

Milan Hodža's Idea of Central Europe: Agrarian Democracy between Germany and Soviet-Russia

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Introduction

- **Elusive Concept**
 - German or not German?
- **Milan Hodža (1878-1944)**
 - Slovak
 - Agrarian Democracy
 - The Third Way
 - *Federation in Central Europe* (London, 1942)



The End of the Cold War and Central Europe



Dangerous Mitteleuropa?



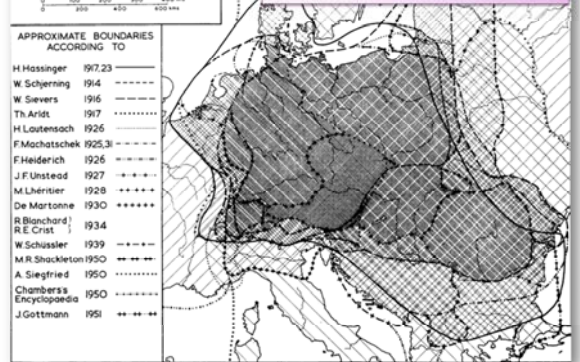
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Grossgliederung_Europas-en.svg



Central Europe as a Corridor

The Proposed Federation of Central and Eastern Europe in One All-Embracing Political and Economic Union.
Source: Feliks Gross, *Crossroads of two Continents: A Democratic Federation of East-central Europe* (Columbia University Press, 1945), p.28.

Central Europe by German Geographers

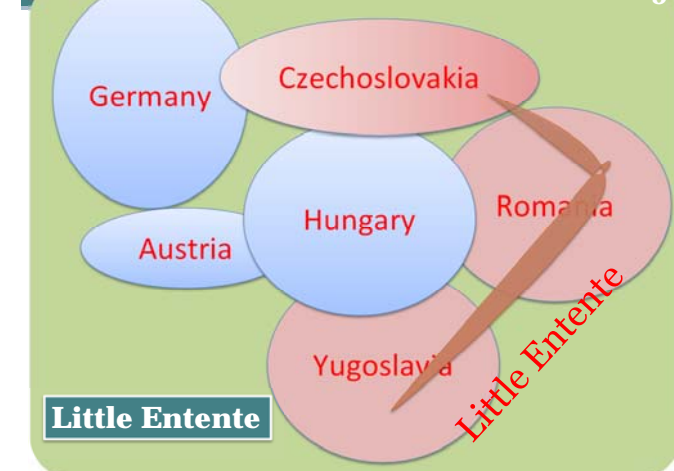


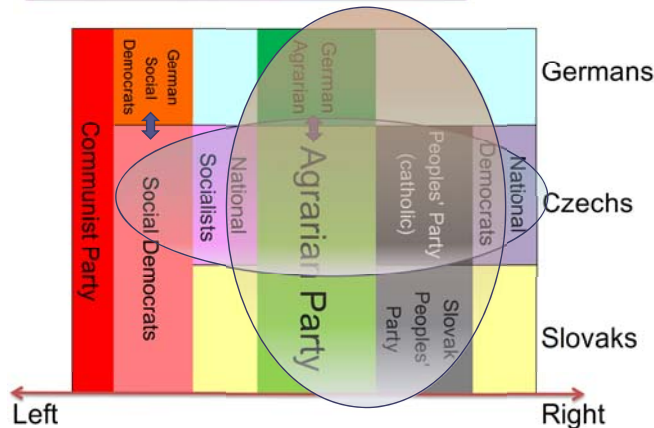
Source: Karl A. Sinnhuber, "Central Europe – Mitteleuropa – Europe Centrale: An Analysis of a Geographical Term," *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)* 20 (1954), p.19.

1. Structural Outline in the Interwar Period

- **A Zone of Small Nations**
 - Germany, Austria & Hungary in Frustration
 - Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia)
- **"Eastern Europe" as an Agrarian Region**
 - Agricultural Population = 64.5%
 - Crop Surpluses & Overpopulation
- **Czechoslovakia as an Exceptional State**
 - Stable Democracy & Party System
 - Model for Agrarian Democracy?

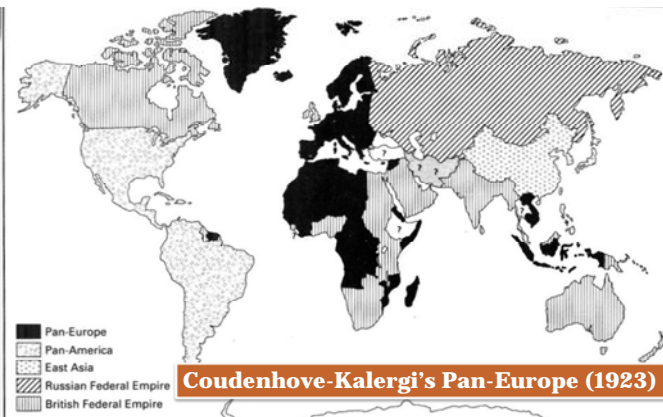
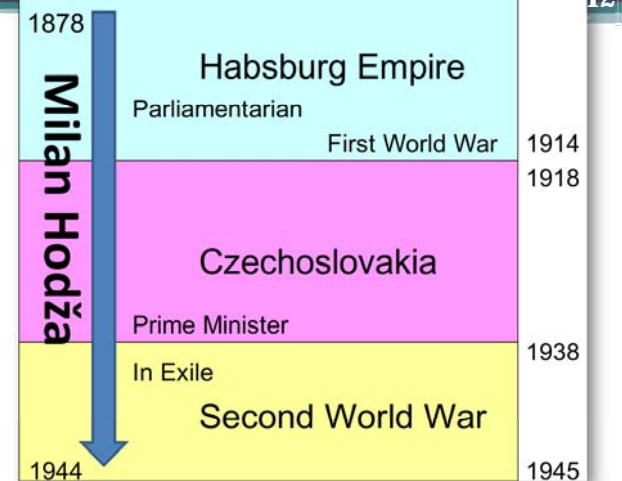
Hodža's Early Life in the Habsburg Empire





2 (1). Hodža's Central Europe

- **Hodža as a Lost Figure in Oblivion**
 - Loser? Anti-Communist?
- **Pan-Europe (1923) & Central Europe**
 - Western vs. Central (Industry vs. Agriculture)
 - Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894-1972)
- **Farmer as a Bearer of Democracy**
 - Discipline, Religion, Family and Soil
 - Ordered Freedom
 - Land Reform & Private Property
 - The Third Way between Capitalism & Socialism



The future world order according to R.N. Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-Europa (1923)

Source: Peter M. R. Stirk, *A History of European Integration since 1914* (London: Continuum, 2001), p. ix.

2 (2). Hodža's Central Europe

- **Hodža Plan (1936)**
 - 6 countries: Little Entente (CS, RO, YU) + Rome Protocol (AT, HU, IT)
 - "One Single Great Economic Unit"
 - "Agricultural Bureau" for Farm Surplus
 - Shadow of Nazi-Germany
- **Green International (1921-1938)**
 - International Agrarian Bureau (HQ: Prague)
 - 18 parties (14 countries) in 1927-28

3 (1). WWII and Central Europe

- **Hodža's Political Struggle**
 - Beneš vs. Hodža (Czech vs. Slovak?)
 - Hodža's Last days in the USA
 - Information War against Beneš
- **Federation in Central Europe (London, 1942)**
 - 8 states, 110 mil. + Albania, Turkey?
 - President, Prime Minister, Congress
 - Economic Community + Common Currency
 - Planned Economy for Agriculture

3 (2). WWII and Central Europe

- **Czechoslovak-Polish Confederation (Jan. 1942)**
 - Federation or Confederation?
 - Stalin's Negative Attitude & Beneš
- **Coudenhove-Kalergi in the USA**
 - 5th Pan-European Congress at N. Y. (Mar. 1943)
 - United States of Europe!



A Concept of a Regional Organization of Europe, Source: Feliks Gross, *Crossroads of two Continents: A Democratic Federation of East-central Europe* (Columbia University Press, 1945), p.72.

Preliminary Conclusion

- **Hodža is just an example, but...**
 - Agrarian Democracy as the Third Way
 - How to make Democracy work?
- **Trial and Error in Agricultural Problem**
 - A Prelude to European Integration?
 - Green International, League of Nations, Intl. Institute of Agriculture (Rome), Intl. Commission of Agriculture (Paris), etc.
 - Common Agricultural Policy after 1962

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