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AGAINST THE CURRENT

A REMARKABLE LITERARY DISCOURSE ON WESTERN EUROPE AND CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN TERMS OF THE SELF AND THE OTHER¹

ABSTRACT The political reality of the European Union is not reflected in the general discourse on the relationship between Western Europe and Central and Eastern Europe, which is characterized by an adverse attitude towards the latter. This impacts identity construction on the European level, where Central and Eastern Europe has long been regarded as the “Other” against which the European “self” was defined. However, a new discourse on this relationship has emerged in literary works written by scholars and journalists that are able to take an overarching perspective. The present study analyses four publications to see how the relationship between Western Europe and Central and Eastern Europe is portrayed in terms of the self and the Other, employing the Discourse Historical Approach and a spectrum of the self and the Other perspectives. It emerges that the discussed authors share a discourse which respects differences, focuses on similarities as well as differences and shows an awareness of the interwovenness of the narratives of the self and the Other. This new, shared discourse holds directions for the further development of a European-wide discourse that includes the same notions of respect and the interwovenness of narratives, and which could in turn influence European identity construction.

¹ This article is an abbreviated version of the Thesis “Against the Current – a remarkable literary discourse on Western Europe and Central and Eastern Europe in terms of self and Other” presented in June 2014 at the Jagiellonian University and Groningen University in the context of the Euroculture Erasmus Mundus Master.

INTRODUCTION

Identity construction involves defining the “self” and the “Other” by drawing boundaries between who belongs to these categories and who does not. Consequently, the construction of and reference to an Other often emerges where identity is constructed. With ongoing integration at the European level, in the last decennia growing attention has been paid to the construction of European identity. In this context, there is one particular European Other that is referred to frequently: the East.

Europe’s Eastern Other has been positioned in the Orient², Russia³, or more recently Turkey. Another region subject of such a debate is Central and Eastern Europe⁴. This region as Europe’s Eastern Other is an interesting object of analysis. After being separated from Western Europe for decades, recent enlargements of the European Union have brought a big part of the region within the same political structure as Western Europe. However, the present discussion on “enlargement fatigue” and the hostile discourse towards immigrants and temporary workers from Central and Eastern Europe testify that this political reality is not reflected in the general discourse of the self (if that would correspond with the EU) and the Other.

There are various ways to refer to a certain Other. The insightful hypothesis of William E. Connolly that *identity requires difference in order to be, and that, if threatened, identity may respond by turning that difference into otherness*⁵ displays a spectrum of ways to perceive the Other: from the Other as merely different from the self, yet equal, to the Other as radically different, an enemy, or inferior to the self. The position that the Other is radically different from the self is very common in literature that deals with the self and the Other, also in literature about Central and Eastern Europe. However, increasingly more nuanced discussions on Central and Eastern Europe and its relation with Western Europe (in terms of the self and the Other) are emerging. This new discourse can be recognized above all in several publications that take no exclusive Western European or Central and Eastern European perspective, but transcend this. These literary works are written by authors that either on account of their background or interest are able to take an overarching perspective on Western and Central and Eastern European relations.

Analysing this literary discourse in the light of the different perspectives on the self and the Other might thus give a fresh outlook and new insights on the relation between Western Europe and Central and Eastern Europe, and present a different discourse on

² In E. W. Said, *Orientalism*, London 1978.

³ In I. B. Neumann, *Uses of the Other: “The East” in European Identity Formation*, Minneapolis 1999.

⁴ To establish a workable definition, Central and Eastern Europe is defined as those countries that were part of the Soviet empire and now hold EU membership, as well as those now part of the EU’s Eastern Partnership program and situated west of Russia: Belarus, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Ukraine. Due to its geography and history, Kaliningrad is added. Excluded is South Eastern Europe, which as Europe’s Other is studied in the field of ‘balkanism’.

⁵ I. B. Neumann, “Foreword”, in B. Rumelili, *Constructing Regional Community and Order in Europe and Southeast Asia*, Basingstoke 2007, p. vi.

this relationship. Therefore, the main research question guiding this study is: *In recent literary discourse on the relationship between Western Europe and Central and Eastern Europe, that transcends a one-sided perspective, how is this relationship portrayed in terms of the self and the Other?*

1. THE DISCOURSE HISTORICAL APPROACH AND A SPECTRUM OF SELF/OTHER PERSPECTIVES

1.1. Data selection and choice of method

The new and more nuanced discourse on Central and Eastern Europe and its relation with Western Europe can be recognized in recent (non-fiction) literary works, predominantly popular history books written by scholars with a journalistic interest, or journalists with a scholarly interest. The selected publications are: *Between East and West: Across the Borderlands of Europe* by Anne Applebaum; *Heart of Europe: The Past in Poland's Present* by Norman Davies, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus 1569-1999* by Timothy Snyder and *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* by Tony Judt. This choice is based on, first, the authors' backgrounds and the presence or possibility of a transcending perspective. Secondly, part of their work discusses Central and Eastern Europe. Thirdly, the authors are renowned for their work and provide an important contribution to the discussed discourse. From each of the authors one publication is chosen that deals, explicitly or more implicitly, with the relationship between Western Europe and Central and Eastern Europe.

To analyse the portrayal of the self and the Other, this study will employ Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a field of study developed by Norman Fairclough, Teun van Dijk and Ruth Wodak⁶. CDA is explicitly not a method, but a perspective⁷. It concentrates on the relation between discourse and power, focusing on *the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society*⁸. Thus, CDA explores how language reflects power structures and social inequality⁹. As discourse is regarded as a form of social action, the discourse context is essential – and the basis of CDA as developed by Fairclough¹⁰. These characteristics

⁶ G. Kendall, "What Is Critical Discourse Analysis? Ruth Wodak in Conversation With Gavin Kendall", *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung*, vol. 8, no. 2 (2007).

⁷ R. Wodak, M. Meyer, "Critical Discourse Studies: History, Agenda, Theory and Methodology", in R. Wodak, M. Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*, London 2016, p. 3.

⁸ T. van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Analysis", in D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, H. Hamilton (eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, Malden 2001, p. 353, [online] <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9780470753460.ch19>.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 352-358.

¹⁰ N. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis. The Critical Study of Language*, London–New York 1995, p. 2; T. van Dijk, "Comments on Context and Conversation", in N. Fairclough, G. Cortese, P. Ardizzone (eds.), *Discourse and Contemporary Social Change*, Bern–Oxford 2007, p. 281-316.

make CDA a suitable perspective for this study, allowing both for the incorporation of context and for the analysis of the representation of the self and the Other in discourse. The “critical” aspect of CDA refers to being self-reflective and to expose the relation between language and structure, not to establish what is “right” or “wrong”¹¹.

CDA is an umbrella term for several interdisciplinary methods that share its assumptions, including the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) developed by Ruth Wodak and colleagues of the Vienna School¹². DHA is *directed at the identification and analysis of strategies of self- and other representations, and of the construction of in-groups and out-groups using linguistic and argumentation devices*¹³. It views *the discursive construction of “us” and “them” as the basic fundamentals of discourses of identity and difference*¹⁴. The differentiation between negative, neutral or positive Other-constructions, introduced by Felicity Rash¹⁵, makes DHA a suitable method to analyse the portrayal of the self and the Other in the selected literature. Furthermore, the structure of DHA counters some of the criticism raised against Critical Discourse Analysis in general – it is a method that allows for a very systemic analysis, as will be outlined below, and it makes a clear distinction between the concepts of text and discourse: discourse is defined as *text in context*¹⁶.

1.2. DHA analysis: context and dimensions

A distinctive feature of DHA is the integration of context in the analysis, incorporating four levels of context¹⁷. The first level, *the immediate, language or text-internal cotext*¹⁸, pays attention to the direct context of a word (the sentence) and sentence (the

¹¹ R. Wodak, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, London 2013, pp. xxiv-xxvi.

¹² S. Titscher, *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis*, trans. by B. Jenner, London – Thousand Oaks, CA 2000, p. 146.

¹³ F. Rash, *German Images of the Self and the Other. Nationalist, Colonialist and Anti-Semitic Discourse, 1871-1918*, New York 2012, p. 2.

¹⁴ R. Wodak, M. Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, London 2001, p. 73.

¹⁵ F. Rash, *German Images of the Self and the Other...*; idem, “Images of the Self and the Other in Paul Rohrbach’s ‘German Idea’”, *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 45, no. 5 (2011), p. 382, [online] <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0031322x.2011.624751>.

¹⁶ R. Wodak, “The Semiotics of Racism: A Critical Discourse-Historical Analysis”, in J. Renkema (ed.), *Discourse, of Course. An Overview of Research in Discourse Studies*, Amsterdam 2009, p. 313; R. Wodak, G. Weiss, “Analyzing European Union Discourses: Theories and Applications”, in R. Wodak, P. A. Chilton (eds.), *A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis. Theory, Methodology and Interdisciplinary*, Amsterdam-Philadelphia 2005, p. 127; S. Titscher, *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis*, p. 163.

¹⁷ F. Rash, *German Images of the Self and the Other...*, p. 2; idem, “Images of the Self and the Other in Paul Rohrbach’s ‘German Idea’”, p. 383; R. Wodak, G. Weiss, “Analyzing European Union Discourses...”, p. 127.

¹⁸ R. Wodak, M. Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, p. 67; see also R. Wodak, M. Reisigl, “Discourse and Racism”, in D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, H. Hamilton (eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, p. 385, [online] <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9780470753460.ch20>.

paragraph). The second level is *the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses*¹⁹. Intertextuality refers to the linkage of a text to other texts, whereas interdiscursivity refers to the connection and overlap of discourses²⁰. The third level, *the extra-linguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific “context of situation”*²¹, refers to the time and circumstances of text production itself, or the authors’ backgrounds and circumstances at the time of writing. The fourth level of context is *the broader socio-political and historical context, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to*²². Here, this refers to the period and location the selected publications focus on: published between 1984 and 2005, the publications discuss Central and Eastern Europe either in the recent past or at the time of writing.

Next to the four levels of context, a DHA analysis includes a thematic, strategic and linguistic dimension. In the thematic dimension, the specific contents and topics of the discourse are established²³. This dimension is formed by the theoretical framework of the representations of the self and the Other developed below.

The strategic dimension consists of linguistic strategies used to construct the images of the self and the Other²⁴. These strategies can work in an *unconscious, irrational and emotional way*²⁵. This dimension is defined according to Wodak’s categorization of the linguistic strategies in four clusters of macro-strategies.

The first cluster of strategies comprises “constructive strategies” that discursively construct in-groups and out-groups and linguistically categorize social actors²⁶. The second cluster consists of “strategies of perpetuation” or argumentation strategies that use topoi (persuasive rhetoric elements) to justify the transition from an argument to the conclusion. Rash identified the nine topoi most useful in relation to constructing and perpetuating images of the self and the Other: topoi of comparison and contrast; topoi of definition and name-interpretation; topoi of authority; topoi of the power of facts; topoi of history as a teacher; topoi of illustrative examples; topoi of external circumstances; topoi of disaster and external threat; and topoi of consequences²⁷. The third cluster consists of “strategies of transformation” that attempt to transform the status quo, and the fourth cluster comprises “destructive strategies” that demolish an

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ R. Wodak, G. Weiss, “Analyzing European Union Discourses”, p. 127.

²¹ R. Wodak, M. Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, p. 67; see also R. Wodak, M. Reisigl, “Discourse and Racism”, p. 385.

²² R. Wodak, M. Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, p. 67.

²³ R. Wodak, M. Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, p. 72; F. Rash, “Images of the Self and the Other in Paul Rohrbach’s ‘German Idea’”, p. 384.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ S. Titscher, *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis*, p. 156.

²⁶ F. Rash, *German Images of the Self and the Other...*, p. 4; idem, “Images of the Self and the Other in Paul Rohrbach’s ‘German Idea’”, p. 384; R. Wodak, “The Semiotics of Racism...”, p. 319.

²⁷ Idem, *German Images of the Self and the Other...*, pp. 5-6; idem, “Images of the Self and the Other in Paul Rohrbach’s ‘German Idea’”, p. 385; R. Wodak, “The Semiotics of Racism...”, p. 320.

established self-image or situation²⁸. On the basis of these strategies, Wodak has formulated five sub-questions²⁹.

1. How are persons named and referred to linguistically?
2. What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?
3. By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the exclusion, discrimination, suppression and exploitation of others?
4. From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed?
5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly? Are they intensified or are they mitigated?³⁰

To these five questions a sixth one can be added, that corresponds to the micro-strategies of assimilation and dissimilation, introduced by Wodak at a later stage. These strategies look at temporal, personal and spatial difference or similarity³¹:

6. Is temporal, personal and spatial similarity or difference created?

Finally, the linguistic dimension examines the linguistic realization forms of inclusion/ exclusion representations or *the lexical units and syntactic devices which are used to construct unity, unification and sameness on the one hand, and difference [...] on the other*³². This dimension applies the categorizations developed by Wodak and Rash³³. It includes personal, spatial and temporal references, as well as comparative and superlative forms³⁴. Important in this dimension is the linguistic representation of social actors, i.e. as human actors, as well as *agent suppression by use of the passive voice*³⁵.

These three dimensions cannot be considered as a sequence of separate “steps”. Instead, a DHA analysis is *a cycle in which the three analytical dimensions are systematically and recursively related to the totality of contextual knowledge*³⁶. The analyses below will likewise address the different levels of context, the three dimensions as well as the six sub-questions within the strategic dimension in an integrated way. In each section, the first part addresses context: the historical context, context of situation, and intertextuality. The second part focuses on the first two sub-questions or constructive strategies. The third part concentrates on sub-question four, the author’s perspective and under-

²⁸ F. Rash, *German Images of the Self and the Other...*, p. 4; idem, “Images of the Self and the Other in Paul Rohrbach’s ‘German Idea’”, p. 384.

²⁹ S. Titscher, *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis*, p. 158.

³⁰ R. Wodak, M. Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, pp. 71-72.

³¹ F. Rash, *German Images of the Self and the Other...*, p. 4.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³³ R. Wodak, M. Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, p. 72; F. Rash, “Images of the Self and the Other in Paul Rohrbach’s ‘German Idea’”, p. 384; idem, *German Images of the Self and the Other...*, p. 6.

³⁴ Idem, *German Images of the Self and the Other...*, p. 6.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁶ S. Titscher, *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis*, p. 158.

standing of the self and the Other. The fourth part addresses sub-questions three, five and six, which deal with similarity and difference between the self and the Other. The fifth and last part focuses on the thematic dimension, using the theoretical framework to interpret the results of the analysis. The linguistic dimension and immediate text-internal context are addressed in all parts when necessary.

1.3. The thematic dimension

The thematic dimension is formed by a discussion of the “terms of the self and the Other” referred to in the research question, developing a spectrum of perspectives on identity, the self and the Other. As a point of departure this study takes a hypothesis by William Connolly: *Identity requires difference to be, and it converts difference into otherness in order to secure its own self-certainty*³⁷. This hypothesis, put forward in *Identity, Difference* (1991), has had a profound impact on the discussion of identity in International Relations, and subsequently also on the discussion of identity in the context of European integration³⁸. Iver B. Neumann and Bahar Rumelili, notably, have put this hypothesis at the basis of their discussions on the Eastern European Other in European identity formation³⁹.

Identity formation means drawing the boundaries between who belongs (the self) and who does not (the Other)⁴⁰. This boundary-drawing is only possible if the self and the Other are distinct. As Connolly puts it: *An identity is established in relation to a series of differences that have become socially recognized. These differences are essential to its being*⁴¹. What exactly separates the “self” from “the Other” can be a range of characteristics, and indeed Neumann asserts that *anything may be inscribed with meaning as a politically relevant boundary marker*⁴². What is useful here is the definition *what is crucial is that the characteristics are subjectively believed to distinguish between in-group and out-groups*⁴³.

³⁷ I. B. Neumann, “Foreword”, p. vi; W. E. Connolly, *Identity, Difference. Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox*, Minneapolis 2002, p. 64, see also p. xi.

³⁸ X. Guillaume, *International Relations and Identity. A Dialogical Approach*, London–New York 2011, p. 22; I. B. Neumann, “National Security, Culture and Identity”, in V. Mauer, M. D. Cavelti (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies*, London 2010, p. 97, [online] <http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9780203866764.ch8>; I. B. Neumann, “Foreword”.

³⁹ I. B. Neumann, *Uses of the Other...*; idem, “Foreword”, p. vi; B. Rumelili, “Constructing Identity and Relating to Difference: understanding the EU’s mode of differentiation”, *Review of International Studies*, no. 1 (2004), [online] <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/s0260210504005819>.

⁴⁰ I. B. Neumann, “Foreword”, p. vi; B. Rumelili, “Constructing Identity and Relating to Difference...”, p. 32; C. C. Yu, “Between ‘Homeworld’ and ‘Alienworld’: Waldenfels on Interculturality”, *Philosophy, Culture, and Traditions*, no. 3 (2005); B. Waldenfels, *Topographie des Fremden*, Berlin 1997, pp. 20-21.

⁴¹ W.E. Connolly, *Identity, Difference...*, p. 64.

⁴² I. B. Neumann, *Uses of the Other...*, p. 6.

⁴³ D. Fuchs, J. Gerhards, E. Roller, “Nationalism versus Eurocentrism? The Construction of Collective Identities in Western Europe”, in M. Martiniello (ed.), *Migration, Citizenship and Ethno-National Identities in the European Union*, Aldershot–Brookfield–Ashgate 1995, p. 165.

The second part of Connolly's thesis takes up the distinction between "difference" and "otherness". The relation of identity to difference, Connolly argues, is paradoxical and based on interdependence⁴⁴. Identity is dependent on difference, but this difference can at the same time be threatening to identity⁴⁵. When a difference poses a threat to the integrity and certainty of an identity, it can be converted into otherness⁴⁶. In this space between difference and otherness a spectrum of "terms of the self and the Other" can be developed, which can range from perspectives where difference equals otherness, to perspectives where a difference does not preclude ideas of equality and sameness, though it can never completely be transcended.

1.4. A spectrum of the representations of the self and the Other

The spectrum of the representations of the self and the Other comprises different perspectives on the difference between the self and the Other. Because the aim of this study is to analyse the more nuanced discussions on Central and Eastern Europe and its relation with Western Europe, this discussion will focus on the end of the spectrum where the perception of the difference between the self and the Other does not hinder ideas of equality and sameness. This end of the spectrum can be sketched through a discussion of a variety of perspectives that share this perception. The concepts employed in these perspectives will form the basis of the ensuing discourse analysis. William Connolly introduces the concept of agonistic respect, which he developed in response to the "enigma of otherness" or the encounter with the Other⁴⁷. Writing and speaking about this enigma can be done from one's identity, in which case it is almost impossible to be free of identity-protecting tendencies, or from a position transcending one's identity, in which case one loses its legitimate voice and audience⁴⁸. Connolly thus concludes with regard to identity and difference that *it may be impossible to reconstitute the relation to the second without confounding the experience of the first*⁴⁹. To overcome this problematic relation, he presents the idea of "agonistic mutuality" or "agonistic respect", where: *Recognition of these conditions of strife and interdependence, especially when such recognition contains an element of mutuality, can flow into an ethic in which adversaries are respected and maintained in a mode of agonistic mutuality, an ethic in which alter-identities foster agonistic respect for the differences that constitute them, an ethic of care for life*⁵⁰.

*Across difference, reciprocal respect and connections between [the] self and [the] Other are thus established*⁵¹. *Agonistic respect also includes the possibility to question the existen-*

⁴⁴ W. E. Connolly, *Identity, Difference...*, pp. ix, xi, xv.

⁴⁵ B. Rumelili, "Constructing Identity and Relating to Difference...", p. 34.

⁴⁶ W. E. Connolly, *Identity, Difference...*, pp. ix, xv.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 43.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.

tial faith (identity) of the Other, and to re-interpret the identity of [the] self in reaction to the Other⁵².

Bernhard Waldenfels discusses the self and the Other with reference to the home world (*Heimwelt*) and alien world (*Fremdwelt*), based on Edmund Husserl's discussion of these worlds as being culturally different, but with the possibility to overcome this by 'one world'⁵³. Waldenfels recognizes several ways how the Other is "traditionally" treated: the difference between the self and the Other is sacrificed either by way of 'possessing the Other' (*Aneignung*) or "giving up to the Other" (*Enteignung*) ending with one dominant culture (of the self)⁵⁴. But unlike these traditional ways to treat the Other (including Husserl's 'one world') Waldenfels speaks of "intertwining" (*Verschrankung*)⁵⁵ and introduces an interculturality that involves in-between-worlds (*Zwischenwelten*), which form a web of relations between both worlds as the basis of mutual understanding⁵⁶. An alternative self-Other relationship is presented that explicitly differentiates between Other (*Fremde*) and enemy (*Feind*)⁵⁷, in accordance with the difference – otherness distinction in this study.

Siep Stuurman analyses how and under which circumstances people start to see the Other (or stranger, as he terms it) as fellow humans, or even equals⁵⁸. He asserts this is only possible when a notion of "humanity"⁵⁹ emerges that is general enough to include those at the other side of the boundary between the self and the Other, so that the Other can be seen as similar or even equal⁶⁰. Tracing such discourses of equality, Stuurman employs three theoretical concepts. The first is "common humanity", which refers to a discourse that emphasizes shared universal characteristics and ethical norms and recognizes the Other as a fellow human⁶¹. The second one is the "anthropological turn", which is based on the comparison of the self and the Other to understand the Other at three levels: the recognition that the culture of the Other is understandable and consistent, though not necessarily approved of; the realization that the Other also perceives "us" as their "Other"; and taking the viewpoint of the Other to express criticism on the culture of the self⁶². The third concept is "temporality". If time (or history) is perceived as a linear development, inequality can be presented as permanent, or even

⁵² Ibid., p. xxvii.

⁵³ B. Waldenfels, *Topographie des Fremden*, p. 33; C.C. Yu, "Between 'Homeworld' and 'Alienworld?'..".

⁵⁴ B. Waldenfels, *Topographie des Fremden*, pp. 48-50; translations from C.C. Yu, "Between 'Homeworld' and 'Alienworld?'..".

⁵⁵ B. Waldenfels, *Topographie des Fremden*, pp. 67-73; C.C. Yu, "Between 'Homeworld' and 'Alienworld?'..".

⁵⁶ B. Waldenfels, *Topographie des Fremden*, p. 85; C.C. Yu, "Between 'Homeworld' and 'Alienworld?'..".

⁵⁷ B. Waldenfels, *Topographie des Fremden*, p. 45.

⁵⁸ S. Stuurman, *De Uitvinding van de Mensheid: Korte Wereldgeschiedenis van Het Denken over Gelijkheid En Cultuurverschil*, Amsterdam 2009, p. 9.

⁵⁹ Stuurman uses the terms 'menschheid' and 'menselijkheid', which both can be translated as 'humanity'.

⁶⁰ S. Stuurman, *De Uitvinding van de Mensheid...*, p. 9.

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 14-15.

⁶² Ibid., pp. 13, 18.

increasing. If time, however, is perceived as cyclical and repeating itself, it embodies a sense of equality, as both power and inequality are temporary⁶³. Through the use these concepts, a discourse of equality can be created that lifts or weakens the exclusion of (certain) Others⁶⁴. In *Oneself as Another*, Paul Ricoeur sets out to articulate the ontology of the self, focusing on the relation between self and action. Ricoeur presents three philosophical intentions that correspond with a triple dialectic⁶⁵. The first one is imperative for his argument, but less relevant here. The second is a distinction between two meanings of identity: *idem*-identity, which refers to sameness and is dependent on permanence for its existence, and *ipse*-identity or self-hood⁶⁶. This corresponds to dialectic of selfhood and sameness⁶⁷. Ricoeur proposes narrative identity to bridge the *idem* and *ipse* distinction by way of the identity of the character: the character both belongs to *idem*-identity and is connected to *ipse*-identity⁶⁸. More importantly here, the narrative aspect is also apparent in the relationship between the self and the Other: the self and the Other are both subject of, character in, or author of each other's and their own stories, and their narratives are interwoven⁶⁹.

This intermingling of the self and the Other is most visible in the third philosophical intention. The title *Oneself as Another* suggests not only comparison or similarity, but also implication (oneself inasmuch as being another)⁷⁰. This corresponds to a dialectic of selfhood and otherness⁷¹. Ricoeur introduces the *polysemic* character of otherness which signifies that otherness is not "added from outside" but lies at the heart of selfhood⁷². Here the concept of *self-attestation* is central, defined by Ricoeur as the *assurance of being oneself acting and suffering*⁷³ or *I can*⁷⁴. While action and self are intrinsically connected, *passivity* becomes the attestation of otherness⁷⁵. A triad of otherness, or passivity, shows how the self and the Other are intrinsically connected⁷⁶. The argument is too detailed to be repeated here, but it leads to the assertion that *the other in its various guises is not extraneous to the*

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 15-16, 19-21.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 23.

⁶⁵ P. Ricoeur, *Oneself as Another*, trans. by K. Blamey, Chicago 1992, pp. 1-3, 16, 21.

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 2, 16, 18.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 16.

⁶⁸ D. Vessey, "The Polysemy of Otherness: On Ricoeur's Oneself as Another", in S. Gallagher et al. (eds.), *Ipseity and Alterity: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Intersubjectivity*, Mont-Saint-Aignan 2004, pp. 214-215.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 215.

⁷⁰ P. Ricoeur, *Oneself as Another*, p. 3.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 16.

⁷² Ibid., pp. 317-318.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 22.

⁷⁴ D. Vessey, "The Polysemy of Otherness...", p. 223.

⁷⁵ P. Ricoeur, *Oneself as Another*, p. 318.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

*self*⁷⁷. In Ricoeur's understanding, there is no self without (the dialectical relation with) the Other in its various guises⁷⁸. This understanding is also visible in the idea of narrative identity, where the narratives of the self and the Other are always interwoven.

Several themes emerge from the discussed perspectives. Agonistic respect presents the theme of reciprocal respect between the self and the Other, with connections established across difference, and the possibility to question the faith of both the Other and the self. The concept of in-between-worlds presents a web of relations between the worlds of the self and the Other, without a dominant one, that form the basis of mutual understanding. In cosmopolitan egalitarianism, the concepts of common humanity (shared characteristics and norms); anthropological turn (comparison of the self and the Other to understand the Other); and temporality (difference as permanent or temporary) are of interest. The notion of narrative identity, where the narratives of the self and the Other are always interwoven, and the importance of the dialectical relationship between the self and the Other, where the Other is also apparent in the self, form the last theme.

2. BETWEEN EAST AND WEST: ACROSS THE BORDERLANDS OF EUROPE BY ANNE APPLEBAUM

2.1. A journey through the borderlands: context

Anne Applebaum, born in Washington D.C. in 1964, is a journalist, columnist and writer. In 1991, she went on a three-month journey from Kaliningrad to Odessa, which resulted in her first book: the "travelogue" *Between East and West: Across the Borderlands of Europe*⁷⁹. Applebaum travelled in a period full of change and uncertainty, travelling through countries that had just declared independence while the Soviet Union itself was still in existence. This volatility is directly and indirectly visible in her text, for example in the lack of clarity about the current status of the countries she visits, or for instance when she stays in Lviv, Ukraine: *From week to week, inflation was going up [...]. Energy prices were going up because of Ukraine's conflict with Russia*⁸⁰. The uncertain situation and lingering past also leads her to stress the need to understand history in order to understand the present⁸¹, a conviction very visible in her writing through the historical accounts she provides.

⁷⁷ P. Hengel, "Paul Ricoeur's Oneself as Another and Practical Theology", *Theological Studies*, vol. 55, no. 3 (1994), p. 469, [online] <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/004056399405500302>.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 467-469.

⁷⁹ "Reviews – Between East and West: Across the Borderlands of Europe", *Barnes & Noble*, [online] <http://www.barnesandnoble.com/w/between-east-and-west-anne-applebaum/1001927646>, 7 March 2014.

⁸⁰ A. Applebaum, *Between East and West. Across the Borderlands of Europe*, New York 1994, pp. 218, 239.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. xxii; "Interview – Anne Applebaum on Memoirs of Communism", *Fivebooks*, 5 March 2012, [online] <http://fivebooks.com/interviews/anne-applebaum-on-memoirs-communism>, 7 March 2014.

Context refers here not only to time and situation, but also to intertextuality. As her first publication, *Between East and West* is not connected to Applebaum's other books. But Applebaum uses other sources, mainly for the historical accounts, and refers to several authors. A noteworthy source is Norman Davies' *God's Playground: a History of Poland*. Davies has also commented on the draft manuscript and reviewed the book⁸². Furthermore, Applebaum introduces most chapters with extracts from poems, folk songs, or quotes. These are used to underwrite and reinforce the reflections of Applebaum, such as the volatility of the region, the contestation of history and heroes, and her impression of cities and villages⁸³. Thus, Applebaum employs the topoi of authority and the topoi of illustrative examples to strengthen her reflections.

2.2. The borderlands: construction and characteristics

For a thousand years, the geography of the borderlands dictated their fate. The borderlands lie in a flat plain, crushed between the civilizations of Europe and those of Asia. East of Poland, west of Russia, their lack of mountains, seas, deserts, and canyons has always made the borderlands easy to conquer⁸⁴.

The borderlands, thus introduced, refer to present-day Kaliningrad, Lithuania, Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine, and are defined as part of Central and Eastern Europe⁸⁵. Other expressions Applebaum uses to refer to the region are the Polish term *kresy*, which covers the idea of emptiness and lack of borders east of Poland, and the Russian term *okrainy*, used for the eastern parts of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth⁸⁶.

Different characteristics are attributed to the borderlands. Their featurelessness is the first, attracting invaders from all directions⁸⁷. The consecutive invasions and their traces also form an important characteristic: *The invasions came and subsided, each time leaving traces: ideas about architecture and literature and religion, words and idioms, boys with black eyes or girls with blond hair*⁸⁸. Before the nineteenth century, the numerous invasions created odd hybrids, and the borderland people, also referred to as *tutejszy* or "one of the people from here"⁸⁹, were not organized in nations but had various backgrounds, spoke various languages, and adhered to various religions⁹⁰. Still now, these traces of the past are visible in personal identifications, records Applebaum, maintaining that identity is nowhere more ambiguous than in Belarus: *to be Belarusian is to be*

⁸² A. Applebaum, *Between East and West...*, pp. 48, 313, back cover.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, i.e. pp. 114-120, 158-159, 284.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 244-245, 249.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47, 148.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, xii.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. xiii-xiv.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. xii-xiii.

able to choose one's identity, even to allow that identity to change over time⁹¹. The traces of the different rulers and the constant change of borders are also visible in the towns visited, like Lviv: *Lviv was part of the borderlands, and the same historical breaks, the same mass murders, the same shuffling of people back and forth across borders had affected the city like all other borderland cities*⁹².

The deportations, suffering and ethnic cleansing form another important characteristic of the borderlands. Under Soviet and Nazi rule, borderland people perished, were deported, or murdered, until *after forty years [of Soviet empire], even the memory of the many-colored, multiethnic borderlands had faded away*⁹³. A related characteristic is the once numerous presence of Jews and their disproportionate suffering and extermination, and their fate, as well as the neglect and disappearance of synagogues and Jewish cemeteries, is occasionally pointed out, if only more indirectly⁹⁴: as *Between East and West* is built around encounters, it is virtually impossible to meet many Jewish people in the borderlands in 1991.

The discussed characteristics do not necessarily imply a "shared identity" or understanding between the borderland people. In contrast, Applebaum often records their mutual animosity. This is for example manifest in the disputes about names: L'viv vs. Lwów, Vilnius vs. Wilno⁹⁵; the mutual claims of Poles and Lithuanians to towns, national heroes and history; or the *kresy* (borderlands) Poles stressing their difference from the *koroniarze* (crown lands) Poles⁹⁶. But even in this animosity, the interwovenness of the borderland people is visible, as they still claim the same history, heroes and national symbols, such as Adam Mickiewicz, who is claimed by Poles, Belarusians, Lithuanians, Jews and Soviets⁹⁷.

2.3. Anne Applebaum's perspective

In 1992, Applebaum married the Polish writer and politician Radosław Sikorski. Speaking Polish and Russian and having lived in Poland in 1986, 1988-1991, and again from 2006, she became a Polish citizen in 2013⁹⁸. Her family provides another link to

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 159, see i.e. pp. 132-133, 224.

⁹² Ibid., p. 202, see also pp. xviii, 200-202, and for other examples: pp. 8, 15, 94.

⁹³ Ibid., p. xvii, see also pp. 55-56, 161, 274.

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 93, 99, 229.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 59.

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 63, 110, 242.

⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 114-119, see also i.e. pp. 155, 162.

⁹⁸ "Biography of Anne Applebaum", *Anne Applebaum*, [online] <http://www.anneapplebaum.com/anne-applebaum/>, 3 March 2014; "Interview – Goelag of the de Geschiedenis van de Sovjetkampen", *Liberales*, 10 October 2013, [online] <http://www.liberales.be/interviews/applebaumgoelag>, 7 March 2014; "Interview – Tans Lecture by Anne Applebaum: Does Eastern Europe Still Exist?", *Observant Online*, 27 November 2013, [online] <http://www.observantonline.nl/Home/Artikelen/tabid/126/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/1958/Tans-Lecture-by-Anne-Applebaum-Does-Eastern-Europe-still-exist.aspx>, 7 March 2014.

Central and Eastern Europe. Her great-grandparents emigrated from Kobrin – then Poland, now Belarus – to America at the turn of the 19th century⁹⁹. For Applebaum, the *shifty, uncertain identity*¹⁰⁰ of Kobrin, and her stay in Warsaw in 1988-1991, gave her a lasting *taste for instability*¹⁰¹.

Regardless of her background, Applebaum does not seem to identify with the region and people she visits: she introduces herself, and is seen as, “American”¹⁰². On the other hand, she is sometimes thought to be Polish, and she introduces herself as Polish whenever it is convenient: *Cautious, afraid to appear too rich or too foreign, I replied, “Polish”*¹⁰³. This is a different case with regard to her Jewish background¹⁰⁴. She identifies herself as a Jew more distinctly, as is clear from her recorded conversations¹⁰⁵. In terms of the self and the Other, Applebaum clearly equates the “self” with West, for example when she states that her husband is *from the East – he grew up in Poland – and I’m from the West*¹⁰⁶. But her position is more hybrid than she puts it. Through her family she is connected to the borderlands, and this is visible through the links between her and the places and people she encounters.

2.4. The borderlands and the West: difference and similarity

Applebaum primarily records stories and worldviews of others, and generally refrains from commenting upon this, which means she only scarcely employs the strategies of perpetuation and topoi. In contrast, these are quite visible in the stories and worldviews of the interviewees. While Applebaum mostly refrains from argumentation strategies that justify exclusion or discrimination of the Other, she does employ the topoi of comparison and contrast, with which she creates temporal, personal and spatial difference and similarity.

For Applebaum, the borderlands are the “Other” and the West is the “self”. However, through her own background she creates a hybrid situation where the self and the Other are blended. In *Between East and West*, she refers to others where this is the case: a notable example is Andy Warhol, son of the Ruthenian farmer Andrei Warhola, who claimed to *come from nowhere*¹⁰⁷. Whereas this creates personal similarity, personal difference is as often created, either by others or by herself, for example when she acknowledges the difference between America and the borderlands, and their inhabitants¹⁰⁸.

⁹⁹ A. Applebaum, *Between East and West...*, pp. 188-189, xviii-xix.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xix.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 67, 72, 101.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 244, see also p. 130.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-193.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138, 174.

¹⁰⁶ “Reviews – Between East and West: Across the Borderlands of Europe”.

¹⁰⁷ A. Applebaum, *Between East and West...*, p. 241.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 291, see also pp. 61, 72.

Spatial difference between the borderlands and the West is already visible in the title: *Between East and West*, so part of neither. Applebaum continually separates the borderlands from the West, with spatial difference contained in linguistic references (borderlands, *kresy*, *okrainy*, the lands between East and West) and created by inaccessibility, which emerges both from Applebaum's descriptions as well as her own difficulties to reach certain destinations: *The Soviet Union had ended; the miseries of Soviet travel had not*¹⁰⁹. Comparisons of the facade and atmosphere of cities like Kaliningrad, Odessa and Minsk to those of Western cities create another kind of spatial difference¹¹⁰.

Temporality, and in particular repetition or continuity, is an important aspect, connected to the constant change of rulers and borders: *For a thousand years the peoples of the borderlands spoke their dialects and worshipped their gods, while the waves of invaders washed over them, mingled, and washed over them again*¹¹¹. The emphasis on this characteristic creates temporal difference: it is a borderland characteristic, not one from the West. Instances of permanent change are described as well, and primarily connected to Soviet rule and subsequent independence¹¹²; therefore, also in these expressions difference is created between the (history of) the borderlands, and the West, that does not share this history.

Only rarely are the borderlands explicitly compared to the West. This happens mostly on the personal level discussed above, or in historical discussions about differences in language, religion, etc¹¹³. But even without direct comparison, personal, spatial and temporal difference is created. Many of the borderland characteristics point to their distinct and specific history, which is not (or only partly) shared with other regions. Thus, difference is created primarily in terms of history and spatiality, and personal difference (or similarity) is interpreted as a consequence of this, and not as a difference i.e. in terms of personality.

2.5. Terms of the self and the Other: the thematic dimension

Connolly's concept of agonistic respect is quite visible in the way Applebaum writes about and interacts with the people she encounters. By showing awareness and understanding of the differences identified above and how they affect the Other, Applebaum also shows respect for the Other. At the same time, this does not prevent her from (or rather legitimizes her to) commenting upon the worldviews of those she encounters. Thus, she uses this possibility to question the faith of the Other. She however does not explicitly reflect upon the faith of the self. With regard to Waldenfels' idea of in-between-worlds, it is difficult to speak of a web of relations between the worlds of the self and the Other at the time of Applebaum's journey in 1991. But at a personal level,

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. xvii, 3.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 22, 166, 283-286.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. xiii.

¹¹² Ibid., i.e. p. xix.

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 148, 153.

Applebaum and others do form a web of relations between the worlds of the self and the Other. For Applebaum, her background offers a basis for (mutual) understanding. Stuurman's concept of common humanity seems to be an implicit assumption, as Applebaum makes the lives and histories of those she encounters "visible" and understandable for the reader, showing how the borderland people are "fellow humans" with similar problems and choices. Regarding the anthropological turn, Applebaum sometimes uses comparisons to make the culture of the Other understandable, and records how the Other looks at the self. Yet only scarcely does she use the viewpoint of the Other to criticize the self. Temporality is visible too, but by emphasizing the continuity and repetition of history in the borderlands (implicitly opposing this to the West), Applebaum creates a discourse of difference and perhaps even inequality, as if the borderlands are "stuck" in repetition. At the same time, pointing out the past as the main difference creates similarity: the difference is not "inherent".

Ricoeur argues that the narratives of the self and the Other are always interwoven, and that the identity of a self is always embedded in its relations with the Other. In *Between East and West*, Applebaum writes: *It was the fate of borderland nations always to know yourself through the stories of others, to realize yourself only with the help of others*¹¹⁴. She is aware of the narrative aspect of identity, and participates in it by writing about the borderlands herself. At a personal level, her narrative is interwoven with that of the borderlands; and the narratives of the borderlands people are all interwoven with those of others, either within or outside the borderlands – this is visible in the theme of ambiguous identities.

Thus, Anne Applebaum presents a discourse in *Between East and West* that corresponds with the terms of the self and the Other that take a perspective of equality. She discusses differences between the borderlands and the West but at the same time shows how the self and the Other are equal, interwoven, and sometimes similar.

3. HEART OF EUROPE: THE PAST IN POLAND'S PRESENT BY NORMAN DAVIES

3.1. Three editions of *Heart of Europe*: context

Norman Davies, born 1939 in Bolton, United Kingdom, is a renowned history professor. In 1984, he published *Heart of Europe: A Short History of Poland*, followed by a second edition in 1986 and a revised edition entitled *Heart of Europe: The Past in Poland's Present* in 2001¹¹⁵. In 1983, Davies aimed to put the developments of the 1980-1981 Polish Crisis in a historical context¹¹⁶. Aware of writing on a changing subject (*By the time the author's observations are published, the Present will always have*

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 198.

¹¹⁵ N. Davies, *Heart of Europe: The Past in Poland's Present*, Oxford–New York 2001, p. xvi.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. vii-viii.

*moved on*¹¹⁷), his conclusions on the legacy of the past in Poland's present in 1983, 1986 and 2001 nevertheless remain. From his intent it is clear that the use of history to understand the present is as important for Davies as for Applebaum.

Heart of Europe answers requests for a shorter version of Davies' *God's Playground: a History of Poland* (1981), and Davies acknowledges that he committed *a fair amount of textual piracy*¹¹⁸. He also makes use of extracts from poems, songs, literature and speeches, in line with his conviction that this enhances historical analyses by illustrating events, demonstrating links, and stimulating the imagination of the reader¹¹⁹. *The excerpts often illustrate the recurrence of certain Polish characteristics*¹²⁰. Davies also includes references to Polish writers, poets and fictional characters to *illustrate the political layer in literature*¹²¹. *Though Davies thus uses the topoi of illustrative examples elaborately, he does not employ the topoi of authority so evidently – he does not validate his reflections with the use of quotes.*

As mentioned above, Davies has been involved in Applebaum's *Between East and West* as source, commentator, and reviewer. Some other coincidences, like the fact that Applebaum's husband has been a student of Davies¹²²; and that both refer to publications of Timothy Garton Ash, who has commented on Applebaum's draft; while his wife Danuta Garton Ash assisted Davies' in the Polish edition of *Heart of Europe*¹²³; might indicate that Davies and Applebaum are part of the same circles, or perhaps even share a particular discourse on Central and Eastern Europe. Interestingly, Davies discusses a 1909 text on the *question of the "borderlands"*¹²⁴ – perhaps Applebaum found the term here.

3.2. Poland: construction and characteristics

The Poland discussed by Davies has various names, rulers, and shapes. The name *Polska* reverts to the 10th century Slavonic tribe *Polanie*, or *the people of the open fields*¹²⁵, settled on the great Polish plain. Defining Poland after the 18th-century partitions, when *Poland was just an "idea"*¹²⁶, Davies writes: *the essential sources of its history have to be sought [...] in the realm of culture, literature, and religion – in short, in the world of the Polish spirit*¹²⁷. He constructs this "Polish spirit" by identifying several legacies from the past,

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. vii.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. ix, see also pp. vii-viii.

¹¹⁹ N. Davies, *Europe East and West*, London 2006, pp. 184-185.

¹²⁰ Idem, *Heart of Europe...*, see pp. 249, 335-339, 342, 359, 388-291.

¹²¹ Ibid., see i.e. the dedication and pp. ix, 148, 158, 187-201, 205, 337-338.

¹²² "INTERVIEW: Prof. Norman Davies: Speech of Sikorski Signals a Shift in Political Patterns in Europe", *Polonia*, 3 December 2011, [online] <http://polonia.nl/?p=6815>, 28 March 2014.

¹²³ A. Applebaum, *Between East and West...*, p. 313; N. Davies, *Heart of Europe...*, p. xi.

¹²⁴ N. Davies, *Heart of Europe...*, p. 403.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 249.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 139.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

visible in present-day Poland. The *legacy of humiliation* arises from Poland's experience of communist oppression¹²⁸. It results in two postwar-generation characteristics: extraordinary restraint, and an extreme moral suffering due to the great rift between the moral values of society and the rulers¹²⁹. This moral suffering is emphasized repeatedly, for instance in the period of the partitions and in 1983¹³⁰.

The *legacy of defeat* arises from Poland's unparalleled wartime experience, or as Davies puts it: *Poland became the killing-ground of Europe, the new Golgotha*¹³¹. Here, a two-sided characteristic emerges: the traumatic effect of the *massive deprivation on Polish consciousness*¹³² through the Soviet version of Poland's war history; and the resilience and survival of Polish culture and tradition notwithstanding¹³³. The *legacy of disenchantment*, in the context of Poland's experiment in independence in the interwar period¹³⁴, and the *legacy of spiritual mastery* share a key characteristic: the determination of Poland's fate by *the interplay of external forces*¹³⁵. Related themes are hostile neighbours, the overwhelming experience of foreign rule and the primacy of external relations¹³⁶. Two characteristics emanate from this: skepticism and resistance¹³⁷. The legacy of spiritual mastery addresses two other important characteristics, namely Polish Romanticism and Polish Positivism as the permanent pillars of national consciousness¹³⁸, and the lasting impact of the close connection between politics and literature in the 19th century¹³⁹. Finally, the *legacy of an ancient culture* refers to Poland's *age-old association with Western Christendom, in familiarity with all the great experiences of European history [...] and above all, in centuries of independence and the uninterrupted promotion of the native Law, Language, and Literature*¹⁴⁰. Indeed, the Renaissance and Reformation had a deep impact in Poland, and the influence of the church played a decisive role in its history¹⁴¹. In fact, Davies argues that *Poland's Western connection was forged in large measure by its loyalty to the Roman Church*¹⁴².

¹²⁸ Ibid., pp. 52-54.

¹²⁹ Ibid., pp. 3, 47, 53, 217-218, 240-244, 406.

¹³⁰ Ibid., pp. 217-218, 240-244, 406.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 56, see also pp. 55-56, 68-69, 87-89.

¹³² Ibid., p. 93.

¹³³ Ibid., pp. 93-94.

¹³⁴ Ibid., pp. 134-136.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 87.

¹³⁶ Ibid., pp. 111-113, 135-136, 138, 175, 213, 393.

¹³⁷ Ibid., pp. 160, 214.

¹³⁸ Ibid., pp. 148, 179, 184-186.

¹³⁹ Ibid., pp. 154, 156, 191, 204.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 246.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 246, 255, 258, 259, 297.

¹⁴² Ibid., pp. 301.

3.3. Norman Davies' perspective

Davies' *abiding passion*¹⁴³ for Eastern Europe originates in his 1958 travel through Europe. In an interview, Davies sketches his growing interest in Poland: first the language, then Polish studies, and then his marriage to a Polish woman¹⁴⁴. Davies took a particular interest in the Polish experience of suffering and oppression and its history of losing independence¹⁴⁵. His publications are an attempt to *keep the history of Eastern Europe in general view*¹⁴⁶ and to write history not only from the viewpoint of the winners, but also from the viewpoint of the losers¹⁴⁷. Davies competes against notions of a superior West and inferior East and *deep-seated assumptions about the extent and permanence of Eastern Europe's "otherness"*¹⁴⁸. Instead, he presupposes one Europe with one history yet many varieties and differences, and juxtaposes and compares the East and the West whenever it is appropriate¹⁴⁹.

Davies' position in terms the self and the Other is interesting. As a commentator, he reported on events in the Soviet Union just like other Western reporters, but he repeatedly disassociates himself from them by stressing the differences between his and their analyses, for example stressing how Western intellectuals and journalists *failed to notice any connection between Poland's fate and that of their own country*¹⁵⁰. Whenever Davies refers to Poles, his choice of words also marks a distance (i.e. *Poles would remember*¹⁵¹), even if in some parts he seems to lose some objectivity in favour of, for example, the Polish Resistance or Polish Armed Forces¹⁵². But most frequently Davies distances himself from both Western Europe and Poland, and speaks from the position of "the historian"¹⁵³. In this way, Davies creates a position "above" the self and the Other, the East and the West.

3.4. Poland and (Western) Europe: difference and similarity

With Davies' position, it is difficult to establish an unambiguous "self" and "Other". The fact that he not only discusses Poland vis-à-vis Western Europe, but also vis-à-vis

¹⁴³ N. Davies, *Europe East and West*, p. 108.

¹⁴⁴ "John Tusa Interview with Norman Davies", *BBC*, 1 October 2000, [online] <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00nc3t2>, 19 March 2014.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ N. Davies, *Europe East and West*, p. xi.

¹⁴⁷ A. Syriatou, "An Interview with Norman Davies", *European Review of History. Revue européenne d'histoire*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1997), p. 219, [online] <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13507489708568192>.

¹⁴⁸ N. Davies, *Europe East and West*, pp. xiv, 16, 27.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 51.

¹⁵⁰ "Biography Norman Davies", *Norman Davies*, [online] <http://www.normandavies.com/author>, 2 August 2015; N. Davies, *Heart of Europe...*, quote p. 378, other examples pp. 34, 353, 367, 419.

¹⁵¹ N. Davies, *Heart of Europe...*, p. 59.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, i.e. pp. 59, 64, 77, 136, 174.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. vii, 138, 273-274, 277, 315, 390.

Eastern Europe and non-European countries like Russia reinforces this. Because of Davies' idea of one Europe and emphasis on the common Europeanness of Eastern and Western Europe, *Europe* can perhaps be classified as an overarching "self" versus different, non-European Others¹⁵⁴. Davies thus creates difference and similarity between Poland, Western Europe, and Europe as such. Though he refrains from using strategies of perpetuation or topoi, he does employ the topoi of comparison and contrast to put the discussed characteristics in a wider European perspective. Furthermore, he creates spatial and temporal difference and similarity. Spatially, Davies creates difference by firmly placing Poland in Eastern Europe and emphasizing its incomparable geographical position between hostile neighbours¹⁵⁵. At the same time, he asserts: *In every other sense, its strongest links have been with the West*¹⁵⁶. Poland is placed in a unique position, reflected in the title: Poland as the *heart of Europe*. *Poland's destiny, in the cockpit of European conflict, is one of the few indicators of the destiny which lies in store for the rest of the continent*¹⁵⁷. Yet Davies creates such a fundamental similarity (*The Poles are more Western in their outlook than the inhabitants of most Western countries*¹⁵⁸), that if Western Europe would deviate from its culture, Poland would be more Western than Western Europe itself – turning similarity into difference again.

A temporal aspect is visible in the recurrence of the discussed legacies. It is Davies' purpose to show continuation – to show the past in Poland's present – but he is aware of the danger of unwarranted generalizations and schematization, warning that *in certain circumstances History could repeat itself in Poland [...] [not] that History will repeat itself*¹⁵⁹. Though temporality is used to point out unique Polish characteristics, it does not create difference as such, as Davies leaves undetermined whether a similar process is visible in the characteristics of other countries.

Using the topoi of comparison and contrast, Davies also places the Polish experiences in a bigger framework, drawing parallels between Poland and other European countries in different contexts and periods¹⁶⁰. Nevertheless, by continually highlighting Poland's particular situation, he indicates that the Polish characteristics identified above are perhaps not unique, but at least more prevalent, for example when discussing moral suffering: *It is not the case that Poles are inherently more sensitive to moral issues [...]. Because of their country's tragic history, Poles faced more moral choices more acutely not only in comparison to citizens of democratic countries [...] but also to their counterparts in other communist countries*¹⁶¹. In Davies' writing, difference and similarity are intricately related. Poland's geographical position creates difference, but as the heart of Europe also

¹⁵⁴ N. Davies, *Europe East and West*, pp. 44, 51.

¹⁵⁵ Idem, *Heart of Europe...*, pp. 111, 125, 175, 301.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 301, see also p. 303.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 406.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 303.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 392.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., i.e. pp. 8-9, 41, 49, 55-56, 64, 68-69, 84, 87-89.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 52-53.

a profound similarity; the temporal aspect and comparisons also create difference, but mostly because certain characteristics are more prevalent and not because they are different or rooted in a completely distinct history.

3.5. Terms of the self and the Other: the thematic dimension

Connolly's concept of agonistic respect is very visible in Davies' writing. His discussion of Poland shows respect for the Other and the differences, in particular because he traces the roots of these differences quite precisely and in this way demonstrates understanding and respect for them. Moreover, he repeatedly questions the views and attitudes towards Poland of Western European observers, academics, etc., in short, of the "self". Nevertheless, with Davies' acceptance of a profound similarity, he seems to go beyond the concept of agonistic respect.

Culture and religion are presented by Davies in a way that corresponds to Waldenfels' concept of in-between-worlds. Culture (the "fundamental cultural ties") and religion (Western Christendom) form a basis of mutual understanding because they lie at the foundation of Polish and Western European culture. However, Davies seems to go beyond Waldenfels' understanding as well, because the cultural and religious ties are connected to the overarching European "self" (*vis-à-vis* non-European Others). In comparison to the interculturality of the "in-between-worlds", this European self seems to present a more fundamental connection.

Siep Stuurman's concepts are also visible in Davies' discussion. Common humanity is visible foremost on a European level, referring to the shared religious and cultural background. As for the anthropological turn, Davies makes frequent use of (historical) comparisons to clarify why certain characteristics are more frequent in Poland than in Western Europe, also using the viewpoint of the Other to criticize the self. Temporality is used to stress the recurrence (and prevalence) of certain Polish characteristics, and thus difference, but it is not his temporal view on history as such that creates difference. However, Davies' perspective is not in full accord with that of Stuurman: he undeniably sees Western Europeans and Poles as fellow, and equal, humans, but it is not clear if he feels the same about Europeans and non-Europeans, in particular Russia – another self and Other division. Davies appears to be aware of the narrative aspect of identity introduced by Paul Ricoeur, if only more implicitly. He pays much attention to the influence of literature on Polish political ideas and action, which are in turn closely connected to Polish identity, as he repeatedly shows (for example in the importance of Polish poetry in the Lenin Shipyard strikes) but not explicates. It is unclear if Davies realizes that with *Heart of Europe* he is himself involved in narrating the Polish identity. However, the interwovenness of the narratives of self and Other are visible in his numerous references to the shared history of Poland and Western Europe. Indeed, Western Europe is more than once a character in the story of Poland.

Concluding, Davies presents a discourse that corresponds with many of the discussed perspectives – going beyond some, but more limited than others. It is interesting how Davies creates such a profound similarity between Poland and Western Europe

due to fundamental historical ties that he seems to regard Poland as more Western than Western Europe itself. At the same time, he places Poland in a unique and incomparable position, primarily due to its geographical position and history. But all in all, similarity seems to prevail.

4. *THE RECONSTRUCTION OF NATIONS: POLAND, UKRAINE, LITHUANIA, BELARUS 1569-1999* BY TIMOTHY SNYDER

4.1. An era of nationalism: context

Timothy Snyder, born 1969 in south-western Ohio, is a history professor specialized in Central and Eastern Europe. In 2003, Snyder published *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus 1569-1999*, aiming to trace the emergence of these nation-states, their different experiences enabling him to arrive at more far-reaching conclusions about the emergence of national ideas than one single national history would allow for¹⁶². It were the 1989 revolutions that sparked Snyder's interest in Central and Eastern Europe, and subsequently the successful stabilization of north-eastern Europe¹⁶³. *The Reconstruction of Nations* is connected to Snyder's first discussion of nationalism in his 1998 dissertation, as well as his *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (2010), which addresses what is left out in *The Reconstruction of Nations*¹⁶⁴. Furthermore, in *The Reconstruction of Nations*, Snyder uses quotes, mostly from Adam Mickiewicz, to explain and illustrate the transformation of national ideas¹⁶⁵. He also includes pictures of the places and people discussed, and uses (his own) personal memories to illustrate his arguments¹⁶⁶. Snyder thus makes use of the topoi of illustrative examples, and in the case of personal memories and accounts also the topoi of authority, validating his own reflections.

Snyder deliberately avoids writing a single national historiography, takes a forward-oriented perspective to avoid *the projection of later political forms upon earlier periods*¹⁶⁷,

¹⁶² T. Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations. Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999*, New Haven 2003, pp. 3-5; Z. Truchlewski, "Timothy Snyder, A Historian of Eastern Europe (first part of the interview)", *Nouvelle Europe*, 11 February 2013, [online] <http://www.nouvelle-europe.eu/en/timothy-snyder-historian-eastern-europe-first-part-interview>, 14 April 2014.

¹⁶³ Z. Truchlewski, "Timothy Snyder, A Historian of Eastern Europe..."; T. Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations...*, pp. 7, 9.

¹⁶⁴ Z. Truchlewski, "Timothy Snyder, A Historian of Eastern Europe..."; "Biography of Timothy Snyder – Yale", *Yale*, [online] <http://history.yale.edu/people/timothy-snyder>, 14 April 2014; T. Grillot, J. Sémelin, "A Decent and True Understanding of the Past – An Interview with Timothy D. Snyder", *Books and Ideas*, 14 February 2013, [online] <http://www.booksandideas.net/A-Decent-and-True-Understanding-of.html>, 14 April 2014; T. Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations...*, p. 8.

¹⁶⁵ T. Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations...*, pp. 70-72, 90-91, 105, 131-132, 283.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 114, 204-105.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

and includes failures as well as successes¹⁶⁸. Though the first two contradict Norman Davies' convictions, they share the latter. It is clear that they know each other – Davies is mentioned in Snyder's acknowledgements – but not to what extent. This is a different matter with Tony Judt, with which Snyder shares some mutual friends¹⁶⁹. From their conversations in *Thinking the Twentieth Century*, it emerges that Judt and Snyder share not only an interest in Eastern Europe, but also in the (intellectual) history of the twentieth century, and on writing history¹⁷⁰.

4.2. Eastern Europe: construction and characteristics

In *The Reconstruction of Nations*, Snyder discusses a region for which he uses different terms: Eastern Europe, northeastern Europe, or, after 1989, the new Eastern Europe or the new Europe. As an exact demarcation, he takes the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as established in 1569, which he characterizes as follows:

*The nation of [the Polish-Lithuanian] Commonwealth was its nobility [...] nobles of Polish, Lithuanian, and East Slavic origin alike described themselves [...] as "of the Polish nation." They took for granted that, in the natural order of things, the languages of state, speech, literature, and liturgy would vary*¹⁷¹.

But after the Commonwealth's partition [...] some patriots recast the nation as the people, and nationality as the language they spoke¹⁷². While Snyder focuses on the different nations, he still identifies characteristics defining the region in its entirety.

One of these is the different backgrounds of its inhabitants. Whereas the backgrounds of the elite would vary, peasants mostly identified with their direct environment, as *tutejszość*, translated as local-mindedness¹⁷³. Furthermore, there was a profound difference between rural areas and cities, that usually also accommodated a large Jewish community¹⁷⁴. Snyder aims to show how a region with such a variety of inhabitants could have transformed into some of the most ethnic homogenous nation states in Europe, focusing on the city of Vilnius and the provinces of Galicia and Volhynia to show this transformation¹⁷⁵. A related theme he addresses is the presence and elimination of East European Jewish civilization through the Nazi Final Solution and Soviet deportations, which also homogenized Eastern European populations¹⁷⁶. Furthermore,

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 9; Z. Truchlewski, "Timothy Snyder, A Historian of Eastern Europe..."

¹⁶⁹ H. Horn, "How Historians Can Rewrite the Future", *The Atlantic*, 2 February 2012, [online] www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2012/02/how-historians-can-rewrite-the-future/252436, 14 April 2014.

¹⁷⁰ T. Judt, T. Snyder, *Thinking the Twentieth Century*, London 2012, p. 390.

¹⁷¹ T. Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations...*, p. 1.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁷³ Ibid., pp. 21, 153.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 23-25, 74-75, 91, 136, 200.

different parts of the region were subject to different rulers in different periods¹⁷⁷. This resulted in competing claims on cities, regions, and national heroes, such as the city of Vilnius or poet Adam Mickiewicz, also discussed by Applebaum and Davies¹⁷⁸. Such claims, and the development of separate national ideas, resulted in a deep animosity between the emerging “nations”, and in some instances even in war and ethnic cleansing¹⁷⁹.

The brutal wartime experience and sometimes violent pre- and postwar experience of Soviet rule forms another characteristic¹⁸⁰. Occupation, hunger, deportations and ethnic cleansing are shared experiences in the former lands of the Commonwealth, which *closed early modern possibilities of self-identification, and activated more modern ones*¹⁸¹, argues Snyder, thus influencing the development of national ideas. However, he also highlights the absence of violent conflict and the good neighbourly relations in the post-communist time, unlike for example in Yugoslavia, and links this to Poland’s successful eastern policy¹⁸².

4.3. Timothy Snyder’s perspective

Snyder finds Eastern Europe extremely interesting, as *it’s a part of the world where many of the most important events of the world history actually played out*¹⁸³. Having no family- or other direct relation to Eastern Europe, Snyder traces his interest back to the rise of the Solidarity movement in 1980-81 and the 1989 revolutions¹⁸⁴. Between 1989 and 2001, Snyder spent a lot of time in Eastern Europe, got to know its inhabitants, and learned several of its languages, which gives him the ability to better understand the people he writes about¹⁸⁵.

Snyder refrains from explicitly identifying with America, Western Europe or Eastern Europe. Instead, he makes more distant observations both on the writing of national history and the concept of nationalism, stating that *History, in order to be scholarly, must in some way be freed from the limits [national motivations] imposes*¹⁸⁶. However, apart from his role as historian, Snyder clearly identifies with America¹⁸⁷. Thus, Snyder’s distant observations perhaps not (only) result from freeing himself from national

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 26-30, 52; A. Applebaum, *Between East and West...*, pp. 114-119; N. Davies, *Heart of Europe...*

¹⁷⁹ T. Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations...*, pp. 62, 155.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 142.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 208, see also pp. 2, 155, 203, 207.

¹⁸² Ibid., pp. 217, 227, 230, 240, 276.

¹⁸³ Z. Truchlewski, “Timothy Snyder, A Historian of Eastern Europe...”

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.; T. Grillot, J. Sémelin, “A Decent and True Understanding of the Past...”

¹⁸⁶ T. Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations...*, p. 290.

¹⁸⁷ T. Judt, T. Snyder, *Thinking the Twentieth Century*, p. 294; H. Horn, “How Historians Can Rewrite the Future”.

motivations, but (also) from his personal identification as an American, enabling him to keep a distance from the Eastern Europeans whose history he writes. Interestingly, Snyder is quite occupied with the idea of European identity, being convinced that it cannot develop further without a better understanding of East European history. He believes that only with an historical account that includes all national narratives and experiences, European identity formation can progress¹⁸⁸.

4.4. Eastern and Western Europe: difference and similarity

This part does not discuss Snyder's personal self (America) vis-à-vis the Other, but the difference and similarity between the alleged opposing self and the Other formed by Western Europe and Eastern Europe. The alleged opposition, because of their existence, visible in competing national histories, in Snyder's opinion hinders European identity formation¹⁸⁹.

Geographically, Snyder places the lands of the Commonwealth clearly in Europe, creating spatial similarity¹⁹⁰. Spatial difference is created by referring to the distinct situation of these lands, always situated between stronger neighbours, and the importance of geopolitical fortune and power, which result in *different diplomatic rules in the East than in the West*¹⁹¹ and fears of encirclement¹⁹². However, spatial similarity prevails throughout.

Snyder distinguishes between being geographically or culturally part of Europe, the latter being a historical process. As Snyder states, *the introduction of Catholicism established a cultural link between Lithuania and Europe, and created the potential for Polish influence*¹⁹³. The same link is created with the incorporation of Ukrainian lands in the Polish Kingdom¹⁹⁴. Snyder considers this a lasting connection, referring to *the European part of the USSR*¹⁹⁵ when discussing the Soviet Union. Poland is thus presented as the country that transmits European culture to Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian lands (a *window on the West*¹⁹⁶), and as *preparing the way for [their] integration with European and Atlantic institutions*¹⁹⁷ at a later stage. Implicitly, Snyder thus places Poland both in Eastern and Western Europe, and creates a similarity between Eastern and Western Europe through this cultural connection. Snyder does not directly

¹⁸⁸ "United Europe, Divided Memory", *Timothy Snyder*, [online] <http://timothysnyder.org/united-europe-divided-memory/>, 14 April 2014.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ T. Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations...*, see i.e. pp. 1, 3, 15, 23, 37, 210.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 245.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-20, 106.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 277, see also pp. 5, 217, 255, 257-258, 260-261.

compare the discussed characteristics to Western Europe. Nevertheless, it is clear that these characteristics are the result of A specific historical events not necessarily shared with Western Europe, corresponding to Davies' and Applebaum's positions. Snyder *defies the presumption of inborn national traits*¹⁹⁸ and instead emphasizes the influence of history and personal experiences on the course of events.¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, he creates a temporal similarity with a combination of repeating cycles and constant change: *states, no less than nations, exist in time [...]. States are destroyed as well as created*²⁰⁰.

4.5. Terms of the self and the Other: the thematic dimension

Connolly's concept of agonistic respect is visible in different extents. Differences between Western and Eastern Europe are the result of particular historical experiences, not inherent national traits. This understanding of (the development of) characteristics shows respect for the situation and experiences of both. Since Snyder discusses the growing influence of European culture on Eastern Europe, which according to him results in a permanent cultural link, the idea of connections across differences is also present. Only the questioning of the faith of the self and/or the Other is absent in *The Reconstruction of Nations*.

Waldenfels' idea of in-between-worlds can be recognized in Snyder's discussion of Poland providing the cultural connection between Western and Eastern Europe. After the establishment of a cultural connection, the cultural sphere can be regarded as the in-between-world that forms a web of relations – and mutual understanding – between Eastern and Western Europe. However, especially in the 1990s and at present, this web of relations is arguably not equally strong in Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine and Belarus.

Stuurman's concept of common humanity can be regarded as an implicit assumption. For instance, in a discussion on ethnic cleansing, Snyder does not think that Ukrainians are particularly brutal or have different ethical norms, but rather that they react to circumstances as any human would, influenced by personal experiences. The anthropological turn is also only implicitly recognizable. Snyder sometimes uses comparisons to make the culture of the Other understandable, but seems to assume that it is not necessary to compare the self and the Other to understand, as it is already understandable. As already indicated, Snyder does not use the viewpoint of the Other to criticize the self. His view on temporality is more explicit, and as it creates temporal similarity instead of permanent difference, it enables a discourse of equality.

Paul Ricoeur introduces the idea of interwoven narratives. Snyder is very much aware of the narrative aspect of history writing. He employs the historical narrative, which *offer[s] a political perspective and at the same time undermine[s] the myth-making of vested interests*²⁰¹, and aims to show that national narratives are a creation involving

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 205.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 159-160, 162, 165.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

²⁰¹ T. Lane, "Book Review – Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations*", *Lituanus – Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences*, vol. 50, no. 4 (2004).

myth-making, referring to Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*²⁰². In his discussion of European identity, Snyder proposes a synthesis of different national narratives into one encompassing narrative, arriving from his conviction that the different self's and Other's play an important role in each other's narratives²⁰³. This is why *The Reconstruction of Nations* discusses four, not one, national ideas. It is the concept of narrative identity that is most visible in Snyder's work, which adheres to ideas of similarity and equality of Eastern and Western Europe.

5. POSTWAR: A HISTORY OF EUROPE SINCE 1945 BY TONY JUDT

5.1. A palimpsest of Europe's past: context

Tony Judt, born 1948 in London and deceased 2010 in New York, was a professor in European history. In 2005, his comprehensive *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* was published. In 1989, Judt realized that the sudden changes in Eastern Europe would also have important consequences for its past: "many longstanding assumptions would be called into question [...] the familiar, tidy story of what had gone before had changed forever."²⁰⁴ Because of this, Judt contends, the period 1945-1989 would be seen differently in retrospect, and the end of the separation of Western and Eastern Europe invited an account of Europe's post-war history that included both²⁰⁵. Postwar clearly places 1945-1989 in the context of the changes in 1989, illustrated by Judt's frequent use of the phrase *in retrospect*²⁰⁶. It was also in 1989 that Judt first imagined writing *Postwar*, when he travelled through Vienna, *a palimpsest of Europe's complicated, overlapping pasts*²⁰⁷.

In *Postwar*, Judt refers to many historians, authors or publications, yet his use of quotes and references is quite limited, with quotes used mainly to introduce the main argument of a chapter, or to put a conclusion in different words – thus employing the topoi of illustrative examples²⁰⁸. Judt characterized his *A Grand Illusion? An Essay on Europe* (1996) as a sketch for the last part of *Postwar*²⁰⁹, but apart from that *Postwar*

²⁰² T. Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations...*, pp. 10-12, 47, 251-252.

²⁰³ "United Europe, Divided Memory".

²⁰⁴ T. Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*, New York 2005, pp. 1-2; T. Judt, T. Snyder, *Thinking the Twentieth Century*, p. 249.

²⁰⁵ T. Judt, *Postwar...*, pp. 1, 2, 5; M. Freund, "Book Review: Tony Judt's Postwar", *The Vienna Review*, 1 October 2006, [online] <http://www.viennareview.net/vienna-review-book-reviews/upcoming-literary-events/a-history-of-two-europes>, 7 May 2014; D. Yerxa, "Postwar: An Interview with Tony Judt", *The Historical Society*, 14 November 2005, [online] <http://www.bu.edu/historic/hs/judt.html>, 7 May 2014.

²⁰⁶ T. Judt, *Postwar...*, see i.e. pp. 137, 242, 411, 592, 749.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 177, 570, 573, 651, 695.

²⁰⁹ T. Judt, T. Snyder, *Thinking the Twentieth Century*, p. 253; "Tony Judt Obituary", *The Guardian*, 8 August 2010, [online] <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2010/aug/08/tony-judt-obituary>, 7 May 2014.

falls outside most of his other work, and is also not easily comparable to other publications except perhaps Davies' *Europe: A History* (1996). Though Judt writes that this *was very much not the sort of book I wanted to write*²¹⁰, he shares Davies' view that historians seem unable to write a general, popular history book²¹¹. With Snyder, he shares the conviction that national narratives have blind spots and shortcomings, and Judt not only aims to include all European national histories, but also to *break down conventional East-West categories*²¹². Judt was closely acquainted with Snyder, and more superficially with Davies²¹³. Again, it seems that these authors share some premises about the writing of history.

5.2. Europe: construction and characteristics

Judt discusses Europe's history transcending the "traditional" East-West fault-line, while at the same time reasserting other fault-lines across Europe²¹⁴. Characterizing Europe, he writes that *in the intensity of its internal differences and contrasts, Europe is unique*²¹⁵, but also that Europe is shaped *just as much*²¹⁶ by what binds it. *Postwar* presents a variety of stories on what defines Europe on a more abstract level, which share a common basis: the traumatic impact of WWII and the perceived destruction of the European civilization²¹⁷.

The first of these European stories is a *history of Europe's reduction*²¹⁸. Europe's defeat, occupation, and subsequent liberation, together with the sometimes traumatic and humiliating loss of colonies, meant that *Europe could no longer aspire [...] to international or imperial status*²¹⁹. Instead, Judt argues, the focus shifted to European integration, leading to *a certain Euro-centric provincialism*²²⁰. The second story is *the withering away of the "master narratives" of European history*²²¹. Both in the East and the West, ideological projects from the Left or Right had lost their appeal by 1989²²². But eventually, new, less "grand" narratives would emerge at both sides of the Iron Curtain, in particular the narrative of individual rights²²³. The third story is the emergence of a distinct European

²¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 253-254.

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 262; N. Davies, *Europe East and West*, pp. 62-63.

²¹² T. Judt, T. Snyder, *Thinking the Twentieth Century*, pp. 281-282.

²¹³ Ibid., p. 253.

²¹⁴ T. Judt, *Postwar...*, p. 5; T. Judt, T. Snyder, *Thinking the Twentieth Century*, p. 282.

²¹⁵ T. Judt, *Postwar...*, p. xiii.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 762.

²¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 4-5, 7, 13-16.

²¹⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

²¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 7, 281, 294.

²²⁰ Ibid., p. 309, see also pp. 281, 292, 302.

²²¹ Ibid., p. 7.

²²² Ibid. pp. 318-321, 348, 401, 427, 447.

²²³ Ibid., pp. 539-547, 564-566.

social model²²⁴. For Judt, this is in essence what *binds Europeans together*²²⁵, and a result of specific European developments such as a change in role and expectations of the modern state after WWII²²⁶. It is reinforced by the less prominent fourth story on the relationship between America and Europe, which opposes the European social model to the American way of life²²⁷. The last story of Europe is *a story shadowed by silences; by absence*²²⁸. The “old Europe” was multi-cultural; multi-lingual; multi-national and multi-religious, including a large Jewish community, but after the genocide and deportations during and after WWII a more homogenous Europe emerged²²⁹. With the post-war period coming to a close, where silence over this episode of Europe’s past *was the necessary condition for the construction of a European future*²³⁰, memory, and in particular Holocaust recognition, has become Europe’s *entry ticket*²³¹. In fact, Judt asserts, *the recovered memory of Europe’s dead Jews has become the very definition and guarantee of the continent’s restored humanity*²³².

5.3. Tony Judt’s perspective

Though Judt’s grandparents were all Yiddish-speaking Jews originating from Tsarist Russia and Romania, his interest in Eastern Europe was only aroused when, in 1981, he met the Polish political sociologist Jan Gross, and intensified upon meeting the Czech student activist Jan Kavan²³³. About this, Judt writes: *Eastern Europe and east Europeans began to offer me a social life which in turn [...] became a new and redirected intellectual existence*²³⁴. Judt does not simply identify as a Jew, Briton, or American. Growing up in England and in a Jewish community, he writes: *The warm bath of identity was always alien to me [...] when I think or speak of the English, I instinctively use the third person: I don’t identify with them*²³⁵. And: *so if I grew up Jewish, it was as a decidedly non-Jewish*

²²⁴ Ibid., p. 7.

²²⁵ Ibid., p. 748; D. Yerxa, “Postwar: An Interview with Tony Judt”; P. Laity, “Uncomfortable Truths”, *The Guardian*, 17 May 2008, [online] <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2008/may/17/politics1>, 7 May 2014.

²²⁶ T. Judt, *Postwar...*, pp. 73, 77, 129, 263, 360-363, 423, 793.

²²⁷ Ibid., pp. 8, 223-224, 350, 787-790, 800; D. Yerxa, “Postwar: An Interview with Tony Judt”; P. Laity, “Uncomfortable Truths”.

²²⁸ T. Judt, *Postwar...*, p. 8.

²²⁹ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

²³⁰ Ibid., pp. 10, 61.

²³¹ Ibid., p. 803.

²³² Ibid., p. 804, see also p. 820.

²³³ T. Judt, “Edge People”, *NYRblog*, 23 February 2010, [online] <http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2010/feb/23/edge-people/>, 7 May 2014; T. Judt, T. Snyder, *Thinking the Twentieth Century*, pp. 201-202, 206-208.

²³⁴ T. Judt, T. Snyder, *Thinking the Twentieth Century*, p. 201, see also pp. 9, 203.

²³⁵ T. Judt, “Edge People”.

*Jew*²³⁶. The same holds for any other identities or affiliations²³⁷: *I prefer the edge: the place where countries, communities, allegiances, affinities, and roots bump uncomfortably up against one another—where cosmopolitanism is not so much an identity as the normal condition of life*²³⁸.

Writing about context, Judt argues that all scholars are *participants in our own time and place*²³⁹. Indeed, Judt states that *Postwar offers an avowedly personal interpretation of the recent European past*²⁴⁰. This is indeed visible, sometimes explicit (*The author [...] can vouch for*²⁴¹) but more often implicit. For example, his explanations of (the impact of) certain events reflect his personal convictions, sometimes explicitly denouncing common interpretations²⁴². Judt's position is thus visible in *Postwar*, but not in a simple self-Other classification. However, in *Postwar* it is not this personal self-Other distinction that is most important, but the breakdown of *conventional East-West categories*²⁴³ and the reassertion of other fault lines.

5.4. Western Europe and Eastern Europe: difference and similarity

In *Postwar* Judt traces, amongst other historical developments, the creation of the divide between the East and the West in the context of the Cold War. The division of Europe was *rooted in history*²⁴⁴, Judt asserts, pointing to tensions between the Soviet Union and America before the outbreak of WWII. Furthermore, the *geographical schism of Europe*²⁴⁵ was perhaps not a complete novelty, as Eastern and Western Europe always were different, Judt maintains²⁴⁶. Various references to such differences are made, such as the *few indigenous democratic or liberal traditions*²⁴⁷ in Central and Eastern Europe, or a *deeply asymmetrical*²⁴⁸ European memory as a result of the Eastern European suffering under Communism²⁴⁹. However, according to Judt, *the distinction between eastern and western Europe had not been the only one by which the continent understood itself, nor even the most*

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ T. Judt, T. Snyder, *Thinking the Twentieth Century*, p. 396.

²³⁸ T. Judt, "Edge People".

²³⁹ T. Judt, T. Snyder, *Thinking the Twentieth Century*, p. 285.

²⁴⁰ T. Judt, *Postwar...*, p. xiii, see also T. Judt, T. Snyder, *Thinking the Twentieth Century*, pp. 395-396.

²⁴¹ T. Judt, *Postwar...*, p. 619, see also pp. 75, 278, 402, 661, 750, 760, 831; M. Freund, "Book Review: Tony Judt's *Postwar*".

²⁴² T. Judt, *Postwar...*, i.e. pp. 559, 657, 665, 727-731, 830-831.

²⁴³ T. Judt, T. Snyder, *Thinking the Twentieth Century*, p. 282.

²⁴⁴ T. Judt, *Postwar...*, p. 104.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 195.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 137.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 626.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 621-623.

*important*²⁵⁰. *Postwar* also focuses on other fault-lines in Europe, as well as similarities. The similarities – the different stories of post-war Europe – are interwoven throughout the book. Other fault-lines within Europe that are discussed include immigrant- and emigrant-countries, Catholic and non-Catholic countries, and North-West Europe and the Mediterranean²⁵¹. Divisions within countries are also pointed out, such as the division between the Communist authorities and society, or sharp internal economic contrasts²⁵².

In *Postwar*, Judt does not make use of argumentation strategies that could justify exclusion or discrimination of the Other, and makes scarcely use of topoi, only using the topoi of comparison and contrast when discussing the different circumstances, for example in the economic or political situations in Eastern and Western Europe. Spatially, Judt creates a sense of possible equality by contending that Europe *is not so much about absolute geography [...] as relative geography*²⁵³ or who is “in” or “out”²⁵⁴. This leaves room for (re-)defining what Europe is. Temporally, he emphasizes the end of the old Europe and the beginning of a new, referring to Eastern and Western Europe alike²⁵⁵. This seems to rule out a cyclical movement of time. But more important, Judt points out the role of chance and circumstances in history, as well as the role of human agency: *while I never would deny the scale of the limitations and structures within which people have to work, especially in postwar Europe, I do emphasize agency and believe in it quite strongly*²⁵⁶.

It is clear that Judt does not believe that the progress of time as such determines events, which again creates the possibility of equality. While Judt points out some differences between Eastern and Western Europe, they are at least equally important as the similarities, and not more important than other fault-lines. The differences primarily emerge from different historical experiences and are not “inherent”, a position that corresponds with Applebaum, Davies and Snyder.

5.5. Terms of the self and the Other: the thematic dimension

Overall, Judt’s position is not very compatible with Connolly’s concept of agonistic respect. As *Postwar* is “opinionated”, Judt does not hold back on questioning certain interpretations of events, or certain (intellectual, academic) views, seemingly questioning the faith of an Other. His conception that possible differences between Eastern and Western Europe are not pre-determined or inherent but the result of specific historical experiences or human agents comprises a notion of respect for the experiences of both. But the idea of connections across difference is less visible in *Postwar*, mainly because the focus is not on differences as such.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 195.

²⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 195, 285, 376, 391.

²⁵² Ibid., pp. 202, 755.

²⁵³ Ibid., p. 753.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 752-753.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 1, see also pp. 40, 63.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 664; D. Yerxa, “Postwar: An Interview with Tony Judt”.

Waldenfels' concept of in-between-worlds is not very visible either. In *Postwar*, the traumatic impact of WWII and the perceived destruction of the European civilization, underpinning the different European stories, can form a basis of mutual understanding. Furthermore, two important European stories are identified: the European social model, and Holocaust recognition as Europe's entry ticket. But these form a web of relations to a much lesser extent than culture does for Davies and Snyder. Judt does not identify such a common culture, and therefore his position does not correspond completely with Waldenfels' ideas. The same holds true for Stuurman's idea of cosmopolitan egalitarianism. The concept of common humanity is an underlying, implicit conception of *Postwar*, mainly because *Postwar* does not differentiate between different "peoples" or imply that there are different norms and standards for different people. Judt's discussion of Holocaust recognition as the entry ticket to Europe illustrates this: it discusses how those that do not share this moral standing place themselves *beyond the pale of civilized public discourse*²⁵⁷, confirming to what extent such norms are shared. The second concept, the anthropological turn, is not very visible. Because Judt does not shy away from giving his own interpretations and explanations, he makes less use of self and Other comparisons and reversed viewpoints to understand or criticize. Instead, it seems that his own position, with his different identities and affinities, gives him enough ground to provide balanced explanations and criticisms himself. The third concept, temporality, is best visible in *Postwar*. Judt points out the role of chance and circumstances in history, as well as the role of human agency, which indicates that he does not believe that the progress of time as such determines events²⁵⁸. As inequality is thus not perceived as permanent or inherent, but dependent on circumstances and agency, this take on temporality creates the possibility of equality.

Ricoeur's idea of interwoven narratives of the self and the Other is perhaps most visible, as Judt explicitly introduces different European stories. In these stories Western and Eastern Europe both serve as actors, brought together in (multiple) European narratives. At the same time, Judt identifies the *withering away of the "master narratives" of European history*²⁵⁹, and is critical of certain narratives. For instance, he states *the conventional narrative of Communism's final collapse begins with Poland*²⁶⁰, but then argues that this does not hold true²⁶¹. Expressing such views, Judt must be aware that he himself is also involved in narrating, and in particular narrating European identity, especially with his focus on what binds European together. The interwovenness of the self and the Other in each other's narratives is visible in the inclusion of Western and Eastern Europe in the same European stories, but also on a pan-European level with the inclusion of various Others in Europe's different stories²⁶².

²⁵⁷ T. Judt, *Postwar...*, p. 804.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 664; D. Yerxa, "Postwar: An Interview with Tony Judt".

²⁵⁹ T. Judt, *Postwar...*, pp. 7, 559-563.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 585.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 589.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, i.e. pp. 6, 8-9.

CONCLUSION

The various self and Other perspectives are visible in the discussed publications to different extents. Connolly's concept of agonistic respect is more or less visible in all publications. All authors discuss, implicitly or explicitly, differences between Western and Central and Eastern Europe, and root them in historical developments and experiences. By showing understanding for the differences, they show respect across difference. The idea of commenting upon the worldviews of others is visible in Applebaum, Davies and Judt but less so in the case of Snyder. Questioning the faith of the self is only slightly visible in Davies' book. Though the idea of respect for difference can be regarded as a common characteristic, none of the authors appear to agree with Connolly's ideas entirely. In fact, Davies, stressing a profound similarity, and Judt, chiefly focusing on similarities, seem to go quite beyond Connolly's concept.

Waldenfels' concept of in-between-worlds is visible to varying degrees. For Davies and Snyder cultural ties form a web of relations between the worlds of the self and the Other. Davies focuses on fundamental cultural ties between Western Europe and Poland, and Snyder in turn regards Poland as cultural hub or in-between-world between Western Europe and the lands east of Poland. But the concept is less apparent with Applebaum and Judt, who do not elaborate on a profound cultural link. Judt seems to identify the traumatic impact of WWII as a basis for mutual understanding, but in his definition of Europe he rather seems to present characteristics than possible web(s) of relation. With regard to Applebaum, it was concluded that her background offers a basis for (mutual) understanding. This conclusion can apply to all authors and could also hold for their work: by elaborating both on differences and similarities, carrying Connolly's notion of respect, their work can be a basis for mutual understanding.

Siep Stuurman introduced the idea of cosmopolitan egalitarianism. The concept of common humanity is implicitly visible in all publications, evident in the tone of discussion, focus of the authors, and/or certain passages. The anthropological turn is only partly visible, as comparisons to understand the Other are frequently used by Davies, but only occasionally by Applebaum and Snyder, and scarcely by Judt. The realization that the Other also perceives "us" as their "Other" is visible in most of the publications, but again, criticism on the culture of the self is only visible by Davies. Regarding temporality, the authors share the view that the difference between the self and the Other is not permanent but the result of historical events, which enables a discourse of equality. However, the insistence of Applebaum and Davies on repetition and recurrent legacies respectively, can also create a discourse of difference and perhaps even inequality. Snyder and Judt's more pronounced views on temporality relate more clearly to a discourse of equality. With regard to Davies, it was noted that Stuurmans' concepts only hold in relation to intra-European discussions, not outside. This might also apply to the others, who for instance all distinguish between Europe and Russia.

Ricoeur's concept of narrative identity is perhaps most explicit in the discussed publications. Thus, Applebaum is quite aware of the narrative aspect of identity, especially in identity construction in the borderlands. Davies pays much attention to the connec-

tions between literature, politics and identity, and the interwovenness of narratives of the self and the Other is also quite visible in his writing. All authors are through their writing also involved in narrating identity, and Snyder and Judt are clearly aware of this. Snyder consciously includes four national narratives because of their interwovenness, reflects upon their involvement in myth-making, and proposes a synthesis of national narratives for European identity construction. Judt explicitly introduces different stories of Europe in which both Eastern and Western Europe serve as actors in interwoven narratives; and reflects upon, or criticizes, different (master) narratives of European history. Furthermore, all authors have a personal narrative that is interwoven with that of Central and Eastern Europe, albeit in different ways and to different extents. Judt reflects on this with his idea of “edge people”, where different identities come together in one’s personal identity, and one thus takes part in different identity narratives. His views might form the basis of a more practical elaboration of Ricoeur’s ideas on the dialectical relation between the self and the Other.

In the discussed publications the relationship between the self and the Other is not portrayed – as might perhaps be expected or possibly be desirable – as an amalgamation of the self and the Other. The relationship is certainly characterized by differences. The contrast with discourses that focus on radical difference, inferiority or exclusion is how these differences are perceived, namely not as problematic or undesirable but as the results of historic events, and that they are respected. Furthermore, similarities are addressed as well, either through a clear focus or premise (Judt, Davies) or as a consequence of the approach taken, creating the possibility of similarities (Snyder, Applebaum). Moreover, all authors are aware of the interwovenness of (narratives of) the self and the Other. Thus, a connection is made between the self and the Other that not so much transcends difference, but makes them an important part of each other’s narratives.

A shared discourse, and directions for a European-wide discourse

The research question also refers to a recent literary discourse that transcends a one-sided perspective. From the discussions of the authors’ backgrounds and perspectives, it emerged that many of the authors are acquainted: they are connected through the academia, advised each other during the writing process, or have reviewed each other’s work. Thus, Anne Applebaum and her husband Radosław Sikorski are acquainted with Norman Davies. Timothy Snyder is closely acquainted with Tony Judt. To what extent Judt and Snyder are acquainted with Norman Davies is unclear but they certainly know each other(s work).

The connections between these authors are interesting, as it emerged from the above discussion that they share a certain discourse on Central and Eastern Europe. Unavoidable differences left aside, the authors share an approach in their discussion of the relationship between Western Europe and Central and Eastern Europe that is characterized by respect, a focus on both differences and similarities, and an awareness of the interwovenness of their respective narratives. That they are somehow part

of the same circles indicates that this might not just be a coincidence, though it is not possible to ascertain what came first or what influenced what: the distinct discourse, or the acquaintance. Clearly, the discourse identified above is not limited to the four authors discussed, and other scholars, authors or journalists share this discourse with them. Finding out who shares this discourse with them could provide a starting point for a more elaborate inquiry into both the discourse and its participants.

The Discourse Historical Approach was developed by Wodak as a practical and problem-oriented method, aiming to formulate a critique that can contribute to *the transformation and improvement of communication*²⁶³. This study started with a remark on the discrepancy between the political reality of the European Union and the discourse of exclusion and inferiority of Central and Eastern Europe as Europe's Other. Considering this, the discussed discourse might hold directions for the further development of an inclusive, European discourse, which could in turn influence European identity construction.

Iver B. Neumann and Bahar Rumelili, who also put Connolly's hypothesis at the basis of their discussions on an Eastern European Other in European identity formation, also arrived at conclusions with regard to European identity formation²⁶⁴. Rumelili concludes that the hybrid nature of EU's collective identity, with its different relations with "Others" that produce or not produce relationships of Othering, is the greatest challenge to the EU becoming postmodern collectivity²⁶⁵. Neumann takes it one step further and puts forward a way to counter the increasingly present essentialist stories of the self and the Othering processes – against Eastern Others – that accompany it: the need for an alternative story of the self, or "as if" stories, on the European level²⁶⁶.

The discourse shared by Applebaum, Davies, Snyder and Judt might likewise hold directions for the development of a European-wide discourse that includes the same notions of respect and the interwovenness of narratives and identity. Indeed, some of the discussed authors give those directions quite clearly themselves. Norman Davies writes that his *Europe: A History* could foster the development of a European identity by providing a pan-European view of the past and the overcoming of the East-West distinction²⁶⁷. Timothy Snyder is likewise convinced that an understanding of Eastern European history is necessary to further develop European identity, and promotes a historical account of Europe's past that provides a synthesis of Eastern and Western European history²⁶⁸. And Tony Judt observes that the biggest threat to Europe is a lack of sense what European culture and identity are, while at the same time being involved

²⁶³ R. Wodak, "The Semiotics of Racism...", p. 324; R. Wodak, M. Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, p. 65.

²⁶⁴ I. B. Neumann, *Uses of the Other...*; idem, "Foreword", p. vi; B. Rumelili, "Constructing Identity and Relating to Difference..."

²⁶⁵ B. Rumelili, "Constructing Identity and Relating to Difference...", pp. 45-47.

²⁶⁶ I. B. Neumann, *Uses of the Other...*, pp. 24, 223, 227-228.

²⁶⁷ N. Davies, *Europe East and West*, p. 82.

²⁶⁸ "United Europe, Divided Memory".

in exactly such a project as Snyder and Davies promote, a synthesis of Eastern and Western European history²⁶⁹. These convictions are also conveyed in relation to current developments with an impact on European identity formation, like the crisis in Ukraine. In articles, columns and discussions Anne Applebaum, Norman Davies and Timothy Snyder offer an interpretation of the events in Ukraine that takes into account the ideas about European identity expressed above, discussing Ukraine's history and its European links in order to understand, explain, and show the interwovenness of the Ukrainian and European past and future²⁷⁰.

Considering these remarks, the discussed discourse – including these authors, and their publications – certainly provides directions for further development of an inclusive, European discourse, which could in turn influence European identity construction.

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²⁷⁰ A. Applebaum, "Nationalism Is Exactly What Ukraine Needs", *New Republic*, 13 May 2014, [online] <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/117505/ukraines-only-hope-nationalism>, 20 March 2016; T. Snyder, "The Battle in Ukraine Means Everything", *New Republic*, 12 May 2014, [online] <https://newrepublic.com/article/117692/fascism-returns-ukraine>, 20 March 2016; J. Masanauskas, "Visiting Historian Says Crimea's Annexation May Strengthen Ukraine", *HeraldSun*, 10 April 2014, [online] <http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/victoria/visiting-historian-says-crimeas-annexation-may-strengthen-ukraine/story-fni0fit3-1226880351674>, 20 March 2016; T. Rapp, G. Spörl, "Europe's New Status Quo: 'Ukraine Is Fighting Our Battle'", *Spiegel Online*, 23 May 2014, [online] <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/experts-discuss-what-ukraine-crisis-means-for-future-of-europe-a-971032.html>, 20 March 2016; T. Snyder, "Edge of Europe, End of Europe", *The New York Review of Books*, 21 July 2015, [online] <http://www.nybooks.com/daily/2015/07/21/ukraine-kharkiv-edge-of-europe/>, 20 March 2016.

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