

Imagined Central Europe: Utility of Regionalization between East and West

Hiroshi FUKUDA
Center for Integrated Area Studies
Kyoto University, Japan
hfukuda@cias.kyoto-u.ac.jp

Introduction

- The Slovak-“European”
 - Milan Hodža (1878-1944)
 - Return from USA (2002)
 - *Federation in Central Europe* (London, 1942)
 - Communism & Cold War
 - Dzurinda & Mečiar
- Welcome back to Europe?
 - 1989 & European Union
 - Central Europe reloaded?



V. Mečiar versus M. Dzurinda in Slovakia



Premier (-1998)
Anti-Democratic
Authoritarian, Anti-EU



Premier (1998-2006)
Democratic
Pro-EU

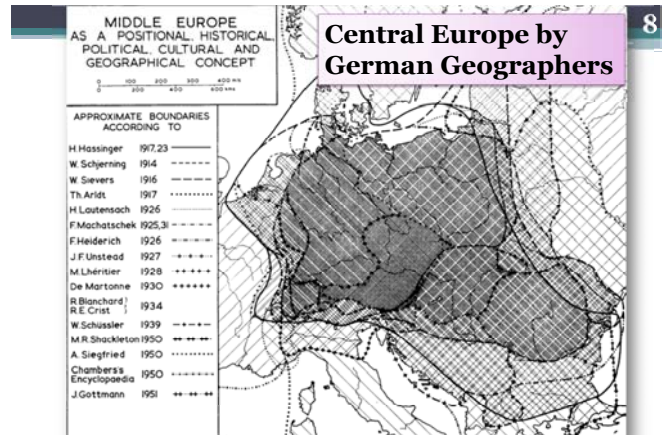
1. Maps of Central Europe

- 2 types of Central Europe?
 - German *Mitteleuropa*
Taboo? Memory of Nazi, expansionism?
 - Non-German Central Europe
“Zone of Small Nations”
Corridor between two Powers?
- 2 patterns of revival?
 - German type and non-German one?



Central Europe as a Corridor

The Proposed Federation of Central and Eastern Europe in One All-Embracing Political and Economic Union,
Source: Feliks Gross, *Crossroads of two Continents: A Democratic Federation of East-central Europe* (Columbia University Press, 1945), p.28.



Source: Karl A. Sinnhuber, “Central Europe – Mitteleuropa – Europe Centrale: An Analysis of a Geographical Term,” *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)* 20 (1954), p.19.

2 (1). Central Europe before & after 1989

- Former Eastern Europe
 - Milan Kundera’s “Tragedy of CE” (1984)
Central Europe as a “kidnapped Occident”
 - György Konrád, *Antipolitik* (1985)
 - *Střední Evropa* [Central Europe] (1984-)
dissidents’ *samizdat* in socialist system
- Return to Europe from 1989
 - Legitimacy of the EU membership?
 - Historical approach Interwar period, Habsburg Empire, Polish-Lithuanian Union..

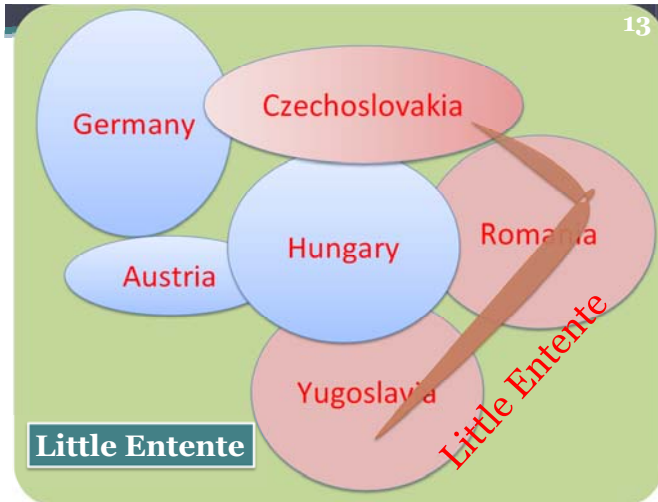
2 (2). Central Europe before & after 1989

- Revival of CE in 1980's in Germany
 - "Normal" Germany for "New Rights"
 - Tragedy of CE in the East-West confrontation
 - CE under the initiative of Germany?
- German Unification (1990) & Rights
 - Return to the original Geographical position?
 - Central Europe vs. Globalization
- Yugoslavia Wars in 1990s & Germany
 - Mission of Germany?

3 (1). CE in the Interwar Period

- Hodža as a Lost Figure in Oblivion
 - Loser? Anti-Communist?
- His Central Europe & Agrarian Democracy
 - Western vs. Central (Industry vs. Agriculture)
- Farmer as a Bearer of Democracy
 - Discipline, Religion, Family and Soil
 - Ordered Freedom
 - Land Reform & Private Property
 - The Third Way between Capitalism & Socialism
 - Ordered Economy

Hodža's Early Life in the Habsburg Empire



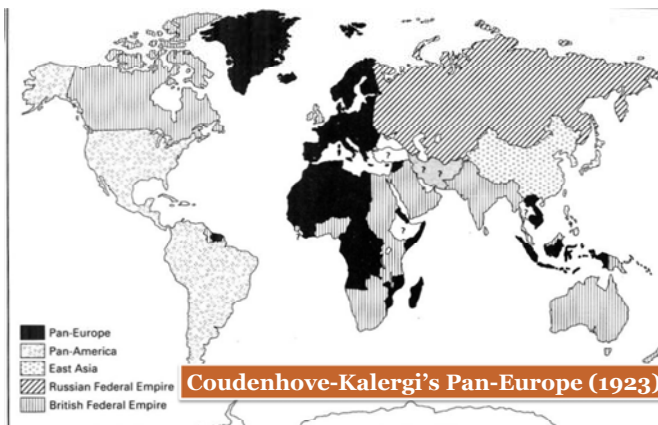
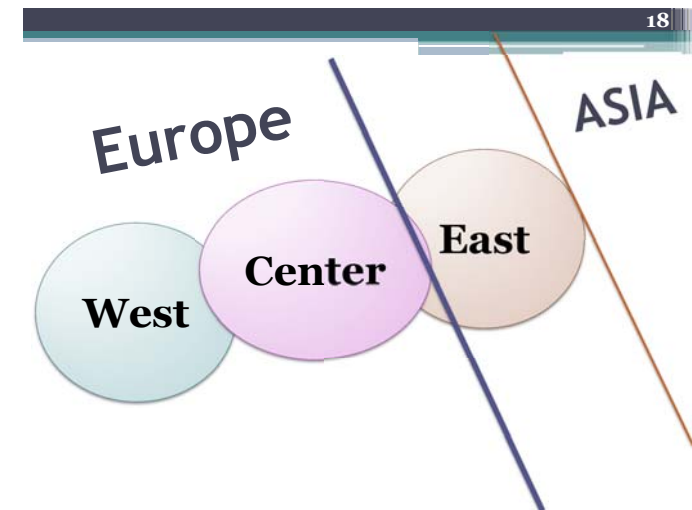
3 (2). CE in the Interwar Period

- Hodža Plan (1936)
 - 6 countries: Little Entente (CS, RO, YU) + Rome Protocol (AT, HU, IT)
 - "One Single Great Economic Unit"
 - "Agricultural Bureau" for Farm Surplus
 - But... shadow of Nazi-Germany
- Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894-1972)
 - Paneuropa (1923) & Colonies
 - Between Democracy & Fascism/ Nazism



Conclusion: *Mitteleuropa* is still alive...

- Imagined Central Europe
 - Invented Eastern Europe (18c)
 - West-Center-East (19c)
 - Real Border between Europe and Asia?
 - Continuity of the Border (18c-21c?)
- Central Europe & Orientalism
 - Ex. Slovak Foreign Policy (21c) for Balkans & Central Asia
 - EU is still expanding and the border is moving...



The future world order according to R.N. Coudenhove-Kalergi's *Pan-Europa* (1923)

Source: Peter M. R. Stirk, *A History of European Integration since 1914* (London: Continuum, 2001), p. ix.