## Contents

List of Figures  Preface		ix x
1 7 9 9 2 9 2 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9 9	Introduction: The Puzzle of Central Europe The emerging puzzle The pivot of geopolitics? Approaching Central Europe	1 1 6 7
2 101 205 205	Germany: Mitteleuropa – Realm of the German Nation The narrative of German Central Europe Shifting identities: from Germany to Central Europe Nationalist dream or pragmatic customs union? Friedrich Naumann and wartime concepts Unsuccessful agitators vs. unimpressed government A tale of wartime Mitteleuropa Central Europe in German imperial policy	13 14 19 27 31 37 40 49
3	Austria-Hungary: Pan-German Paper Dreams The legacy of 1848: Austria goes its own way The pan-German movement The Belvedere Circle The pan-German revival Central Europe the Austrian way Challengers: from Kramář to Masaryk A winding path to a dead end Strength and weakness of the other	52 53 58 60 64 70 78 87
4	Britain and the United States: What the Enemy Covets 'Seat of war' Shifting threat perceptions	91 91 93

## THE IDEA OF CENTRAL EUROPE

	The Foreign Office and Masaryk's dismemberment plan	97
	The view from across the Atlantic: the Inquiry	102
	The stillborn mid-European Union of 1918	106
	The construction of the other	109
5	Central Europe 1880-1918: Unsuccessful Exercises in	
	Geopolitics	111
	The battle for definition	111
	Central Europe equals pan-German Europe	117
	Central Europe in policy-makers' minds	122
	Smart propaganda that failed	130
6	Variations in Time and Space	133
	Interwar discourse: from Danubian Federation to Reich,	
	1919–39	133
	World War II: return of the Middle Tier, 1939-45	147
	Cold War: a non-existent concept, 1945-84	160
	Breaking ice: the anti-politics of Central Europe, 1984-9	170
	A brand new game: integration tautology, 1989-2004	179
	The ebbs and flows of theorizing	192
7	Conclusions: Central Europe and Beyond	196
	The forging of Central Europe	196
	Central Europe is back. Again!	100
8	Postscript: Beyond Central Europe	
Appe	endix 1 'Tshirschky to Bethmann-Hollweg', 1 September 1914	203
Notes		209
Inde.	x	- 10

Challengers from Kramaffan Masaryky e 2022.