## 2. National revival of imagined communities

András Schweitzer, The idea and reality of East-Central Europe, Masaryk University, Brno, Dec. 2020

#### Required and recommended texts to read

- Theodor Herzl: The Jewish State (1896). In: Hertzberg, Arthur, ed. *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1997, pp. 204-226
- Beneš, Edvard: Detruisez L'Autriche-Hongrie. Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1916
- Brian Porter: When Nationalism Began to Hate. Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-century Poland. Oxford University Press. 2000. Conclusion 231-238. o.
- Paces, Cynthia: The Czech nation must be Catholic.
  Nationalities Papers, Vol. 27, No. 3, 1999

+ Anderson, Benedict R. *Imagined Communities: Reflections* on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso, 1983.

#### The region and the empires

By 1795 (third partition of Poland) the entire region of East-Central Europe is swallowed by the Habsburg, Russian, Prussian, Ottoman empires

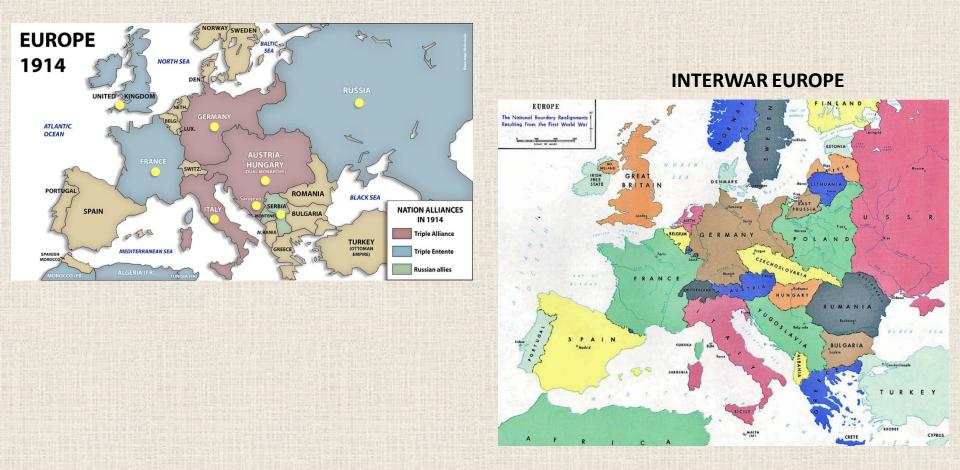
Europe, 1500

Europe, 1795-



## Nationalisms in East-Central Europe

<u>19th c. change in the identity</u>: belonging to a religion => belonging to a nation <u>West</u>: organic development of nation states, (more) fixed borders, ... <u>East</u>: National culture, nation states must be fought for, created, and defended



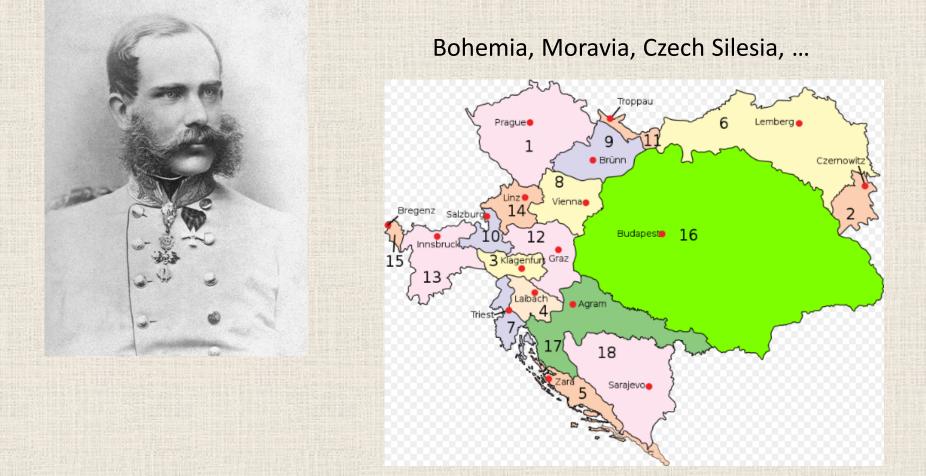
Anderson, Benedict R. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism

The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind.

It is imagined as *sovereign* because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm.

Finally, it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.

#### "Czech lands" and Slovakia?



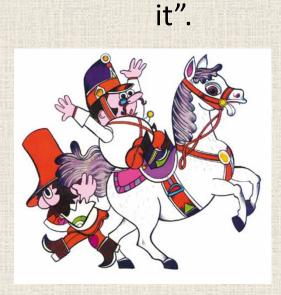
1867 Ausgleich (= Kiegyezés) => Austria-Hungary1868 Hungarian-Croat ausgleich => Croat parliament, ban (king appoints)



František Palacký 1798-1876 father (and historian) of the Czech nation

# Austroslavism

- The independence of small Slavic nations could be guaranteed by Austria (against German, Russian advances)
- Federal structure of the Habsburg empire would be needed – study in 8 parts in Národ newsp., in 1865 Fundamental articles (in 1871)
- Refusal, end of passive resistance (in 1879)
- "We were here before Austria, we will be here after







### détruisez L'AUTRICHE-HONGRIE!

#### LE MARTYRE DES TCHÉCO-SLOVAQUES A TRAVERS L'HISTOIRE

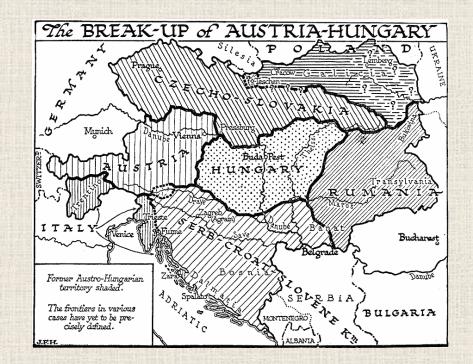
PAR Edvard BENEŠ Privat docent de sociologie a l'onversité terèque de pracus et sechétaire général du conseil national terèco-flovaque de paris



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# Edvard Beneš (1916)

*"Les Tchéco-Slovaques, ou tout simplement les Tchèques, se composent de deux éléments: sept millions de Tchèques (…) et trois millions de Slovaques…"* 



# **Origins of Zionism**

By the rivers of babylon, there we sat down Ye-eah we wept, when we remembered zion.

When the wicked Carried us away in captivity Required from us a song Now how shall we sing the lord's song in a strange land



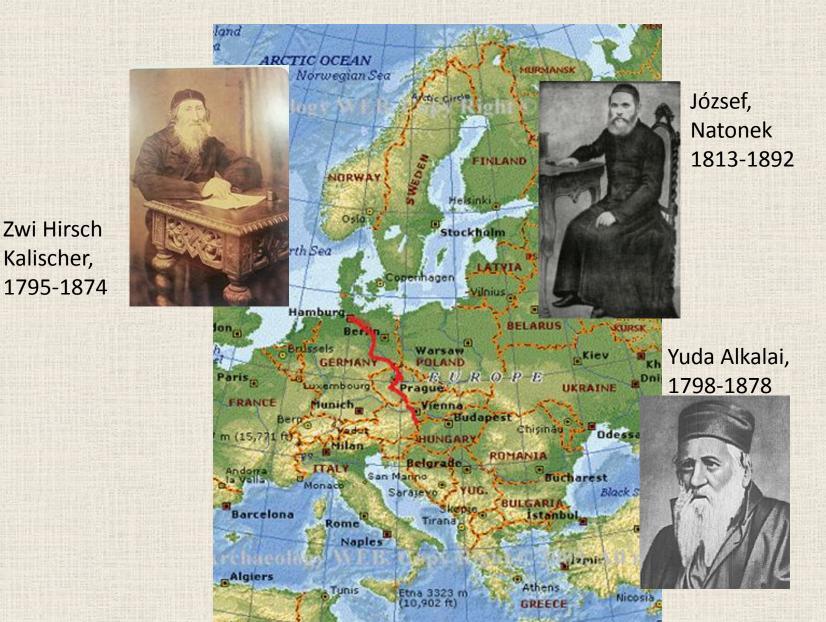


## **Drivers of modern Zionism**

- Religious teachings
- The example of European nationalisms
- Modern anti-Semitism
- East-European masses in poverty



## "Forerunners" of modern Zionism



## Theodor Herzl (Herzl Tivadar)

- <u>Journalist</u>: Neue Frei Press, Dreyfus affair 1894-
- <u>Writer</u>: Altneuland, Judenstaat 1895-
- Activist: Zionism congress in Basel, 1897
- <u>Diplomat</u>: Joseph Chamberlain, Vjacheslav Pleve, Abdul-Hamid, X. Pius, ...

*"I consider the Jewish question neither a social nor a religious one, even though it sometimes takes these and other forms. It is a national question, and to solve it we must first of all establish it as an international political problem to be discussed and settled by the civilized nations of the world in council. We are a people – one people."* The Jewish State (1896)



1860-1904

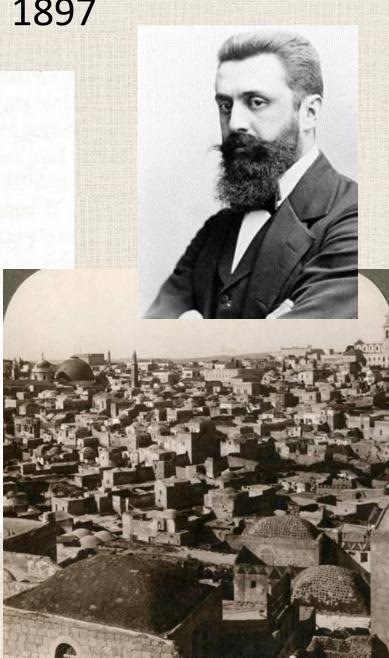
## Basel Congress, 1897

ZIONISM SEEKS FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE A PUBLICLY RECOGNIZED LEGALLY SECURED HOMELAND IN PALESTINE

To achieve this goal, Congress envisages the following methods:

- 1. By fostering the settlement of Palestine with farmers, labourers and artisans
- 2. By organizing the whole of Jewry in suitable local and general bodies in accordance with the laws of their respective countries
- 3. By strengthening the National Jewish feeling and National consciousness
- 4. By taking preparatory steps to attain government consent which may be necessary to reach the aim of Zionism.

"The Maccabees will rise again"



#### Brian Porter: When Nationalism Began to Hate

#### "For our freedom and yours"

Patriotism, cooperation, believing in rights and justice, talking of all "oppressed peoples of Russia"

#### "Right or wrong – my country"

Exclusionary and authoritarian ideology of national distinctiveness, emphasizing and exhibiting xenophobia, aggression, struggle and the "scientific" language of Social Darwinism

#### Points to discuss

- What is the connection between Zionism and East-Central Europe?
- What is the connection between Zionism and Jewish religion?
- What is the Jewish Question, what is the solution according to Theodor Herzl?
- Can there be a liberal nationalism?
- What is the connection between nationalism and democracy?
- Is nationalism left-wing or right wing?

# Thank you for your attention! Schweitzer.andras@tatk.elte.hu