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# 1918–1938–2018 Dawn of an Authoritarian Century?

Conference, 5–7 September 2018, Schloss Eckartsau, Lower Austria

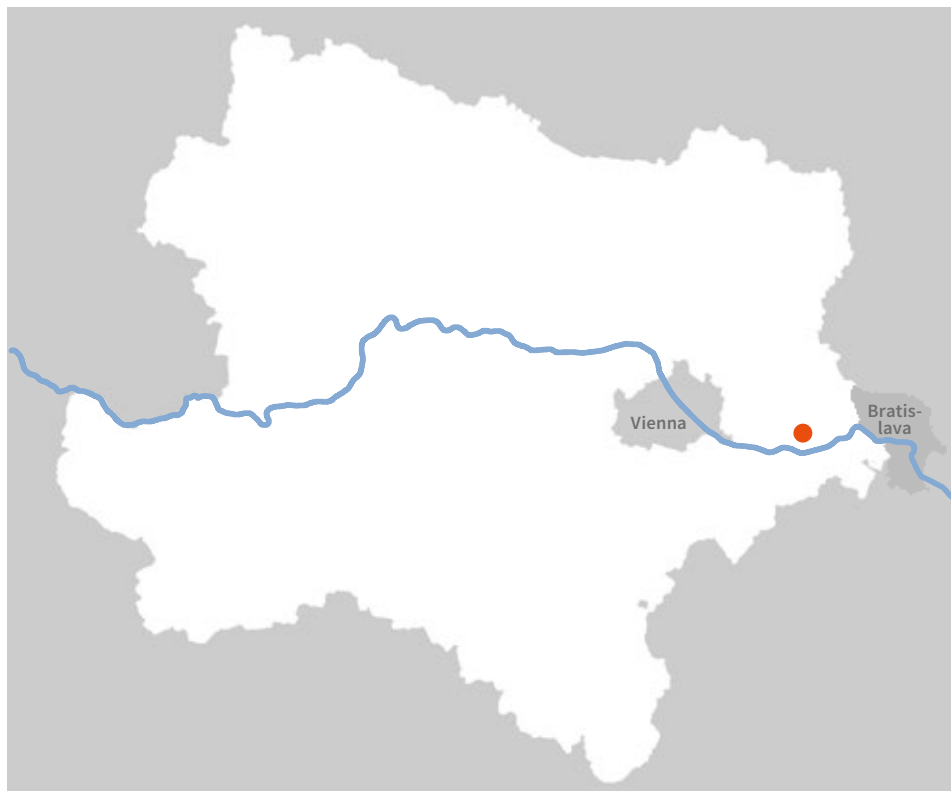
Registration required: [eckartsau2018.univie.ac.at/registration](https://eckartsau2018.univie.ac.at/registration)



# Map of Lower Austria

## Schloss Eckartsau 2305 Eckartsau

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### Address:

Österreichische Bundesforste  
Nationalparkbetrieb Donau-Auen  
Schloss Eckartsau  
2305 Eckartsau  
[www.schlosseckartsau.at](http://www.schlosseckartsau.at)

### By public transport:

Bus line 391 from U2 underground station Aspernstraße (Vienna) to Eckartsau Hauptplatz  
Journey planners:  
[www.vor.at](http://www.vor.at)  
[www.wienerlinien.at](http://www.wienerlinien.at)

### By car:

**from Vienna North:** B3 to Wagram/Donau – L8 to Eckartsau

### from Vienna South:

A4 to Fischamend – B9 to Bad Deutsch Altenburg – across the Donaubrücke bridge – B49-L8 to Eckartsau

### from Bratislava:

B9 to Hainburg – across the Donaubrücke bridge – B49-L8 to Eckartsau

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## About the Conference

2018 sees the commemoration of several important historical events in Austria and Germany that continue to have an influence on our society. Federal Agency for Civic Education, Bonn and the Department of Contemporary History of the University of Vienna is therefore holding this conference that focuses on the events of 1918 and 1938 as well as their extensive effects and possible influence on the course of future events. The location of the conference is also a part of this history; Schloss Eckartsau, where Emperor Karl signed the declaration relinquishing his claim to the Hungarian part of the empire on 13 November 1918.

We will focus on three significant events in European history which are commemorated with varying intensity in 2018:

November 1918 – the end of the First World War and the short-lived blossoming of parliamentary democracy that followed the fall of various monarchies but quickly transformed in many cases into authoritarian or totalitarian regimes.

March and September 1938 – the two military and geopolitical conditions of Hitler's aggressive expansion policies that would lead to the violence of the Second World War were created amid international compliance: the "Anschluss" of Austria, already eroded by Austro-fascism, and the dissolution of democratic Czechoslovakia through the Munich Agreement.

November 1938 – the targeted destruction of synagogues and the imprisonment of Jews in the National Socialist German Reich, including racially motivated murder. The events represented a radical next step on the path to the Shoah, the persecution and genocide of the European Jews.

In 1997, Ralf Dahrendorf foresaw developments that are currently occurring in Europe and internationally that have fundamentally questioned parliamentary democracy as the "politics of freedom" (Dahrendorf), identifying them as a social outcome of globalisation. The digital revolution has had a greater effect than the sociologist Dahrendorf could predict; living and working conditions have been radically changed and overturned with dramatic consequences for all traditional lifestyles and societal cohesion. The longing for a new "strong leader" continues to grow.

The aforementioned historical events will be critically examined within this context. The varying perspectives on history reflect the intensity of a parliamentary democracy and the political enlightenment. Empirical studies have shown that active political engagement to strengthen democratic decisions and processes is more pronounced when a nation is able to examine their own "national" history more critically. Whereas authoritarian conditions and less critical examinations of the respective "national" perceptions of history make the extreme emotional instrumentalisation of history for ideological or party-political purposes much easier.

## About the Venue

Schloss Eckartsau, first mentioned in the 12th century, lies amidst the scenic alluvial forest of the river Danube in Marchfeld, Lower Austria. It was owned by the Habsburg family and used as a hunting lodge until the end of the monarchy. After signing the declaration relinquishing any claim to the Austrian part of the Empire on 11 November 1918 in Schloss Schönbrunn in Vienna, Emperor Karl retreated to Schloss Eckartsau with his family with a view to trying to regain power of the Hungarian territories. However, on 13 November 1918 he had to sign a further declaration abdicating his claim to those areas too. This took place at Schloss Eckartsau. Schloss Eckartsau is now owned by the Austrian Federal Forests (Österreichische Bundesforste) who will kindly host the conference, and is used today for events and celebrations. It is also a popular destination for tourists who can book guided tours through the castle. In addition to the permanent exhibition on the national park Donau-Auen, a special exhibition "Karl & Zita – Im Schatten der Geschichte" (Charles and Zita – In the shade of history) will be shown in 2018. [www.schlosseckartsau.at](http://www.schlosseckartsau.at)

# Wednesday, 5 September 2018

## Session 1: Political Culture in Europe 1918 to 1939

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10:00

Registration

10:30

Main Hall

**Welcome address**

Rudolf Freidhager (Österreichische Bundesforste/  
Austrian Federal Forests)

11:00

Main Hall

**Keynote 1**

**The Long Shadow of the Paris Peace  
Treaties of 1919 and the Impact on  
Europe in 2018**

Margaret MacMillan (Oxford University)

**Keynote 2**

**The Balkan States and the Impact of  
Regional Political Cultures since 1918**

Oliver Schmitt (University of Vienna)

Discussant:

Ian Bateson (Journalist and Fulbright Scholar, Kiev)

12:30

Lunch break with the opportunity to look around  
the historic venue (guided tours)

14:30 (three parallel panels)

**Panel 1**

**Rise and Fall of Young Demo-  
cracies in Europe 1918–1939  
and Political Culture in 2018**

Room 1

Chair: Sylvia Kritzingner (University of Vienna)

**The Long Shadow of Authoritarianism in Central  
Europe in the 20th Century and Today**

Oliver Rathkolb (University of Vienna)

**The Legacies of the Past. Interwar Fascism  
Compared to Contemporary Right-Wing  
Populism**

Georgi Verbeeck (University of Leuven, and  
Maastricht University)

**National Socialism. The Career of an Ideology**

Ernst Piper (University of Potsdam)

**Panel 2**

**The Rule of Law and the  
Containment and Power  
of History after 1918**

Room 2

Chair: Claudia Kraft (University of Vienna)

**The Rule of Law after 1918 between  
Internationalism and Nationalism**

Miloš Vec (University of Vienna, and Institute for  
Human Sciences IWM, Vienna)

**Ahead of the Byzantine Empire (Instead of  
Rome): Anti-Western and Western-Sceptic  
Historical Narratives in the Hungarian Public  
Discourse**

István Kollai (Corvinus University, Budapest)

**Society Without History. From Post-Historicism  
to Post-Democracy**

Thomas Walach (University of Vienna)

**Panel 3**

**Macroeconomics and  
Democracy Redefined**

Room 3

Chair: Karin Scherschel (Hochschule RheinMain,  
Wiesbaden)

**Macroeconomic Policy Approaches to  
Strengthen Democratic Trends in Europe**

Georg Winckler (University of Vienna)

**The Elective Affinities toward Non-Democracy?**

Vjieran Katunarić (University of Zadar)

**Averting the Rise of the Right with a European  
Welfare State**

Harald Köpping Athanasopoulos (ARBEIT UND  
LEBEN Sachsen e.V., Leipzig)

16:00

Coffee break

17:00 Fireside chat

Main Hall

**The Historical Burden of 1918 for  
Europe Today: Are We at the Dawn of  
an Authoritarian 21st Century?**

Heinz Fischer (Former President of the Republic  
of Austria)

Elisabeth Holzleithner (University of Vienna)

Irina Scherbakowa (Memorial, Moscow)

Ivan Vejvoda (Institute for Human Sciences IWM, Vienna)

Chair: Eva Nowotny (University of Vienna)

19:00

Dinner at Schloss Eckartsau

# Thursday, 6 September 2018

## Session 2: The Escalating Persecution of Jews and Aggressive National Socialist Expansion Policies 1938

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10:00

Main Hall

### Introduction

William H. Weitzer (Leo Baeck Institute – New York|Berlin)

10:30

Main Hall

### Keynote 3

#### 1938 Point of No Return

Léontine Meijer-van Mensch (Jewish Museum Berlin)

### Keynote 4

#### 1938 and the Impact on German/Austrian Antisemitism and Preparation for the All-Out War

Sybille Steinbacher (Goethe University, and Fritz Bauer Institute, Frankfurt/Main)

Discussant: Frank Mecklenburg (Leo Baeck Institute – New York|Berlin)

12:00

Lunch break

13:00 (three parallel panels)

### Panel 4 Minority Rights and Deprivation of Rights 1938

Room 1

Chair: Werner Hanak

(Jewish Museum Frankfurt/Main)

#### How Germans Became Jews: National Socialist Expatriations of German Jews, Stateless Migrants and their Impact on the Human Rights Discourse

Miriam Rürup (Institut für die Geschichte der deutschen Juden/Institute for the History of the German Jews, Hamburg)

#### The Pogroms Before the Pogrom – Local Race Riots in Germany 1933–1938

Christoph Kreutzmüller (Jewish Museum Berlin)

#### A Handmaiden of Politics? The Changing Roles of Public Administration Between 1918 and 1938

Ulrike Schulz (Universität der Bundeswehr München/University of the Armed Forces, Munich)

### Panel 5 Flight and Migration

Room 2

Chair: Miriam Bistrovic (Leo Baeck Institute – New York|Berlin)

#### Feeling Powerless: Three Memories of Forced Migration from Journals, Diaries, and Oral Histories, 1921–2015

Simone Eick (Deutsches Auswandererhaus/ German Emigration Center, Bremerhaven)

#### “We were Refused Return to Austria”. Jewish Refugees from Austria in the Soviet Union

Olga Radchenko (Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University, Cherkasy)

#### Activist Citizen – Democratization and Forced Migration

Karin Scherschel (Hochschule RheinMain, Wiesbaden)

### Panel 6 Diaspora

Room 3

Chair: William H. Weitzer (Leo Baeck Institute – New York|Berlin)

#### “My Viennese Soul Recoiled”. How to Stay Austrian in the German-Jewish Diaspora

Sheer Ganor (University of California, Berkeley)

#### “My brother-in-law in Dallas attempts to issue us affidavits, hopefully he will be lucky”. Role of Transnational Social Networks in Forming of a New Diaspora Chapter

Magdalena M. Wrobel (Leo Baeck Institute – New York|Berlin)

#### The Expulsion of Polish Jews from Germany 1938 – Experiences of Refuge and Rescue in Transnational Perspective

Katharina Friedla (The International Institute for Holocaust Research Yad Vashem, Jerusalem)

14:30

Coffee break

# Thursday, 6 September 2018

## Session 3: Democracy and Authoritarianism, 1918 to 2018. A »Longue Durée« perspective

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15:00

Main Hall

### Introduction

Hans-Georg Golz (Federal Agency for Civic Education, Bonn)

15:30

Main Hall

### Keynote 5

#### Who are the People? Communication, Power, and the Rise of Anti-Democratic Politics

W. Lance Bennett (University of Washington, Seattle)

### Keynote 6

#### Pushing Authoritarianism and Populism? A Citizen Perspective

Sylvia Kritzinger (University of Vienna)

Discussant: Ivan Vejvoda (Institute for Human Sciences IWM, Vienna)

17:00

Coffee break

17:30 (three parallel panels)

### Panel 7

#### Continuous Transformations? Linking Past and Future

Room 1

Chair: Anne Klein (University of Cologne)

#### On Clowns and Hooligans. Romania 1918–1948–1989

Florian Kühner-Wielach (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich)

#### Poland: Deficient Democracy?

Włodzimierz Borodziej (University of Warsaw)

#### Role of Historical Legacy in the Democratic Transition Process. The Case of Albania, 1991–2016

Liana Suleymanova (Vienna School of International Studies, and University of Vienna)

### Panel 8

#### Post-Communist Democracies Renegotiated

Room 2

Chair: Miloš Vec (University of Vienna, and Institute for Human Sciences IWM, Vienna)

#### Weak Democracies Under Pressure. Contradictions Between the Democratic “Zeitgeist” and Ethnic Interpretations of the Polity in East Central Europe

Dieter Segert (University of Vienna)

#### Post-Communist Memorial Museums from the “Invocation of Europe” to an Authoritarian Backlash

Ljiljana Radonić (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna)

#### The Politics of Memory and Oblivion: Monuments of the Second World War in the Latvian Public Discourse

Ekaterina Vikulina (Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)

### Panel 9

#### Transformation After 1989, Women and the Future of Democracy

Room 3

Chair: Sybille Steinbacher (Goethe University, and Fritz Bauer Institute, Frankfurt/Main)

#### The Gender of Transformation(s) and the Transformation of Gender Regimes: Struggles for Recognition in Times of Political Upheaval

Claudia Kraft (University of Vienna)

#### Turbulent Transitions. Political and Ideological Reorientation in the United States after the End of the Cold War, 1989–1997

Roman Birke (University of Vienna, and Friedrich-Schiller-University, Jena)

#### Eastern Europe’s Illiberal Revolution. Its Intellectual Origins in the Long 20th Century. A Critical Analysis

Marc Stegherr (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich)

19:00

Dinner at Schloss Eckartsau

# Friday, 7 September 2018

## Session 4: The Future of Democracy in the 21st Century

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**10:00**

Main Hall

### Introduction

Oliver Rathkolb (University of Vienna)

**10:30**

Main Hall

### Keynote 7

#### Challenges to Democracy in the 21st Century

Wolfgang Merkel (Berlin Social Science Center WZB, and Humboldt-University, Berlin)

### Keynote 8

#### Media as the Fourth Estate? Between Agora and Tyranny in the Authoritarian Century

Katharine Sarikakis (University of Vienna)

Discussant: Philippe Narval (European Forum Alpbach, Vienna)

**12:00**

Lunch break

**13:00 (three parallel panels)**

## Panel 10 Migration, Education, and Democracy

Room 1

Chair: Hans-Georg Golz (Federal Agency for Civic Education, Bonn)

### Flight and Exile in the Culture of Remembrance

Gabriele Anderl (Freelance scholar and author, Vienna)

Anne Klein (University of Cologne)

### Strategies Against Discrimination. Political Education as a Keystone for Building Resilience to Authoritarian and Populist Tendencies

Hannah Hecker (Goethe University, and Fritz Bauer Institute, Frankfurt/Main)

Christoph Wenz (Goethe University, Frankfurt/Main)

### The Role of Informal Adult Education in the Development of Social Movements in the 21st Century

Alina Kislova (University of Glasgow)

## Panel 11 Agents of Change

Room 2

Chair: Johannes Piepenbrink (Federal Agency for Civic Education, Bonn)

### Gender and Democracy: Achievements and Challenges

Elisabeth Holzleithner (University of Vienna)

### Radicalized Language – Radicalized Politics? Language Sensitive Teaching in Civic Education

Georg Marschnig (University of Graz)

### The Discreet Charm of Friends in High Places, or: Why the New Authoritarianism May Be Green

Frank Uekötter (University of Birmingham)

## Panel 12 Media, Populism, Democracy

Room 3

Chair: Ljiljana Radonić (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna)

### The two German “Asylum Debates”: Lessons on How to Deal with Populism

Constantin Eckner (University of St Andrews)

### “Affectiveness” of New Media: Digital Threats on Democracy

Gleb Koran (European Humanities University, Vilnius)

### Coverage of the War in the Digital Era: Online Mass Media as an Illusion of Free Public Discussion (Battle of Ilovaik in the Focus of Ukrainian News Sites)

Nataliia Steblyna (Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University)

**14:30**

Main Hall

### Keynote 9

#### Roundup of the Conference

Ian Bateson (Journalist and Fulbright Scholar, Kiev)

Discussant: Oliver Rathkolb (University of Vienna)

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and History of Southeastern Europe  
at LMU München

  
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Institute for Human Sciences

 LEO BAECK INSTITUTE —  
NEW YORK | BERLIN  
for the Study of German-Jewish  
History and Culture

20 100 Jahre  
18 Republik Österreich

### Registration required

(€ 30 registration fee, limited number of participants):

[eckartsau2018.univie.ac.at/registration](http://eckartsau2018.univie.ac.at/registration)

### University of Vienna

Department of Contemporary History

**A** Spitalgasse 2-4/Hof 1, Tür 1.13, A-1090 Vienna

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### Conference Committee:

Linda Erker (University of Vienna)

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Johann Kirchknopf (University of Vienna)

Johannes Piepenbrink (Federal Agency for Civic Education, Bonn)

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