in part, as *Obrození malých evropských národů. Skriptum pro posl. filosof. fak.* (Part 1: Národy severní a východní Evropy) (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1971).
[55] A. Kłoskowska's monograph *National Cultures at the Grass-Root Level* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2001) is a translation of the Polish original *Kultury narodowe u korzeni* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1996).
[56] J. Chlebowczyk's monograph *On Small and Young Nations in Europe: Nation-Forming Processes in Ethnic Borderlands in East-Central Europe* (Ser: Polish Historical Library, Vol 1; Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1980) is an abbreviated translation of the much larger Polish original, J. Chlebowczyk, *Procesy narodowotwórcze we wschodniej Europie Środkowej w dobie kapitalizmu (od schyłku XVIII do początków XX w.)* Cracow: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975. His thought and its influence on historians and social scientist in Central Europe was recently reassessed in: Wanatowicz, M. W. (ed.) *Józef Chlebowczyk – badacz procesów narodowotwórczych w Europie XIX i XX wieku* (Ser: Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach, Vol 2463), Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2007.
[57] A. D. Dulichenko, *Slavianskie literaturnye mikroiazyki. Voprosy formirovania i razvitiia*, Tallinn: Valgus, 1981.
[58] A. Maxwell 'Typologies and Phases in Nationalism Studies: Hroch's A-B-C Schema as a Basis for Comparative Terminology,' *Nationalities Papers* 2010, Vol 38, No 6, 865-880, pp 872-873.
[59] A. Mauss, *Social Problems as Social Movements*, Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1975, pp 61-68.
[60] L. N. Gumilev, *Etnogenez i biosfera Zemli*, Leningrad: Izdavatel'stvovo Leningradskogo universiteta, 1989.
[61] L. N. Gumilev, *Ethnogenesis and the Biosphere*, Moscow: Progress, 1990.
[62] In 2000, the premiere institution of higher education in Kazakhstan's capital of Astana, the Eurasian National University was named after L. N. Gumilev (Istoriia ENU segodnia, http://www.enu.kz/o-enu/, 2012, Dec 19).
[63] T. Zahra, 'Imagined Communities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis,' *Slavic Review* 2010, Vol 69, No 1, 93-119.
[64] P. M. Judson and T. Zahra, 'Sites of Indifference to Nationhood: Introduction,' *Austrian History Yearbook* 2012, Vol 43, 21-27. NB: This volume of the yearly contains six articles in the section 'Sites of Indifference to Nationhood' (pp 28-137) drawn from the emponymous conference that took place in 2008.
[65] Cf Kohn, 1962, op. cit.
[66] I thank James Bjork for the important qualification.
[67] I am thankful to James Bjork for his ideas that inspired me to add this paragraph with the salient qualifications.
[68] Cf P. Eberhardt, *Polska i jej grancie. Z historii polskiej geografii politycznej*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2004, pp 27-170; R. Wapiński, *Polska i małe ojczyzny Polaków. Z*

dziejów kształtowania się świadomości narodowej w XIX i XX wieku po wybuch II wojny światowej, Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1994.

[69] B. Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p 223.

[70] Cf L. Dralle, *Die Deutschen in Ostmittel- und Osteuropa. Ein Jahrtausend europäischer Geschichte*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991, pp 177-198; H. Hecker and S Spieler (eds), *Deutsche, Slawen und Balten. Aspekte des Zusammenlebens im Osten des Deutschen Reiches und in Ostmitteleuropa*, Bonn: Kulturstiftung der deutschen Vertriebenen, 1989.

[71] J. Pánek et al., *Idea českého státu v proměnách staletí. Fakta. Úvahy. Souvislosti* (Ser: Knižnice Klubu Vltava), Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2008, pp 134-167.

[72] Cf D. Gawrecki, *Dějiny Českého Slezska 1740-2000* (2 vols), Opava: Slezská univerzita, Filozoficko-přírodovědecká fakulta, Ústav historie a muzeologie, 2002.

[73] I use these forms of place-names that were official at a given time with the present-day form supplied in parentheses.

[74] Cf E. Kopeć, *Południowo-zachodnie kresy Rzeczypospolitej 1918-1939. Społeczne warunki integracji* (Ser: Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach, Vol 435), Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski, 1981.

[75] Cf J. Bahlcke, D. Gawrecki and R. Kaczmarek (eds), *Historia Górnego Śląska. Polityka, gospodarka i kultura europejskiego regionu*, Gliwice: Dom Współpracy Polsko-Niemieckiej, Katowice: Muzeum Śląskie and Bytom: Frodo, 2011, pp 219-227, 449-456.

[76] P. Hauser, *Śląsk między Polską, Czechosłowacją a separatyzmem. Walka Niemiec o utrzymanie prowincji śląskiej w latach 1918-1919*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1991; E. Karsten, *Briten, Franzosen und Italiener in Oberschlesien, 1920 – 1922. Die Interalliierte Regierungs- und Plebiszitkommission im Spiegel der britischen Akten* (Ser: Beihefte zum Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau; Einzelschrift der Historischen Kommission für Schlesien, Vol 13), St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 2002; S. Osborne, *The Upper Silesian Question and Germany's Coal Problem*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1920; J. Przewłocki, *Mocarstwa zachodnioeuropejskie wobec problemów Górnego Śląska w latach 1918-1933*, Katowice: Śląski Instytut Naukowy, 1975.

[77] Cf J. Malendowicz (ed) *Opowiadania z naszej przeszłości. Teksty o treści historycznej dla klasy IV*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 1975.

[78] But to be fair: even if one accepted that every individual in the region had a clear national identification, ethnolinguistically mixed settlement patterns were sufficient to ensure widespread dissatisfaction with the Wilsonian solution. This kind of critique was widespread among observers who would not have questioned the United States president's national positivism. (I am grateful to James Bjork for this qualification.)

[79] Cf M. G. Gerlich, „My prawdziwi Górnoślązacy…". Studium etnologiczne (Ser: Studia Ethnologica), Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG and Instytut Etnologii i Antropologii Kulturowej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, and Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski, 2010, pp 113-136; G. Hitze, *Carl Ulitzka (1873-1953) oder Oberschlesien zwischen den Kriegen* (Ser: Forschungen und Quellen zur Zeitgeschichte, Vol 40D), Düsseldorf: Droste, 2002; Jerczyński, *Józef Kożdoń (1873-1949). Przywódca Śląskiej Partii Ludowej, a kwestia narodowości śląskiej na Śląsku Cieszyński i Opawskim w XIX i XX stuleciu*, Zabrze: Narodowa Oficyna Śląska, 2011, pp 101-216; V. Plaček, *Prajzáci, aneb, K osudům Hlučínska 1742-1960*, Hlučín: Kulturní dům Hlučín and Kravaře: Kulturní středisko zámek Kravaře, 2000.

[80] Cf J. M. Halpern and D. A. Kideckel, *Neighbors at War: Anthropological Perspectives on Yugoslav Ethnicity, Culture, and History*, University Park PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000, p 133; B. Lacina 'Explaining the Severity of Civil War,' *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50: 276-289, 2006, p 287; T. Wilson, *Frontiers of Violence: Conflict and Identity in Ulster and Upper Silesia 1918-1922* (Ser: Oxford Historical Monographs), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, p 214.

[81] Cf B. Struck, *Nie Zachód, nie Wschód. Francja i Polska w oczach niemieckich podróżnych w latach 1750-1850* (Ser: Klio w Niemczech, Vol 18), Warsaw: Neriton, Muzeum Historii Polski and Niemiecki Instytut Historyczny, 2012, pp 309-406.

[82] Cf U. Seng, *Die Schulpolitik des Bistums Breslau im 19. Jahrhundert* (Ser: Studien der Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa an der Universität Dortmund, Vol 4), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989, pp 35-43.

[83] Cf J. Bjork, *Neither German nor Pole: Catholicism and National Indifference in a Central European Borderland*, Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, 2008.

[84] Cf J. Liszka, Das Tauschkind-System im slowakischen Teil der Kleinen Tiefebene, *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 1996, No 32, 58-72; N. Nikolova, *Bilingvizmut v bulgarskite zemli prez XV-XIX vek*, Shumen: Shumenski universitet "Episkop Konstantin Preslavski", 2006; T. Paić-Vukić, *Svijet Mustafe Muhibbija, sarajevskega kadije*, Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2007.

[85] Hannan, op cit; T. Kamusella, *Schlonzska mowa. Język, Górny Śląsk i nacjonalizm* (2 vols), Zabrze: Narodowa Oficyna Śląska, 2005-2006.

[86] The normative quest for imposing or creating a socio-political homogeneity that would be shared by all the polity's inhabitants dates back, in Central Europe, to the principle *cuius regio, eius religio* (meaning that the ruler dictates the religion of the ruled), as established by the provisions and ramifications of the Peace of Augsburg (1555). On this basis the Catholic nation-state of Belgium was founded in 1830 through separation from the northern half of the Netherlands that was Protestant. But shortly afterward, in Central Europe the old principle was translated into the new one of *cuius regio, eius lingua* (thus, elevating ethnolinguistic nationalism to the rank of the main principle of statehood legitimation), which entailed, beginning in 1898, making Flemish (that is, Dutch, or Netherlandish, as the language is now known officially) a second official language, alongside French. Ironically, homogeneity is a fickle foundation of political legitimacy. When fashions change a polity that was deemed homogenous a decade ago, may suddenly appear heterogeneous, and as such, illegitimate. The power of deciding what amounts to an appropriate homogeneity lies in the eye of the perceiver, meaning an elite and/or the citizenry. Furthermore, nothing can prevent humans from seeing even opposite states of an aspect of social reality as 'homogenous,' be it monolingualism or polyglotism of a polity's population. (I thank Martine van Berlo for our 2008 conversations in Limerick from which I drew this insight.)
[87] I am grateful to James Bjork for this salient remark.
[88] I have observed this phenomenon since the early 1970s among my kin and kith, and among my Upper Silesian acquaintances whom I met in Poland, Germany and Czechoslovakia (or since 1993, in the Czech Republic).
[89] L. Pallas, *Jazyková otázka a podmínky vytvaření národního vědomí ve Slezsku*, Ostrava: Profil, 1970.
[90] N. Reiter, *Die polnisch-deutsch Sprachbezihungen in Oberschlesien* (Ser: Slavistische Veröffentlichungen, Vol. 23). [West] Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin and Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1960.
[91] J. Chałasiński, *Antagonizm polsko-niemiecki w osadzie fabrycznej 'Kopalnia' na Górnym Śląsku*, Warsaw: Dom Książki Polskiej, 1935; E. Szramek, 'Śląsk jako Problem Socjologiczny,' *Roczniki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk na Śląsku* 4, 1934: 22-95.
[92] G. Kaeckenbeeck, *The International Experiment of Upper Silesia: A Study in the Working of the Upper Silesian Settlement, 1922-1937*, London: Oxford University Press and Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1942, pp 295, 345.
[93] Cf K. Makuszyński in E. Kopeć, *„My i oni" na polskim Śląsku (1918-1939)*, Katowice: Śląsk, 1986, p. 190.
[94] Cf T. Kamusella, 'The Isomorphism of Language, Nation, and State: The Case of Central Europe,' in: W. Burszta, T. Kamusella and S. Wojciechowski (eds) *Nationalisms Across the Globe: An Overview of Nationalisms of State-Endowed and Stateless Nations* (Vol 2: The World), Poznań Wyższa Szkoła Nauk Humanistycznych i Dziennikarstwa, 2006: 57-92.
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