

# Gellner – 4 time zones (West – East direction)

„Modern forces inevitably have been working towards the confluence of political and cultural borders, towards merging political and cultural units.“

## 3 initial conditions of nation formation

- Continuity of Independent Statehood
- Dis-continuity of Independent Statehood
  - (+ no/some remnant institutions)
- No Tradition of Independent Statehood

# 1st ZONE (*Europe 1800*)



Marriage of state and culture has been achieved during early modernity (age of enlightenment)

States survived from the Middle Ages

Continuity of independent statehood

7 states – politically and culturally integrated

The process of integration lasted centuries

**Transformative state nationalism**

# 2nd ZONE (*Europe 1900*) Marriage of state and culture has been achieved in the second half of 19th century



**Germany:** 1871 Bismarck

**Italy:** Risorgimento – the period of liberation and political unification of Italy 1866/1870 (Mazzini, Garibaldi)

No state continuity but other preconditions existed - culturally integrated, political fragmentation, high culture

**Integrative (ethnic) nationalism**

**Forerunner of 3rd ZONE:**

**Greece:** independence war  
1821-1829 (1832)

**Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania 1878**

# 3rd ZONE (Europe 1918)

Many of these states became independent after 1st world war – principle of self-determination

Political + cultural fragmentation, many dialects, it was not always obvious what was a new language and what was only regional dialects (Slavonic languages), linguistic lines were very blurred... but GE – Czech linguistic border

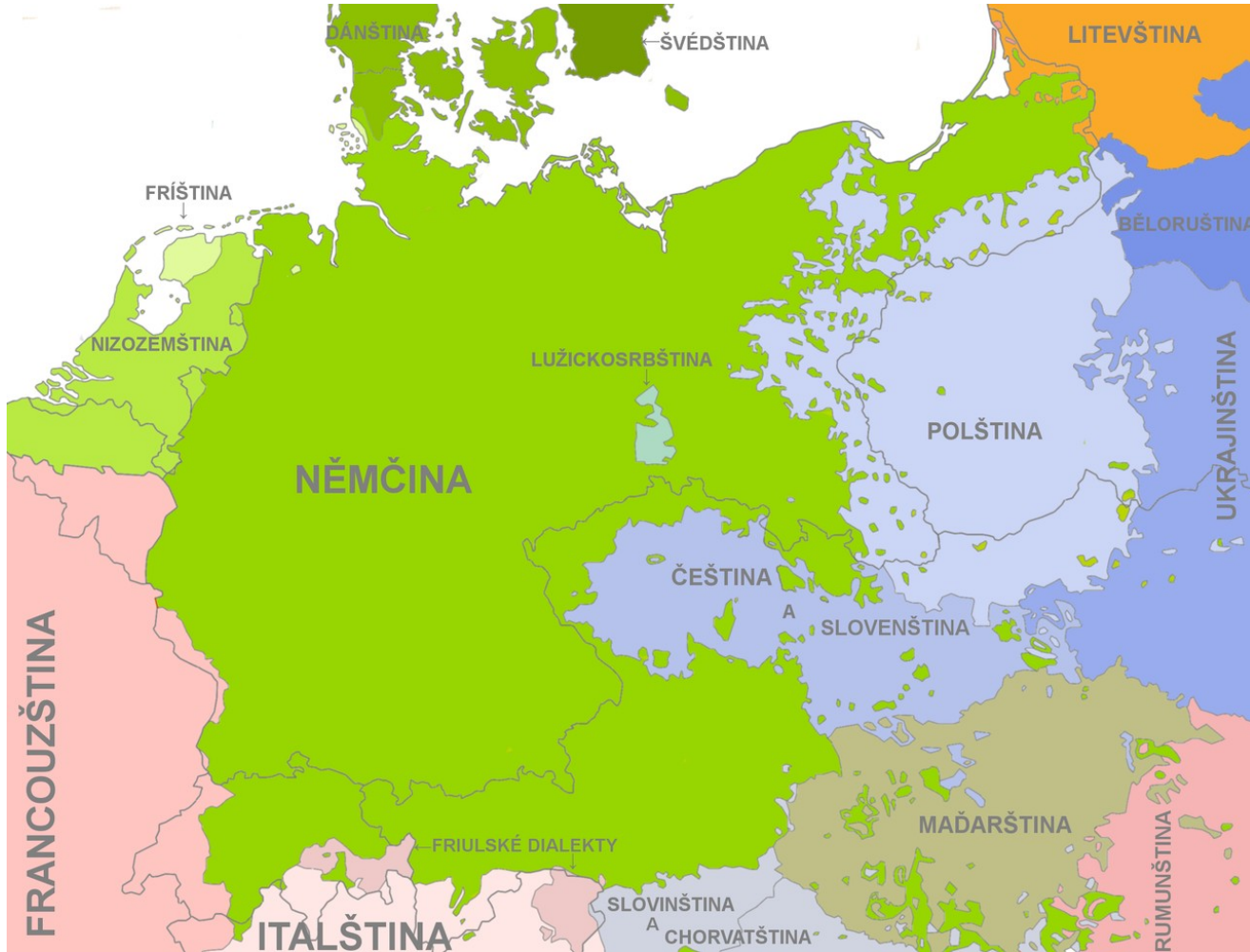
No statehood but remnant {partly remaining} and functioning institutions in multi-ethnic state {Habsburg Empire} – Cz, Hu, Pl, Norway (1905)

**Disintegrative (ethnic) nationalism**

East Central Europe, 1918-1923



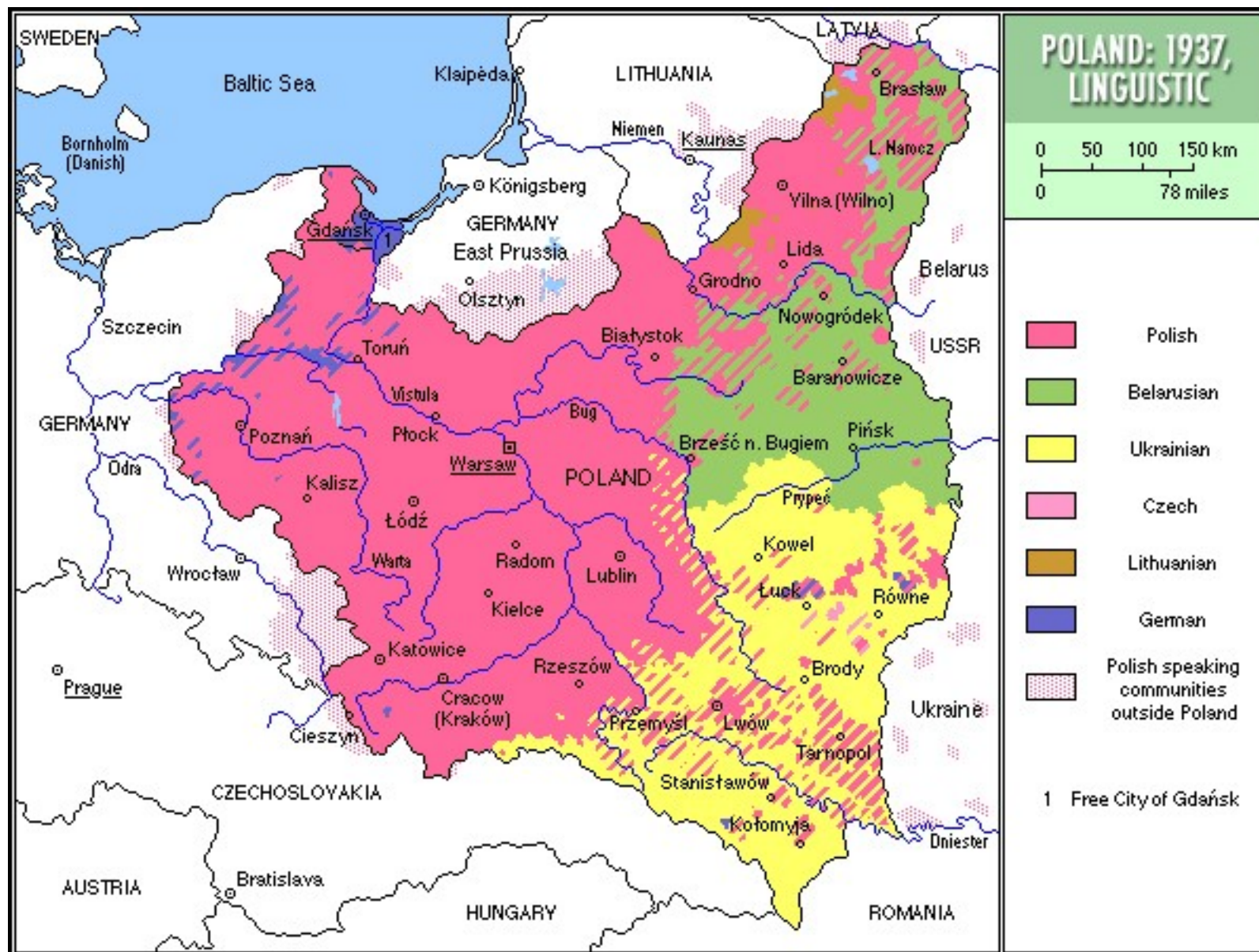
# LANGUAGES BEFORE WWI



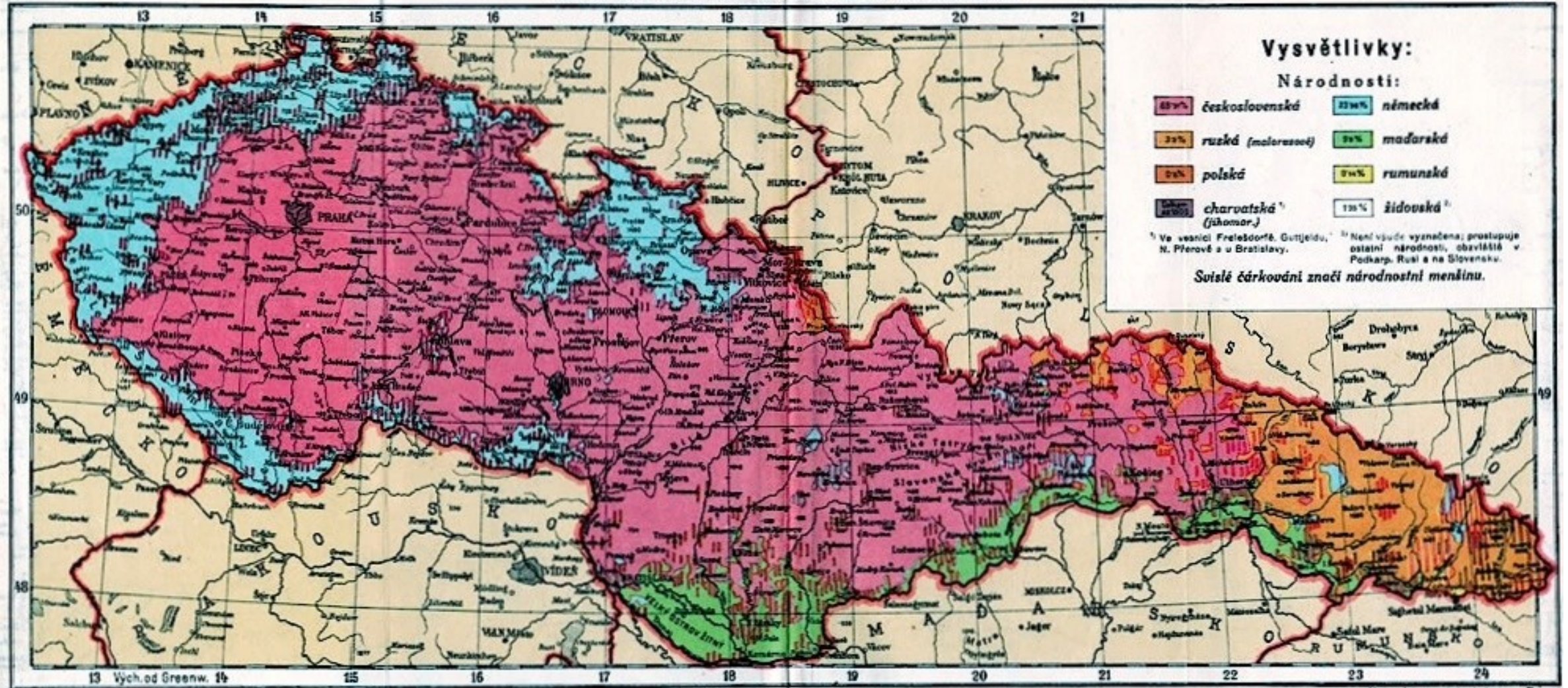
East Central Europe, 1918-1923



Historical Atlas of East Central Europe



REPUBLIKA ČESKOSLOVENSKÁ. POMĚRY NÁRODNOSTNÍ.



Vysvětlivky:

Národnosti:

- 68% československá
- 23% německá
- 3% ruská (malorusové)
- 2% maďarská
- 2% polská
- 0% rumunská
- 0% chorvatská<sup>1)</sup> (jáhomar.)
- 1% židovská<sup>2)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Ve vesnici Frelsdorf, Guttjeid, N. Přerově a u Bratislavy. <sup>2)</sup> Není všude vyznačena; prostupuje ostatní národnosti, obzvláště v Podkarp. Rusí a na Slovensku.

*Čárkované čáry značí národnostní menšinu.*

# 4th ZONE (*Europe 2000+*)



No tradition of independent statehood at all {Slovakia, Slovenia, Finland, Estonia}

Orientation towards cultural/folklore history.

The spread of bolshevism repressed the national emancipation movements  
**USSR:** Ukraine, Baltic States, Armenia, Georgia, etc.

**Yugoslavia:** Slovenia, Croatia, Monte Negro, Macedonia, Bosnia, Kosovo ...

**Czechoslovakia:** Slovakia ...

**Disintegrative (ethnic) nationalism**

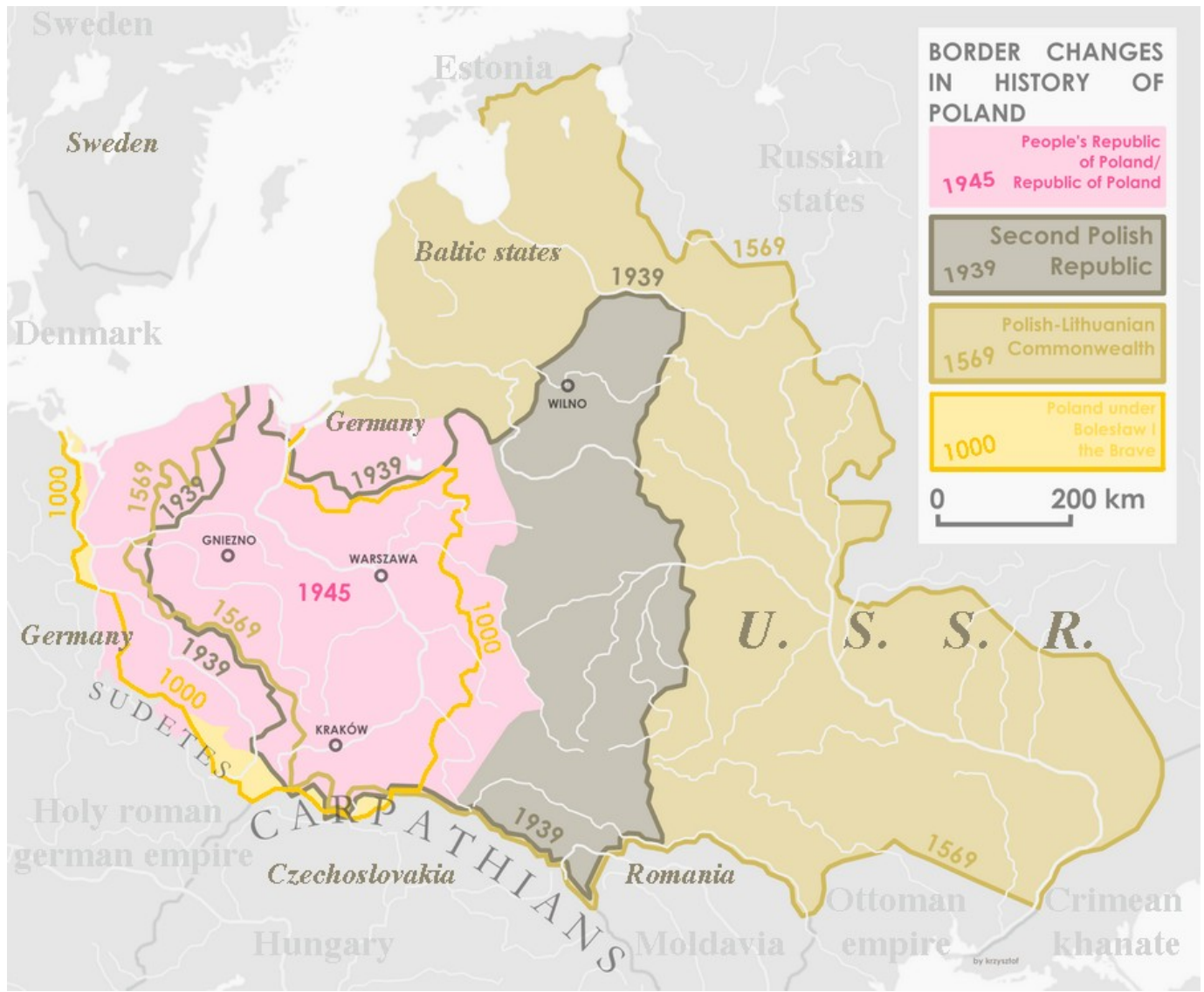


# Central Europe: Fiction or Reality?

## Turbulent Politics and Changing Borders

East Central Europe, 1918-1923







annexed by Poland in 1945

annexed by Soviet Union in 1945

THE CURZON LINE

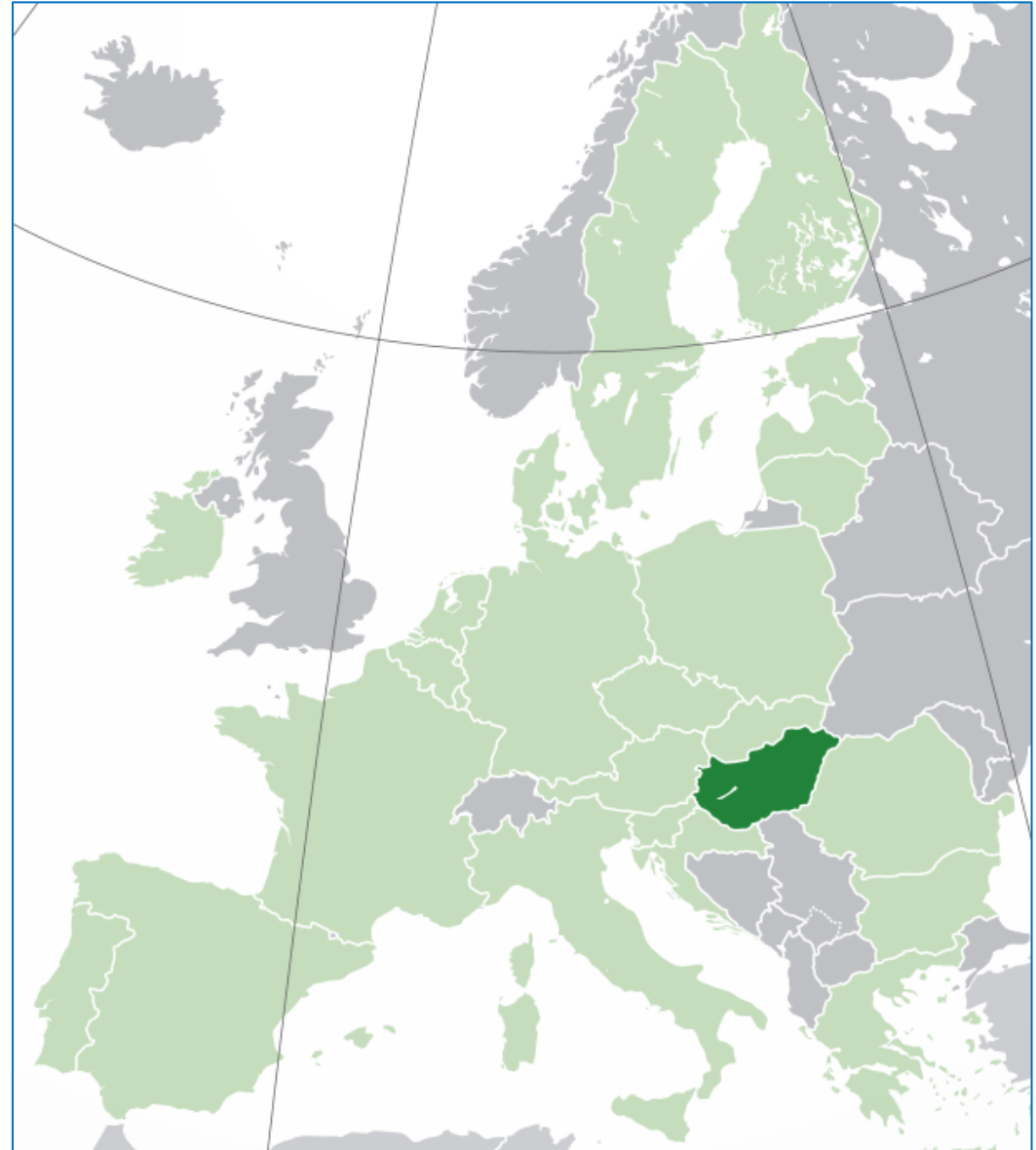
1947 border

Curzon line "B"

# Hungary Prior 1918



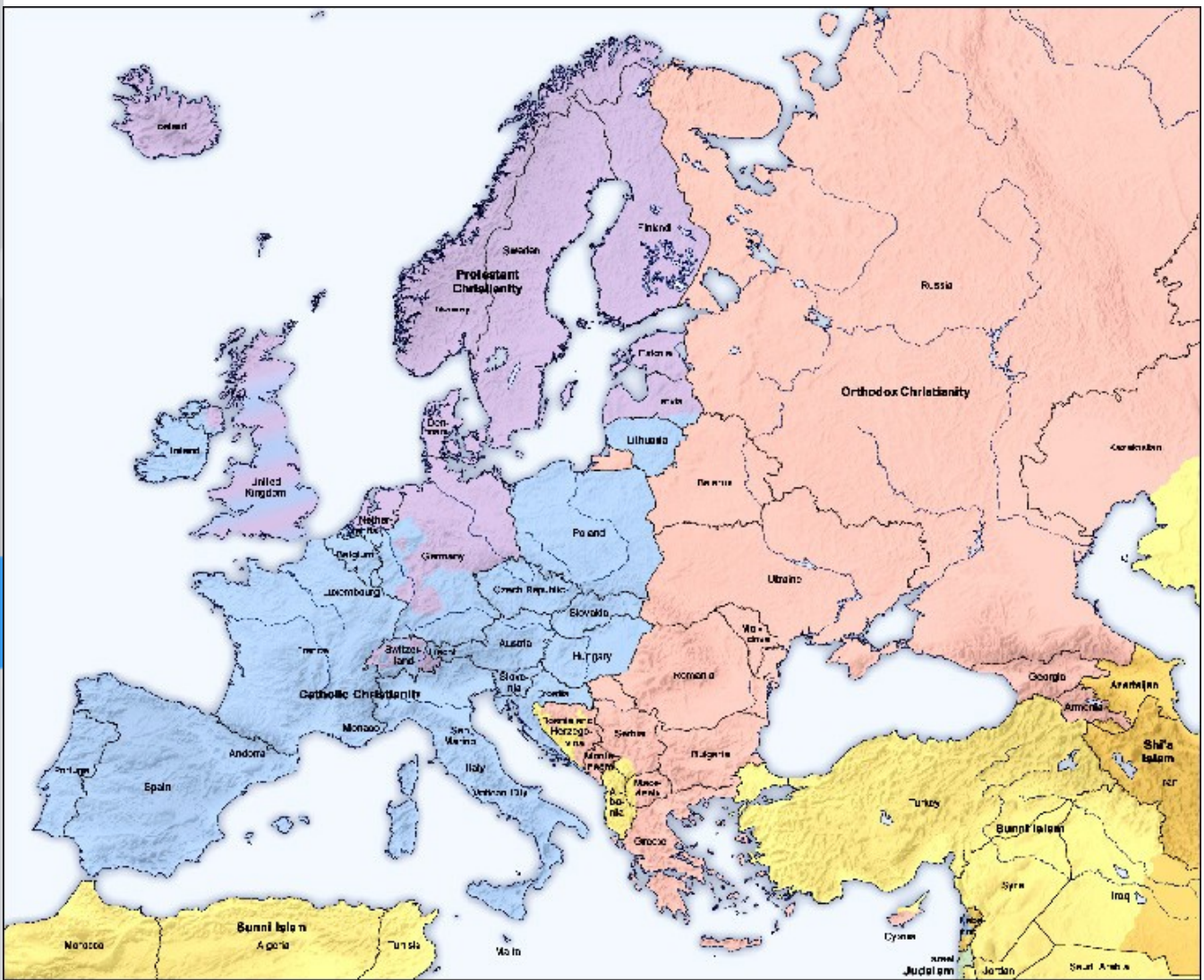
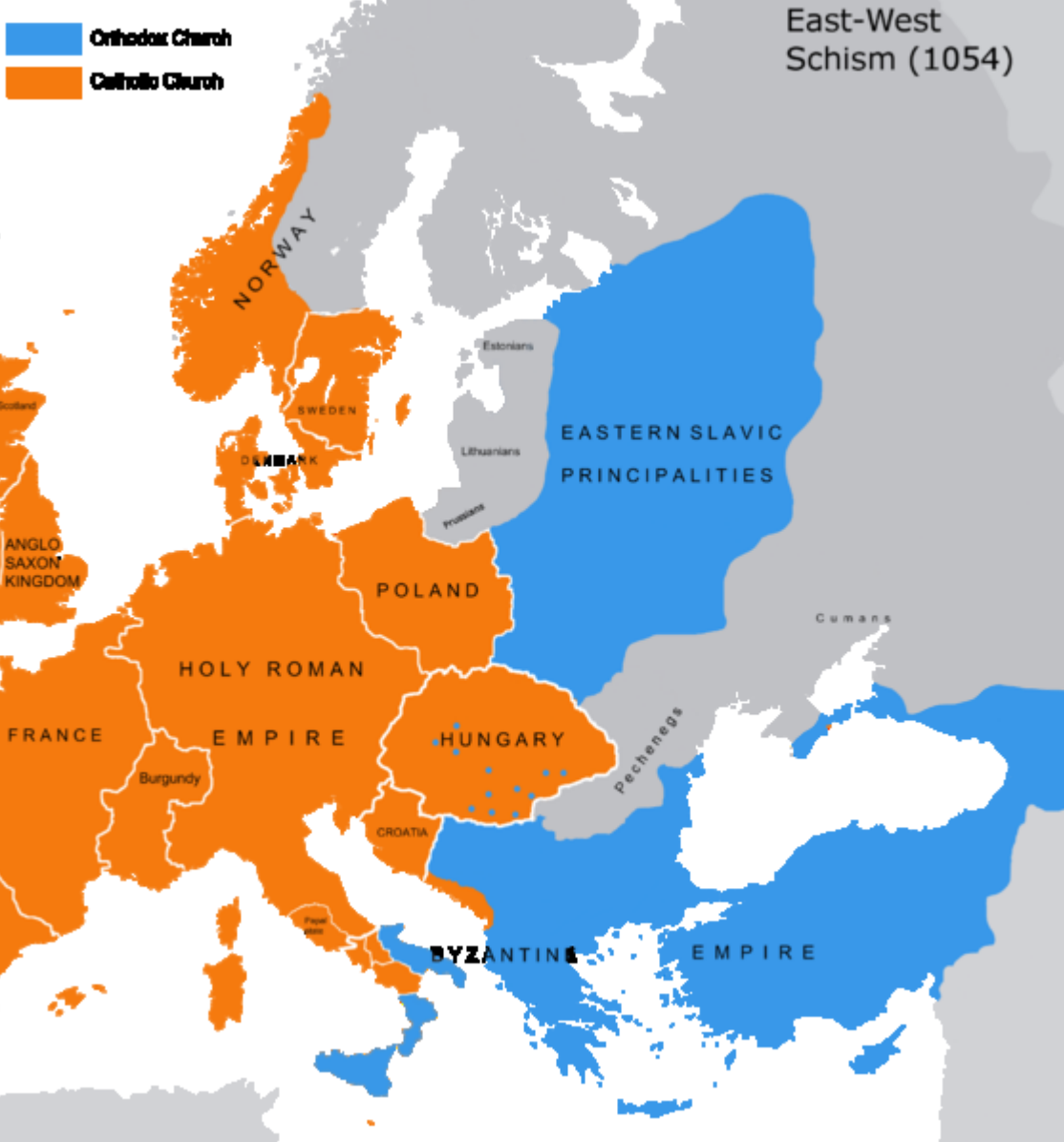
# Hungary Post 1918

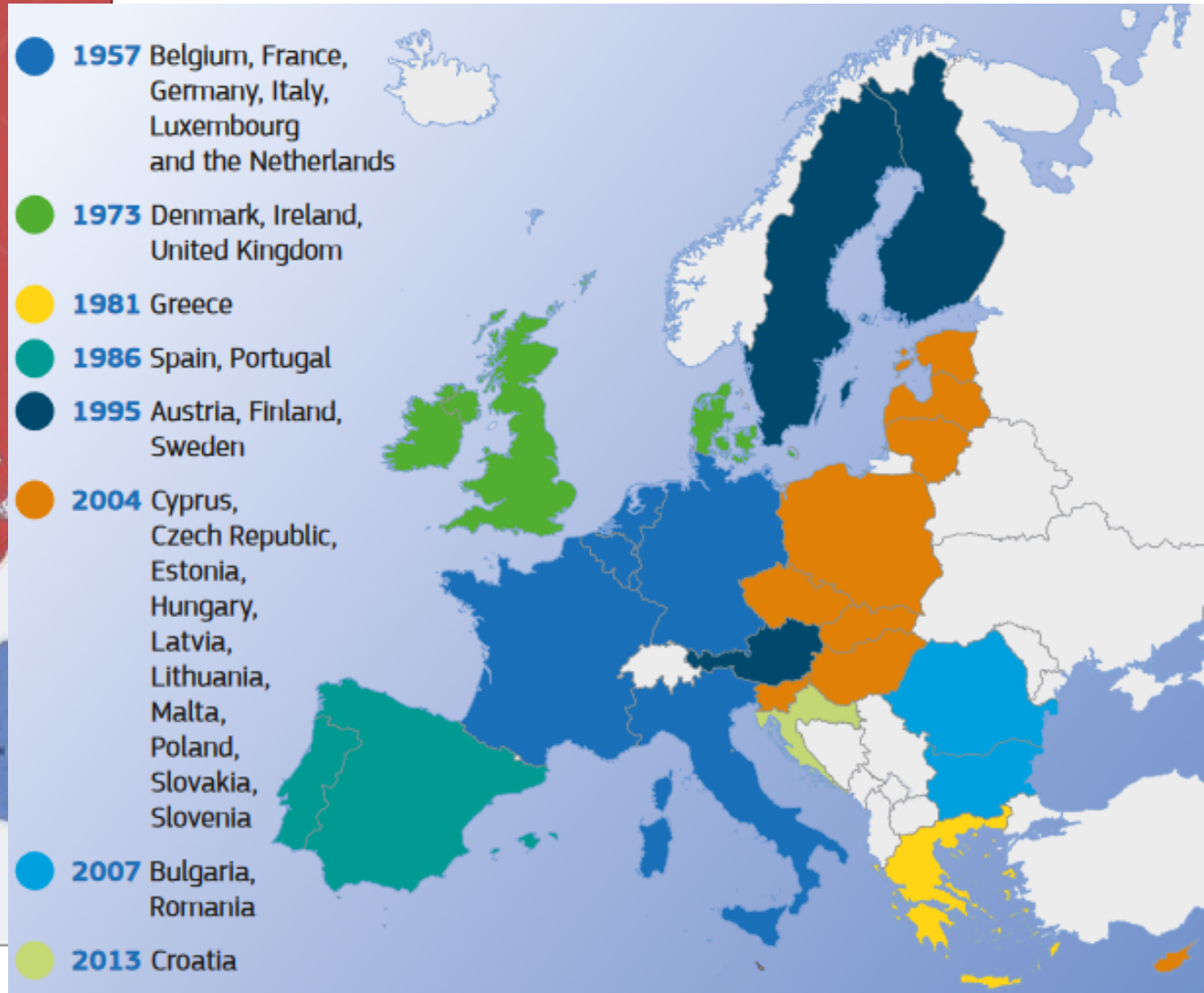
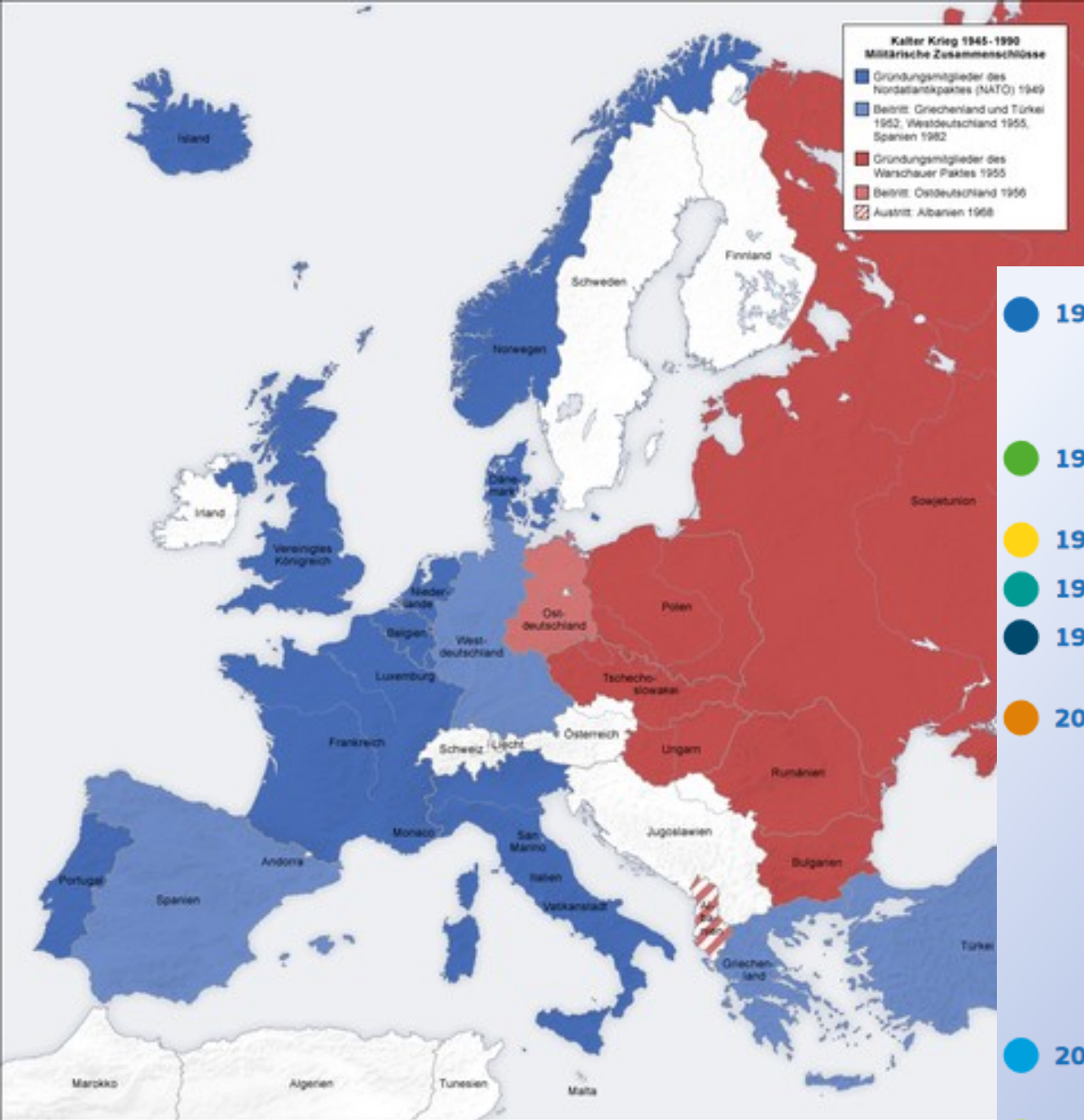


Visegrád Group 1991

*Reference to the  
Congress of 1335*







# Post-communists Predicaments

## Destruction of Public Sphere

- Political Culture Consequences (political orientation/identities; no opposition; state as an enemy – us x them, disdain for political elites)
- Social Consequence (fragmentation, anomy x conformity)

## Adoration of Privacy

- Fear, Intolerance, Distrust
- Bonding Social Capital, Clientelism (Patronage)
- Loss of Civic Virtues



# Aloisie Müllerová (\*1909 – †2011)

- Aloisie Sommerová (Ludvík Sommer, shopkeeper, her father died in the WWI)
- 1909 (born in Hapsburg Empire in Moravia)
- 1918 (10 years old – Czechoslovakia)
- 1938 (30 years old – 1st break up of Czechoslovakia)
- 1939 (Annexation – Protectorate Böhmen und Mahren)
- 1945 (36 year old – Renewal of Czechoslovakia)
- 1948 (Communist Coup)
- 1968 (60 years old – Prague Spring)
- 1989 (80 years old – Velvet Revolution)
- 1993 (2nd Break up Czechoslovakia)
- 2004 (95 years old, Czechia joined the EU)



*Aloisie Müllerová oslavila stočku v obdivuhodné svěžešti.*

- Monarchism
- WWI
- Democracy
- Fascism + WWII
- Communism – Stalinism (Cult of Personality)
- Communism – Socialism with Human Face
- Democratic transformation
- Break up of Czechoslovakia
- European Union









# IMPERIAL Queen Victoria



# Place de la République Paris









[ vysoká škola ]





[ vysoká škola ]



# Central Europe? Summary

- Peripheral but a solid part of the Western Christianity
- Peripheral but a solid part of the Western Europe (until ?)
- Legacy of Multiethnic Empires (Vienna, Berlin, Moscow)
- Communist and Post-communist Legacy
  - Including experience of transformation
  - Destruction of public sphere, adoration of privacy
- Open massive resistance against the Soviet rule
  - East Germany 1953
  - Hungary 1956
  - Czechoslovakia 1968 (Prague Spring)
  - Poland (1956, 1980 – Solidarity)