9. Future paths

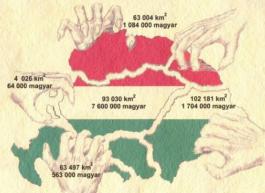
András Schweitzer, The idea and reality of East-Central Europe, Masaryk University, Brno, Dec. 2020

Required and recommended texts to read

- Central European Futures Five Scenarios for 2025. Visegrad Insight (special edition) 1(12) 2018. <u>https://visegradinsight.eu/app/uploads/2018/10/VI-CEFutures-spec2018-single-FINAL.pdf</u>
- Krekó, Péter and Zsolt Enyedi. Explaining Eastern Europe: Orbán's Laboratory of Illiberalism. Journal of Democracy, July, 2018, <u>https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/article/explaining-eastern-europe-orb%C3%A1n%E2%80%99s-laboratory-illiberalism</u>
- Mikloš, Ivan. Quo vadis Central and Eastern Europe? ASPEN Review, 04/2017 <u>https://www.aspen.review/article/2017/quo-vadis-central-</u> <u>eastern-europe/</u>
- Rupnik, Jacques. Populism in Eastern Central Europe. Eurozine. 10th September 2007. <u>https://www.eurozine.com/populism-in-eastern-central-</u> <u>europe/</u>

Path dependency? CEU and Trianon?

TRIANON 1920 Június 4.



Jacques Rupnik @ CEU European Divides: Crisis of Democracy, Nationhood, Multiculturalism. 2017-03-30

CEU and Trianon!

10 3

1 1

Mivel gazdagítja a CEU a magyar kultúrát? Mennyivel leszünk szegényebbek nélküle? Miért ragaszkodik a CEU Magyarországhoz? Mi lesz vele, ha mennie kell?

Like · Reply · 10h

Elősször arra a kérdésre keresse a választ, hogy az osztrákok miért fogadják örömmel!

Like · Reply · 5h

۲

Azok az osztrákok, akik - vesztes félként Trianonban -, pofátlanul örömmel fogadták Burgelandot? 4000 km2, 20 km széles és 200 km hosszú terület, a történelmi Magyarország testéből. Hogy akadjon meg a torkukon mindkettő! A CEU - ért nem kár.

Like - Renly - 4h - Edited

Facebook comments on CEU-Rector Michael Ignatieff's letter to the Hungarian Foreign Minister, Nov. 22, 2018

"In what way does CEU enrich Hungarian culture? What would we lose without it?…"

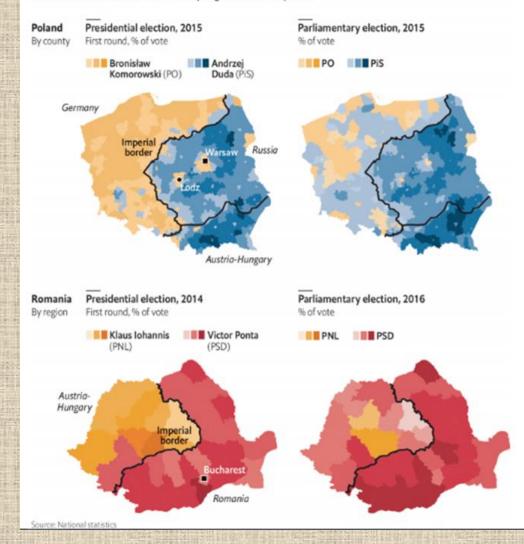
"First try to answer why the Austrians are happy to receive it!"

"Those Austrians who – being on the losing side in Trianon – received Burgenland with unashamed happyness? (...) May both get stuck in their throats."

Path dependency?

It's not even past

Poland and Romania, vote share won by larger of two main parties



Theories of "Defreezing"

 Ethnic-national conflicts resurface:
Collapse of
Czechoslovakia, war in
Yugoslavia

Horthy and Piłsudski versus Masaryk and Beneš?

Poland and Hungary \Leftrightarrow Czech lands

<u>**Pre-WWII</u>** Incomplete social modernization, gentry-dominated semi-agrarian societies</u>

<u>Post-1945</u> "Nationalaccommodationist" communist regimes, some freedom to the traditional intelligentsia & the church

<u>Post-1989</u>: Communist successor parties embracing economic reform versus nationalistic, conservative right

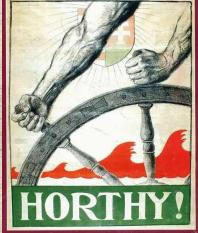
<u>**Pre-WWII**</u> Relatively modern social and political structures, socialist traditions, modern state aparatus

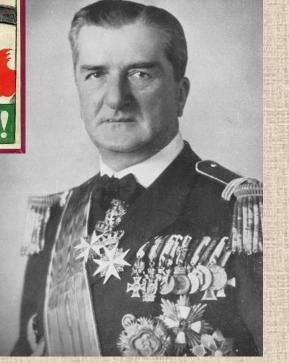
<u>Post-1945</u> "Bureaucraticauthoritarian" communist regime (repressive and averse to market reform)

<u>Post-1989</u>: Social-democratic centre-left versus free market centre-right

Herbert Kitschelt: The Formation of Party Cleavages in Post-Communist Democracies: Theoretical Propositions. Party Politics 1995/1. 447-472.

Means of acquiring legitimacy







Battle of narratives – the 100 years war of Hungary Miklós Horthy, Imre Nagy, János Kádár

1918, 1919, 1944, 1945, 1956, 1989







[East-]Central Europe: What is happening?*

The post-Cold War era of

- democratic reform
- socio-economic development
- Western integration in Central Europe is coming to an end.

In short, the historical path that the region has taken for the last quarter of a century is being called into question... ..., risking the unprecedented levels of democracy, prosperity, stability and security that Central Europe has achieved.

*Central European Futures: Five Scenarios for 2025 Visegrad Insight special edition vol. 1, no. 12., 2018

[East-]Central Europe: What is happening?*

- Illiberal politics is hollowing out both the bedrock of these democracies and their rule of law
- Resurgent nationalism is putting the region at odds with its neighbours in Europe
- The economic model that has long driven regional development now finds itself challenged by developing technologies and changing demographics
- The European Union and NATO the two key international anchors of Central Europe are facing uncertain futures
- Geopolitics is returning to the region with Russian aggressiveness, Western reluctance and Chinese advances posing serious security risks.

*Central European Futures: Five Scenarios for 2025 Visegrad Insight special edition vol. 1, no. 12., 2018

[East-]Central Europe: Five Scenarios for 2025

<u>Triumph of Illiberalism</u>. The sovereigntist and illiberal trend becomes mainstream across the EU, the European project degrades until it constitutes little more than a free trade zone.

<u>Central Europe Fractured</u>. Europe regains momentum but the four Central European countries choose different paths and split the region.

<u>Shotgun Wedding</u>. Under external pressures (globalised finance and technology, swelling migration flows, accelerating climate change and an increasingly insecure neighborhood), the EU – including Central Europe – becomes more integrated than ever.

<u>Central Europe Spring 2.0</u>. Younger Central Europeans launch a movement creating a new political class and new politics. The result is a selfconfident, forward-looking and pro-integrationist Central Europe. Security Vacuum. Hollowed out by a U.S. retreat, weakened by Europe's

reluctance to invest in the continent's political cohesion and collective security, and challenged by a Russian military build-up and hybrid warfare, the transatlantic security system collapses followed by divergent national strategies of survival.

*Central European Futures: Five Scenarios for 2025 Visegrad Insight special edition vol. 1, no. 12., 2018

EU's "nuclear option" versus Poland and Hungary

<u>December 20, 2017</u> European Commission proposing to the Council to adopt a decision under Article 7(1) of the Treaty on European Union

"Judicial reforms in Poland mean that the country's judiciary is now under the political control of the ruling majority. In the absence of judicial independence, serious questions are raised about the effective application of EU law, from the protection of investments to the mutual recognition of decisions in areas as diverse as child custody disputes or the execution of European Arrest Warrants"

<u>September 12, 2018</u> European Parliament vote with a 2/3 majority on the Sargentini Report, initiating Article 7 of the Treaty on European Union

"... concerns regarding the constitutional and electoral system; the independence of the judiciary', corruption; privacy and data protection; freedom of expression; academic independence; freedom of religion and association; the right to equal treatment; the rights of minorities, migrants, asylum seekers and refugees; and the abolition of economic and social rights"

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