

IDEA OF INTEGRATION IN THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN REGION

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Defining Central Europe



Defining Central Europe

- Broader perspective: What is „Europe“?
- Where are its (eastern) borders?
- Rather a subject of consensus than strict geographical line
- Still much clearer than the concept of “Central Europe”

Defining Central Europe

- What is Central Europe?
- Definition – history, geography, political aspects, culture, language, religion,...
- Central Europe – artificial model?
 - Attempt to get rid of the „eastern“ heritage of backwardness and communism after the CW. The „West“ perceived as a symbol of progress, freedom and democracy.
 - Central Europe as a construct of dissenting intellectuals in the era of communism?

Defining Central Europe

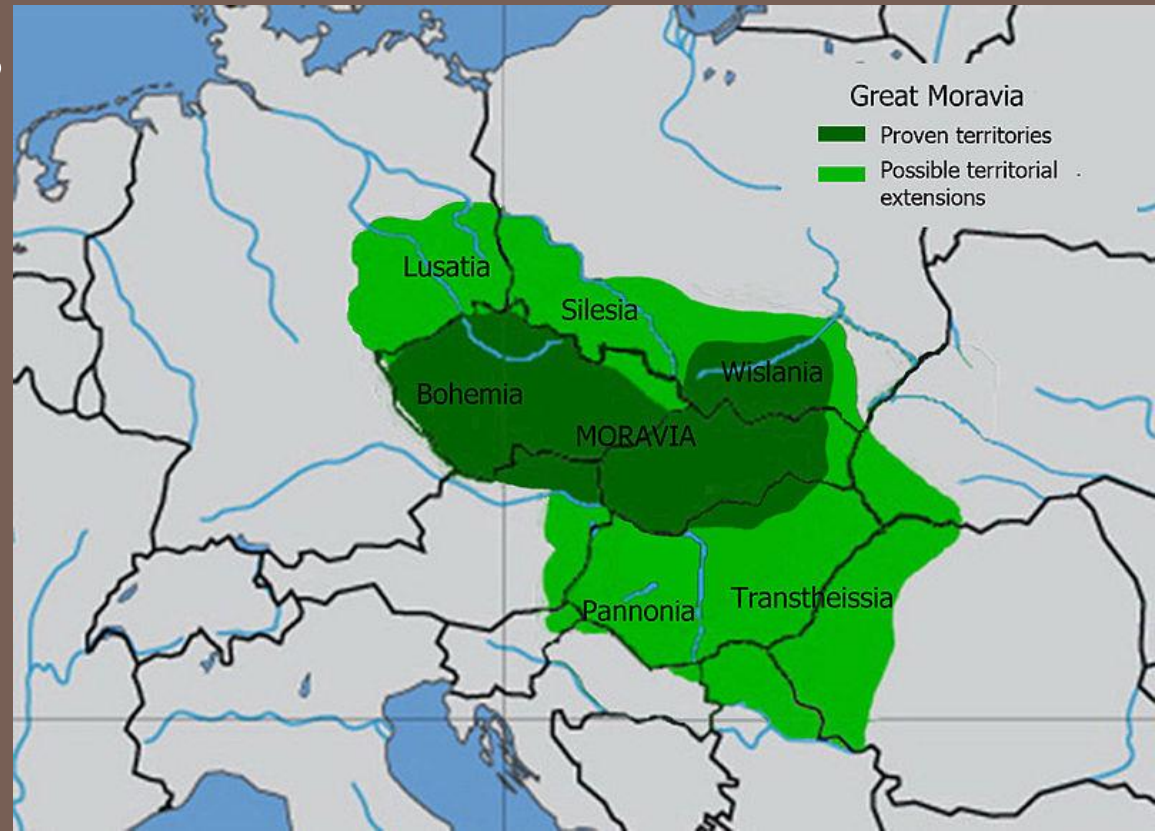
- Central Europe – narrow definition
 - small nations endangered and influenced by mighty neighbours
 - culturally based on Roman and catholic heritage
- Existence of multi-national empires hindering the development of individual states
 - delayed processes of nation building (compared to sovereign nations in the West)
- CE - „...able to take over ideas and institutions of the West without appropriate political and social environment“. J. Rupnik

Historical perspective



Historical perspective

- Great Moravia-stretched from the northern Austria in S to Silesia in N and to today's Slovakia and N Hungary.
- Is this the real CE?



Historical perspective

- Premyslid dynasty at its heyday



Historical perspective

□ Luxembourg dynasty
- reached its territorial
peak during the rule of
king Charles IV.



Historical perspective

- Austro-Hungarian Empire
- The core of industrial development in Central Europe (mainly in Cisleithania) as a heart of Austro-Hungarian Empire
- Experience of mutually advantageous cooperation Brought also economic interdependence and cooperation, enhanced cultural aspects.



Historical perspective

- Central Europe as a „crossroad“ or „bumper region“ – notion that appears over and over again
- Central Europe as a crossroad of important trade routes:
 - from Germany (Rhein, Hannover, Berlin) to today´s Poland (Wroclaw, Northern Silesia and Galicia)
 - from Trieste (Italy) to Vienna, Moravia to Galicia
- **Ambiguous nature of the region:
consciously/artificially constructed as well as naturally defined**

Theoretical background of integration processes



Theoretical background of integration processes

- Federation of Czechs and Slovaks
 - integration by choice (or necessity?)
- Soviet bloc – political integration encompassing the whole Central and Eastern Europe
 - integration by force (coercion) as a consequence of postwar regime – Cold War
- Integration in CE often spurred by external factors or as a reaction to them (external threat, war,...)

Theoretical background of integration processes

- In the past, integration was usually achieved by force - empires
- Integration of often heterogeneous territories.
- Territorial integration came first, other aspects followed or were forced to do so
- CE as traditional area of disputes

Theoretical background of integration processes

Imperial powers (traditional) and integration

Main goal	Control over the system
Means of exerting the power/controlling other actors	Directly – by using power
Territorial expansion	Important
Role of ideology	Not important
Nature of a state economy	Closed to the outside world
Means of using military power	Waging wars using own military power
Level of military cooperation with other actors in the system	Low level of cooperation

Theoretical background of integration processes

- Integration - a common good?
- Different ways of integration – by power, economic means, based on common history, common fears,...
- Integration as a way of increasing prosperity?
 - „States that trade don't fight“
- Two types of integration according to initiators:
 - **rulers (originally)**: way of increasing power, stretching territory, mediation
 - **philosophers (later)**: uniting states on the basis of common ideas, religion, for common purpose...

Ideas of integration (non-exhaustive list)



Ideas of integration

□ Early ideas

- Jiří (George) of Poděbrady – idea of European integration based on „federal“ assembly, build on the idea of Christianity

□ Based on common thinking and respect to similar values

- Immanuel Kant – unification of law as a guarantee of peace, pan-European confederation, sovereignty of states

Ideas of integration - geopolitical reasoning

- Friedrich Ratzel – „lebensraum“ and dynamic borders, state as an organism, stronger nation prevails
- Rudof Kjellén – Central Europe as an important area and subject of German expansionism - geographical determinism (in a search for autarky)
- Karl Haushofer – geographical determinism (not racial), expansionism, pan-region of German inhabitants
- 19th century - Integration of Central Europe mainly a subject of German thinking

Ideas of integration - economic and political reasoning

- Aristide Briand – economic and political integration within the then League of Nations
- Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi- Paneurope
 - Austrian diplomat with the Czech citizenship
- ‘Little Entente’ (*CZE, ROM, YUG*) to stabilize the region, defense against Germany
 - against Hungarian and Habsburg revisionism

Ideas of integration – Czech and Slovak proposals

- **Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk** – concept of shared values, area of Central Europe (from Scandinavia to Greece)
 - core of future European confederation and „bumper strip“ between Russia and Germany
 - CE after WWI perceived as the most vulnerable
- **Edvard Beneš** – regional integration as a basis for broader integration
- **Milan Hodža** – Central European integration based on harmonization of economic interests

Integration after WW 2

- Political - 'by choice' - European Coal and Steel Community, EURATOM, European Community, Council of Europe, ...
 - Community of sovereign states delegating certain powers to supreme governing bodies
 - Ambiguous nature of the European integration – switching between supranationalism and intergovernmentalism (see further)
- Political – 'by force' - Soviet Bloc
 - de facto dissolution of sovereign states

Integration after the Cold War

- Early 1990s – era of disintegration
 - Soviet Union
 - Yugoslavia
 - Czechoslovakia
- ... but also integration/reunification
 - Germany
 - European Union (new members, new initiatives, single currency,...)
- Integration as a way of emancipation or showcasing the capability to cooperate
 - Visegrad
 - CEFTA

What future was there for CE? – outlooks from the early 1990s

- Kidnapped West - the CE will quickly catch up with the West
- Everlasting East – the region will never really catch up, strong ties to the past will prevail
- Economic slump, failed transformation
- Europeanization - Scandinavian model – delayed start followed by fast development

Integration in 2000s

- EU Integration 'dissolved' regional activities and made them less important
- Micro-regional activities within the EU focused on particular areas
 - EC's Baltic Sea Region strategy
 - Danube Region strategy

Ideas of integration - summary

- 19th cent. – ideas of political integration
 - focused on Western Europe
 - Eastern Europe considered as incapable of integration
- 20th cent.
 - universalism (League of Nations)
 - federalism (Kalergi - Paneurope)
 - integration by force (Nazism)
- All failed
- After WWII – series of integration plans
- CE paralyzed, mutual relations deeply shattered, aversion against Germany, adoration of Russia ...
- Series of integration plans without CE countries: Council of Europe, Western European Union, ECSC, EURATOM, EEC, EC,...
- Central and Eastern Europe excluded, „integrated“ in the Eastern Bloc.

Integration as concept

- Two main paradigms
- Supranationalism
- Intergovernmentalism
- Cyclic alternation of supranat. and intergov. paradigms in modern history of integration

Energy in the integration process



Energy in the integration process

- Energy as important factor in state development, crucial for 'war machine'
- Energy as a principal interest of integration after WWII
 - European Coal and Steel Community, EURATOM – sectoral integration
 - CE has been playing important role in energy supplies to Europe (further lectures)

Energy in the integration process

- Integration of energy markets as one of the integrational policies of the EU
 - squeezing out the monopoly of a state
 - Integration of energy markets as a switch to essentially antagonistic paradigm compared to the past (state-guided energy policies)
- EU as a prominent proponent of market approach

Strategic vs. market-oriented

- State as the main player
- Frequent involvement of state representatives
- Justifies state interventions
- Market seen as unreliable
- Policies should be subordinated to a state's needs and goals
- Energy as a legitimate tool
- Energy commodities as non-normalized commodities
- Undesirable dependency

- Market as the main player, demand-supply nexus
- State interventions limited
- Energy commodities normalized
- Dependency is not a problem
- Cooperation is desirable