

## NEW EUROPE AND ITS GROWTH TO LIMITS?

Third Edmund Mokrzycki Symposium 20-21 October 2006

### Day 1

10.00 Welcome by **Andrzej Rychard**

#### **Session I (10.15 – 12.00):**

##### **Conceptual History of Identities and Borders**

Chair: **Sven Eliaeson**

**Jürgen Kocka:** The Borders of Europe

**Dieter Gosewinkel:** Europe and its Borders as a Political Concept

**Jan Zielonka:** Boundary Making by the European Union

**Stefan Immerfall:** Territory, History, Identity

Discussion

12.00 – 13.00 Luncheon

#### **Session II (13.00 – 15.00):**

##### **Borders and Modernization**

Chair: **Józef Niznik**

**Göran Therborn:** European Modernities and Their Capitals

**Bernhard Wessels:** Religion and Economic Virtues

**Nico Stehr:** The Moralization of the Markets in Europe

**François Bafoil:** Cross Border Policies, Past and Future of the EU

**Michael Th. Greven:** Are Borders Necessary - Especially Political Borders?

Discussion

Coffee break

#### **Session III (15.20 – 17.00):**

##### **The Relevance of the Classics for Transformation Processes**

Chair: **Nico Stehr**

**Radoslaw Sojak:** Karl Mannheim and the Quality of Public Discourse in Postcommunist Poland

**Robert J. Jessop:** Marx's Manifesto Today

**Paul Bandakov:** Max Weber on Russia

**Wilhelm Bohutskyi:** The Institutional Approach: Myrdal/List/North

Discussion

## **Day 2**

### **Session IV (09.30 – 10.50): (Continuation of Session III)**

Chair: **Jacek Wasilewski**

**Peter Halden:** Republicanism and the European Project (prel. title)

**Nataliya Yeremeyeva:** Individualization of Identities: Borders for the Self and Threats From Alienation (re-reading of Norbert Elias)

**Sten Berglund:** Stein Rokkan's Relevance for ECE Nation Building

Coffee break

### **Session V (10.50 – 12.30):**

**Cases: "New" countries and EU entrance as a transformation factor**

Chair: **Jan Kubik**

**Henryk Domanski:** Formation of Civil Virtues

**Nikolai Genov:** The Accession to the EU: Gains and Pains of Accelerated Rationalization

**Kristine Barseghyan:** Diaspora vs Oil vs Roses. Three Offers by the Caucasus to Europe.

**Pal Tamas:** "Orange Revolutions" as Middle Class Language Uprisings

**Jürgen Nautz:** New Forms of Governance: Fighting International Crime and the Role of Civil Society

12.30 – 13.30 Luncheon

### **Session VI (13.30 – 15.10):**

**Cultural Bridges and Trenches. Civil Society and Transformations.**

Chair: **Joanna Kurczewska**

**Slawomir Kapralski:** Memories as Bridges, Memories as Trenches. Poland's Memories of "The Other" Since 1989: From Myth to Remembrance to Politics

**George Kolankiewicz:** EU Membership and New Mobility (on Polish Community in the UK)

**Olga Kutsenko:** New Middle Class Revolt: Lust for Freedom and Hobble of Legacy

**Viktoria Sereda:** Legacy of Collective Memory in Polish-Ukrainian Ethnic Stereotypes

**Teresa Kulawik:** Knowledge Society and Public Accountability in Poland

Coffee break

### **Session VII (from 15.30):**

**Panel: Growth to Limits?**

Chair: **Michal Federowicz**

**Andrzej Rychard**

**Helmut Steiner**

**Włodzimierz Wesolowski**

**Marek Ziółkowski**

**Norbert Götz**

**Jan Kubik**

## Brief outline of sessions

### **Session I:**

#### **Conceptual History of Identities and Borders**

Borders as conceptual phenomena might indicate a variety of fields of inquiry, of conflict and cooperation and geography and strategy, to mention real borders. The demilitarised zone between Sweden and Norway today a mote point. Travelling by train between Ostbahnhof and Friedrichstrasse in Berlin goes faster today than before *Die Wende*. Today only historians keep in mind that one once had to cross a state border between Munich and Freising (a suburb close to the airport). Oder-Neisse used for some decades to be the “Rio Grande” of Europe. The European enlargement process has changed this and for instance Gubin-Guben might grow together to one EU-town again, when the iron curtain is gone. Borders within the EU lose practical relevance; outer and other borders become more crucial. Old historical borders nevertheless remain relevant to explain variations in social and political culture; LIMES still has explanatory “clout” for understanding even voting patterns in today’s BRD.

The fall of the iron curtain did not erase brain-curtains, between cultural realms, and traditions, as real in their effects and capacity to unite or split. It is reasonable to start with conceptual history and an inventory.

### **Session II:**

#### **Borders and Modernization**

The most important border arguably is the famous 1054 divide, when Christianity split up over holy trinity. It seems to have a huge steering effect upon political culture and economic performance as well as the architecture of cities. Market culture and civic virtues are correlating phenomena. Religion is despite Enlightenment secularisation with its notion that *Dieu est Morte* a most vigorous factor and constitutes civil society where state power small or weak. The 1054 divide might provide the answer to the boundaries of the Western Modern project.

There are other borders, almost coinciding with the 1054-divide. This goes for the Hajnal-line about family formation, from Trieste to St Petersburg, and the Magdeburg city law, including Kiev as last outpost.

### **Session III-IV:**

#### **The Relevance of the classics for transformations**

That market culture in cities provides a seedbed for proto-capitalism is a Weberian notion. Weber is ethnocentric but nevertheless a point of reference for today’s multi-Modernities discourse. Transition is a teleological term that indicates a *rite de passage* to a known goal. Transformation also has a smack of the same, but less so. Rokkan’s stages seem to be a reasonable generalization from a number of North-West European cases but do not exclude “exceptionalisms” concerning the design of modern nations. Schumpeter has double relevance, about capitalism overburdening itself and the historical tendency of communities to define their own borders. Carl Schmitt is hard to avoid. So is Parsons. Gunnar Myrdal’s

institutionalist approach, about the soft state and vicious and virtuous circles and cumulative causation remains relevant. Etc.

What contributions of which classics are still relevant where? We cannot answer this question on behalf of new plural post-Communist societies. But serve as sparring partners.

### **Session V:**

#### **“Cases”: “New” Countries and EU Entrance as a Transformation Factor**

One of the most striking phenomena is the power to transformation which already the hope for EU candidacy means. Corruption and “unauthorized arbitrariness” even by officials, such as police and custom officers, is reportedly fading away in countries such as Bulgaria and Romania, while lingering on in Moldavia and Ukraine. Trying to meet Brussels criteria has become common and it is no longer possible to bribe officials, etc, in the way it used to be. Reporters crossing the borders between non-member states with little hope of soon becoming candidate countries and aspiring EU-members can tell the difference. The border between Moldavia and Romania is today a more real border than the one between Romania and Hungary. Reportedly it used to be possible to bribe even judges in Romania, but about a year ago two thirds of the old judiciary were forced into early retirement. Ukraine is an intriguing case, and originally means “the land at the border”.

### **Session VI:**

#### **Cultural Bridges and Trenches. Civil Society and transformations**

The preconditions obviously vary due to formative experiences. All nations are “dinosaurs”. Armenia should be closer to Europe than Turkey, but depends on Russia for strategic security. Germany has to be European since the country has no alternatives. In the periphery with weak Enlightenment EU scepticism still flourishes (e.g. Sweden). *Nations* are still very virulent phenomena and to control history is to control the future or at least its rhetoric. There is no all-European Herder or Fichte. A European demos needs lots of time to define itself, and a public sphere.

Discussions of “Europeanness” must mean something, which justifies a certain teleological element. But what does it really mean? More than a failed constitution and a supplementary citizenship? Accountability is one main element in democratic society, while the character of the self-organization that goes with a civic culture might vary, from insurrection to institution-building.

### **Session VII:**

#### **Panel: Growth to Limits?**

Adenauer drew down the curtain in his train compartment at the height of Magdeburg, so he did not have to see the Asiatic steps. Somewhere between Elbe and Ural is the border of Europe, but historically a rather amorphous one. It is easier to cross rivers than to climb mountains. A Europe with too much to digest will get a watered down identity, not to speak of economic burdens, not only in the form of regional policy but also new competition. Its border coincides with Poland’s Eastern border, and the very word *kresy* indicates something more than just a line on the map. A new core Europe might emerge, again, building on French and German cooperation.

Poland is an interesting case. Poland – just like Germany used to have - has a mixed identity between East and West, with a lot of Renaissance culture and Oriental “Sarmatian”

influences as well. Due to its size a European enlargement process without Poland would hardly be conceivable. The Polish case, moreover, illustrates relativism of perspectives. It is still a backward country (“1958”) – and yet a role model for Modernization for its eastern neighbours. Reading Hans Magnus Enzensberger from his visit to Poland 1986 one realizes how fast the Modernization process has been.

Poland’s border to the East is historically unusually flexible.