

4. The idea of confederation

Required and recommended texts to read

- **Beneš, Eduard: The Organization of Postwar Europe.** *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Jan., 1942), pp. 226-242
- **Otto of Austria: Danubian Reconstruction.** *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Jan., 1942), pp. 243-252.
- Wandycz, Piotr S.: **Czechoslovak – Polish Confederation and the Great Powers, 1940-1943.** Indiana University Publications. Slavic and East European Series. Vol. 3. 1956. Chapter One: Czechoslovakia and Poland Between the Wars. pp. 1-32.



„Danubian Federation” plan, May 1st, 1862

„The special characteristics of the countries between the Carpathian mountains the Danube, the Black Sea and the Adriatic make it difficult to form a unitary state, but it is desirable that the old historical states of this region come to an alliance, which could be called the Danubian Federation.”

1.) Affairs of common interests would include: the defence of the territory of the Federation, foreign policy, diplomatic missions, foreign trade system including legislation affecting trade, customs, main transportation lines, money, weights and measures.

(...)

8.) The seat of the federal authority will alternate between Pest and Bucharest, Zagreb and Belgrade.

To the name of heaven, I ask the Hungarian, Slavic and Romanian brothers, to put a veil on the past and shake hands, rising up as one for the common freedom, and fighting as one for all and all for one, following the old Swiss example. ”

Ideas of confederation: the Habsburg Monarchy!

František Palacký [justifying the need for the Habsburg Empire]

„A Russian universal monarchy would be an immense and indescribable disaster, an immeasurable and limitless disaster”
(Kundera 1984: 3)

„The Austrian empire had the great opportunity of making Central Europe into a strong, unified state. But the Austrians, alas, were divided between an arrogant Pan-German nationalism and their own Central European mission” (**Kundera** 1984: 6)



Die „Vereinigten Staaten von Groß-Österreich“
nach einem Vorschlag von Aurel Popovici, 1906

- Staaten
- autonome Enklaven (größtenteils deutsch)



Nagy-Ausztriai Egyesült Államok, 1906



Die „Vereinigten Staaten von Groß-Österreich“ nach einem Vorschlag von Aurel Popovici, 1906

● Staaten ● autonome Enklaven (größtenteils)



Aurel Popovici

Crown of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania („Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth”), 14th century



Adam Czarzoryski
(1770-1861)

Plan:

- The revival and extension of the Polish-Lithuanian union with Slavic small nations, Romanians and Hungarians.
- Unification of East-Central (Zwischen) Europe from the Baltic sea to the Aegen Sea - Międzymorze (Intermarium).
- Popular during the interwar decades in Poland

Two decades

-1918

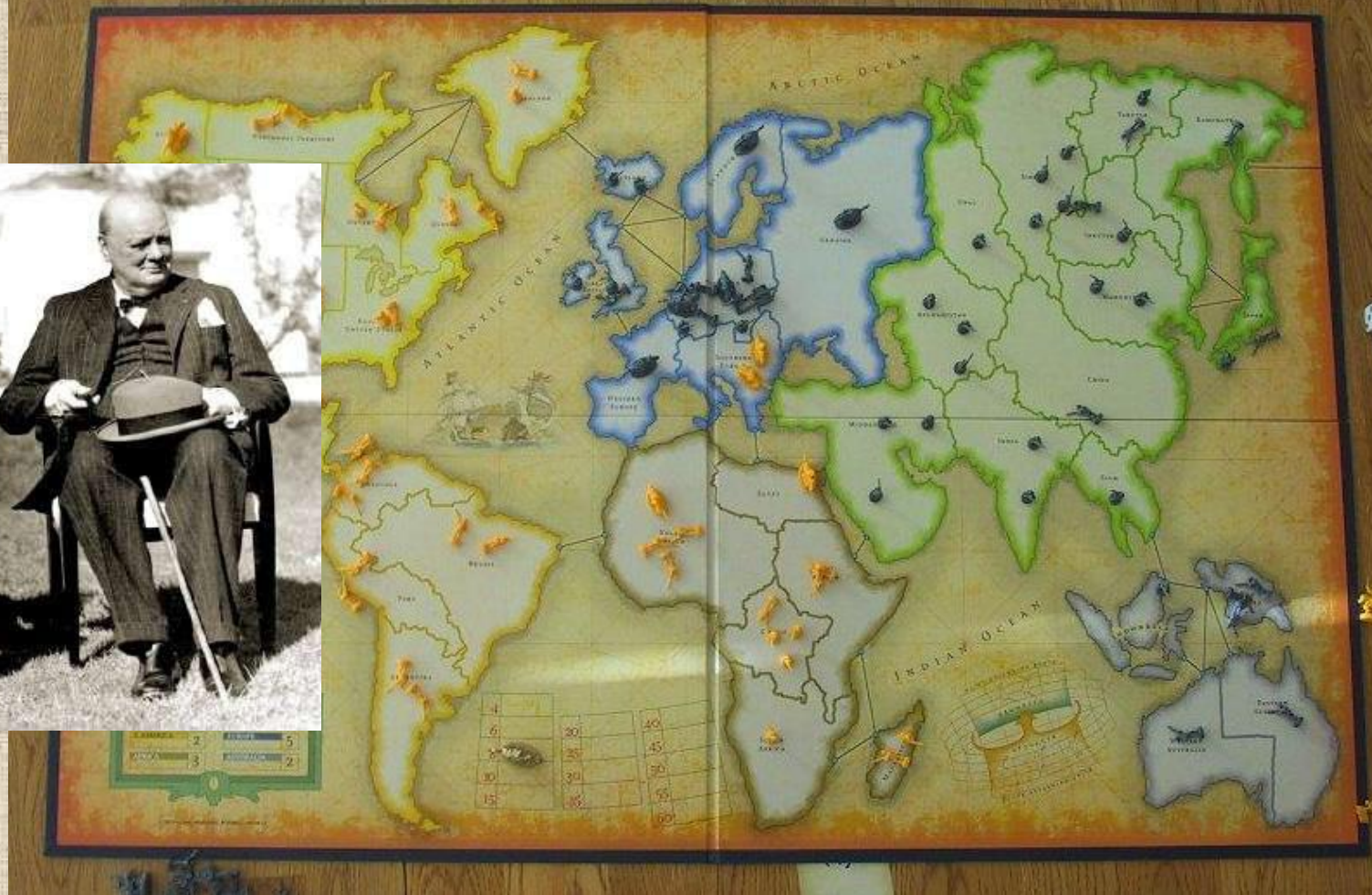
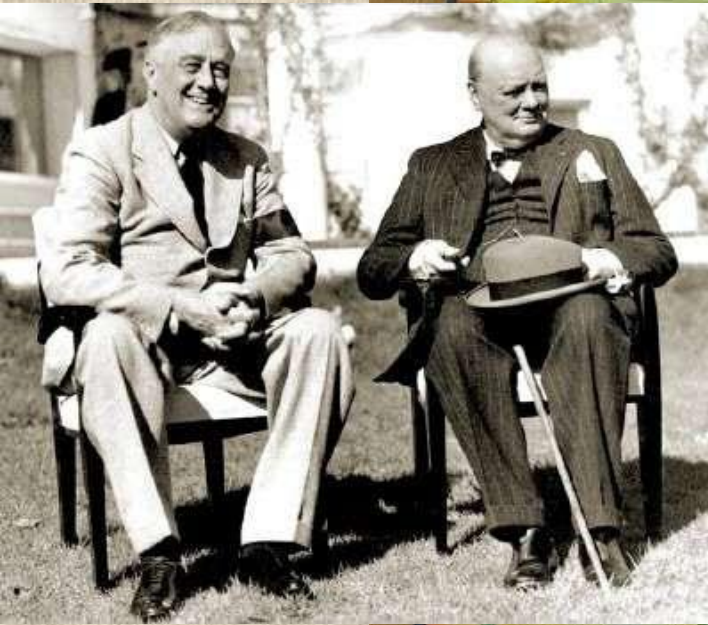


1918-1938



1938-



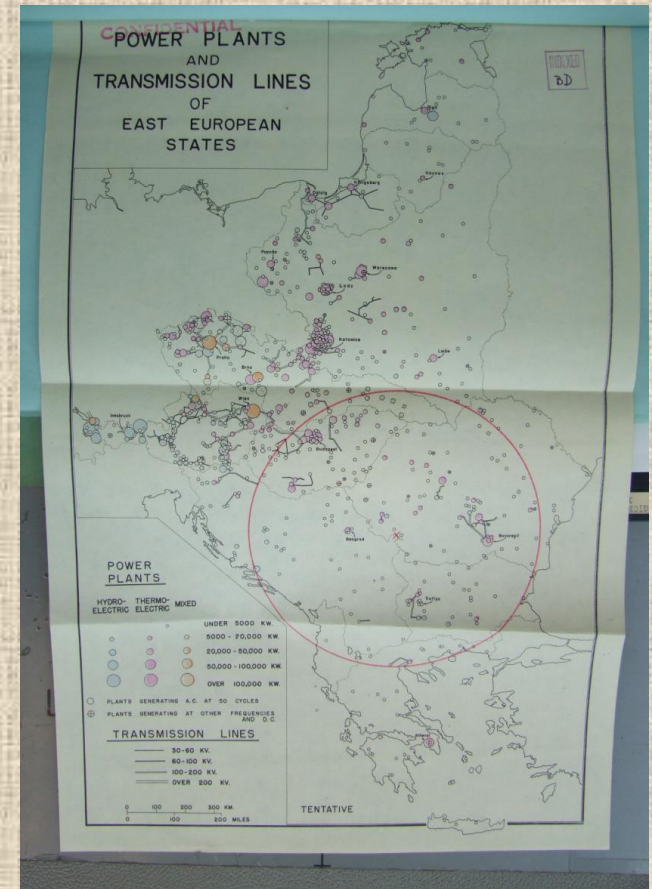


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| 4 | 20 | 40 |
| 6 | 25 | 45 |
| 8 | 30 | 50 |
| 10 | 35 | 55 |
| 12 | 40 | 60 |

US: Advisory Committee on Postwar Foreign Policy (1942-1945)
UK: Foreign Research and Press Service (1939-1945)

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UK: Foreign Research and Press Service (1939-1945)

- Foster economic development, solve ethnic and territorial conflicts
- Confederation plans for other regions
- A century old history of confederation plans for the „Middle Zone“





Edvard Beneš

Tibor Eckhardt

Otto von Habsburg Milan Hodža

Władysław Sikorski

Polish-Czechoslovak*, Greek-Yugoslav confederation agreements (January, 1942)

*Wandycz, Piotr S.: Czechoslovak – Polish Confederation and the Great Powers, 1940-1943



Edvard Beneš

1884, Kožlany – 1948, Sezimovo Ústí

- Czechoslovak foreign minister
- president of state
- president of gov. in exile

„Reorganized Central Europe. Its core will be a Czechoslovak Polish confederation. The creation of this new political unit can already be considered an accomplished fact. It might be joined by Austria and Hungary, and possibly by Rumania (...); everything will depend upon the internal conditions of these three countries after the war.”

(The Organization of Postwar Europe.
Foreign Affairs, Jan, 1942.)



Tibor Eckhardt

1888, Makó – 1972, New York

„The history of the years between the two world wars proved once more that the peoples of the Carpathian basin, and, more generally, the peoples living in the Middle Danube Valley, cannot singly and separately assure their existence. Located on the crossroads of overwhelming forces pressing against them (...) they can preserve their independence only (...) by building up (...) a new cooperative system...”

(Principles Adopted by the Executive Committee of the Movement for „Independent Hungary” Regarding the Reconstruction of the Danubian Area, 1942)

- A leader of the Race-defender (Fajvédő) Party, Vice-chair of the Revisionist League
- Chairman of the Independent Smallholders Party
- Sent by Horthy and Teleki to the USA



Otto von Habsburg

1912, Reichenau an der Rax – 2011, Pöcking

„I think we could borrow one of the dominant ideas of the Constitution of the United States, the fact that every state, large or small, has an equal number of seats in the Senate. And this Senate of the Danubian Nationalities, together with a Supreme Court, could have special competences in safeguarding equality, not only for the nationalities but also for their individual members.”

(Danubian Reconstruction.
Foreign Affairs, Jan, 1942.)

- Habsburg
Archduke, PhD
- Anti-Hitler
politician
- trying to organize
a pro-Allies Austrian
force in the USA



Milan Hodža

1878, Sučany – 1944, Clearwater

- Leader of the Slovak National Council
- Leader of the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party
- Minister of agriculture, minister of foreign affairs, prime minister

„A federalized Central Europe is one of the absolute necessities of a new post-war order. It is the only organism possible for making use of the national forces which in that region can preserve the principles of national and individual liberty and ordered freedom, and can join a reasonable system of production and consumption and market policy upon which the new Europe will be built.”

(Federation in Central Europe: Reflections and Reminiscences. 1942)



Władysław Sikorski

1881, Tuszów Narodowy – 1943, Gibraltar

„A Central-European Federation is a fundamental condition of (...) the security of the states along the Belgrade-Warsaw axis. (...) the basic elements of the federation include: Poland (with Lithuania), Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, (and Hungary)”

(Memorandum
to President Roosevelt , December 4, 1942)

- Officer of the Polish Legions (Legiony Polskie)
- A commander of the Battle of Warsaw, prime minister, minister of defence
- prime minister of the Polish government in exile, chief commander of the Polish Army

Soviet „nyet”: the reasons for its acceptance by the Allies

- Compensation for Soviet war efforts
- Recognition of Soviet security concerns
- Securing Soviet cooperation in a global collective security organization
- Fear of new Molotov-Ribbentrop pact
- Doubt about Soviet potential to „digest” what has been swallowed by them
- Unwillingness/incapability of the US and UK to fight for the region
- Traditional disinterest for the region



Edvard Beneš



Milan Hodža



Otto Habsburg



Władysław Sikorski



Czechoslovakia, 1918-22



Distribution of Races in Austria-Hungary





Unified and strong
Czechoslovakia

Danubian
confederation



Edvard Beneš

[Munich] „It will remain in history as a typical example of political shortsightedness, superficiality and selfishness on the part of a number of the European Powers in a desperately critical moment for all of Europe”

„the break-up of the Habsburg monarchy and the fall of the Habsburg dynasty were not the work of the Peace Conference in 1919 but of the peoples who had been under Habsburg rule.”

„...the nations of Central Europe must decide their fate after the war themselves”

Otto von Habsburg

„I was told by reliable witnesses that many Czechs, when Hitler seized their country, said to one another: "A pity we lost old Austria.”

„Czech desertions from the Habsburg Army were a trickle until the worsening of the military situation coincided with Allied propaganda (...) Croat desertions were almost absent”

[central power] „must be the supreme expression of their equality in every respect”

1. Economic problems, ethnic-territorial conflicts
2. quarreling elites, selfish nationalisms
3. For a „fairer” arrangement territories should be taken away from the allies favoring the enemy





Ethnically
homogenous,
unified and strong
Czechoslovakia



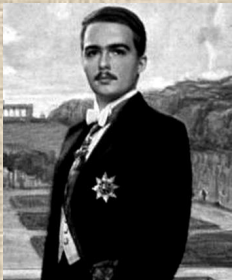
Greater-Poland



Revision of
the Trianon
treaty



Four global
policemen,
United Nations



Danubian
confederation



Federation of
„Agrarian
democracies”



Balance of
powers, keep the
Germans down,
Soviets out,
Americans in

Thank you for your attention!

schweitzerandras@gmail.com