

8. Defreezing: Ghosts return

Required and recommended texts to read

- Brubaker, Rogers: **National Minorities, Nationalizing States, and External National Homelands in the New Europe.** *Daedalus*, Vol. 124, No. 2, What Future for the State? (Spring, 1995), pp. 107-132
- Bunce, Valerie. **Peaceful versus Violent State Dismemberment: A Comparison of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia.** *Politics and Society*, Vol. 27 No. 2, June 1999. pp. 217-237
- + Rupnik, Jacques. **Populism in Eastern Central Europe.** Eurozine. 10th September 2007.
<https://www.eurozine.com/populism-in-eastern-central-europe/>

Ghosts return?
(nationalism
returns)

1990

Ethnic distribution
in S.F.R.J.

- Slovenes
- Croatians
- Serbs
- Montenegrins
- Bosniaks/Muslims
- Albanians
- Macedonians
- Bulgarians
- Hungarians



The triangular configuration (the triadic nexus)*

National minority (e.g.: Serbs in Croatia)

- 1) public claim to membership of an ethnocultural nation different from the numerically or politically dominant ethnocultural nation
- 2) the demand for state recognition of this distinct ethnocultural nationality
- 3) the assertion, on the basis of this ethnocultural nationality, of certain collective cultural and/or political rights

Nationalizing state (e.g.: Croatia)

tendency to see the state as an „unrealized” nation-state, as a state destined to be a nation-state

External national homeland (e.g.: Serbia)

Shared nationhood makes the state responsible, in some sense, not only for its own citizens but also for ethnic conationals who live in other states and possess other citizenships.

*Brubaker, Rogers: National Minorities, Nationalizing States, and External National Homelands in the New Europe. *Daedalus*, Vol. 124, No. 2, What Future for the State? (Spring, 1995)

Peaceful versus Violent State Dismemberment*

„... **Yugoslavia ended violently** because the federation had been for so long **decentralized**; because **Serbs were less powerful** than their numbers (and their history) would indicate, yet empowered at the same time by the institutions of the Serbian republic; and because the **Yugoslav military had long been a domestic political actor** and was opposed, by mission and interest, to the dismantling of the state.

By contrast, the Czechoslovak and Soviet federations were more centralized until regime transition produced a rapid decentralization of the political and economic context. At the same time, the largest nations, or the Czechs and the Russians, respectively, were dominant in political terms but deprived of institutional resources. Finally, the military in both of these countries was excluded from the games of state dismemberment – an exclusion in keeping with their role during socialism when they were encased in the Soviet bloc.”

*Bunce, Valerie. Peaceful versus Violent State Dismemberment: A Comparison of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. *Politics and Society*, Vol. 27 No. 2, June 1999. p. 233.

Re-doing Annus Mirabilis (1989)

The end of history arrived? Questioning liberal democracy

Fall of the Iron Curtain? Defending our cultural heritage. New walls.

The end of Communism? Survival of the parties, secret services, nostalgia

Triumph of the West? Scepticism about the West, NATO, EU integration

End of central planning? Cries for state involvement, paternalism

End of dictatorship? „Too much quarel”, „ineffectiveness”, illiberal and hybrid regimes



What are the attributes/symptoms of the political backslide in East-Central Europe?

- erosion of trust in democracy, populism, anti-liberalism
- nationalism – anti-minority, ec. protectionism, anti-EU foreign policy
- populism (anti-constitutionalism)
- conservatism (religion, Christian Europe)
- left-wing soc (bring back the state)

What is the reason for the backslide altogether?

- Resurfacing of deeper undercurrent of the region's political culture (pre-communist politics of East Central Europe).

Rupnik, Jacques. **Populism in Eastern Central Europe**. Eurozine. 10th September 2007.
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Battle of narratives: István Tisza, Mihály Károlyi



kozterkep/mapublic



Battle of narratives: Kossuth -> Kossuth -> Kossuth



Battle of narratives: Kossuth -> Kossuth -> Kossuth



Thank you for your attention!

schweitzer.andras@tatk.elte.hu