

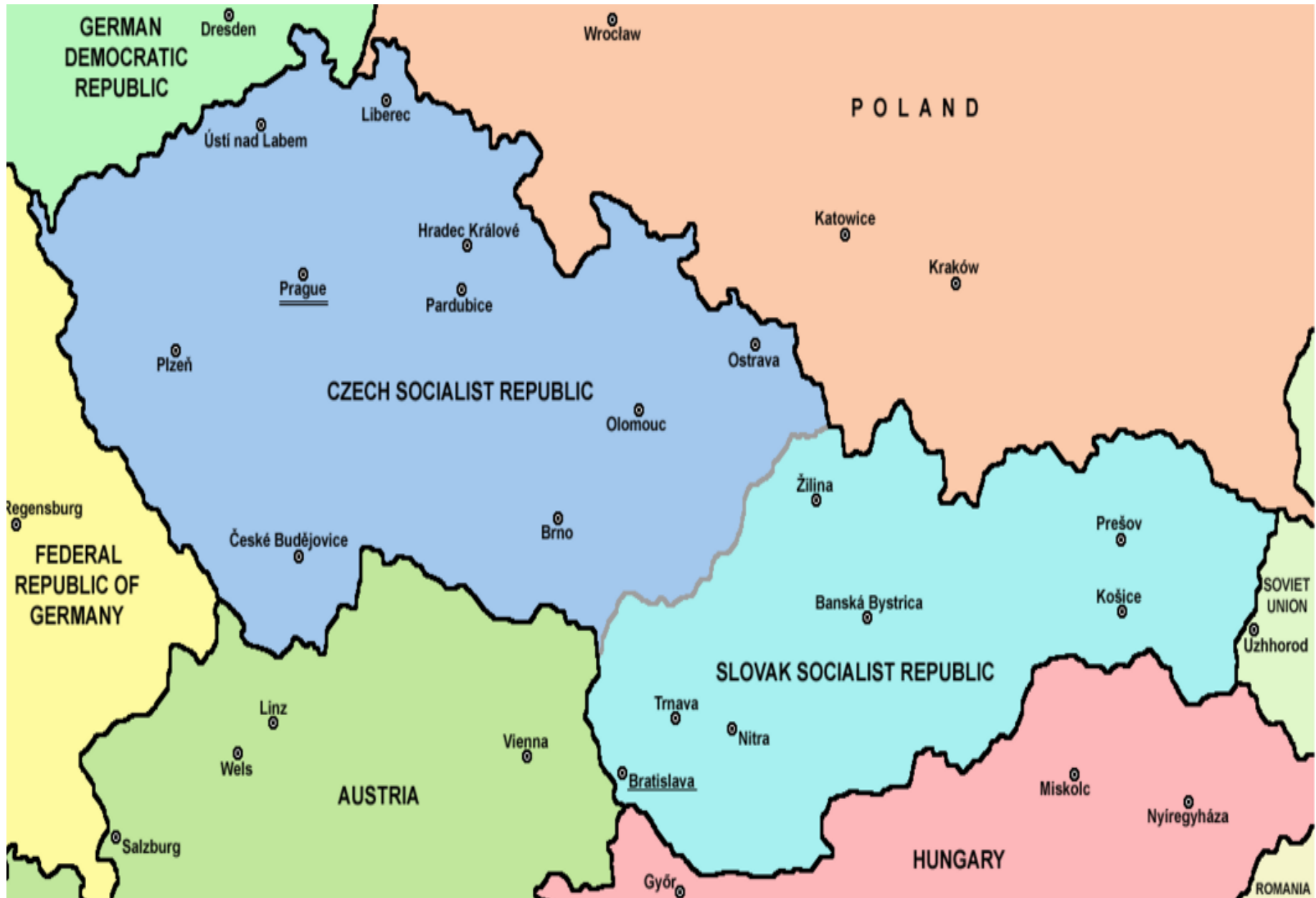
# History of Central Europe

End of Democracy



# Czechoslovakia after WWII

- Czechoslovakia was restored, but without the territory of Ruthenia (newly part of Soviet Union).
- The new government was established in Košice on 4 th April and moved to Prague in May 1945.



Czechoslovakia, 1918-92



# Czechoslovakia

- ration repository, ended 1953



- Lack of food
- 1947 - disastrous drought
- prerequisite for economic recovery
  - Monetary reform
  - Payroll reform
  - child benefit
  - Xmas benefits
  - extension of paid leave

X

Volume of industry  $\frac{1}{2}$  compare to before WWII

URNA

# UNRA

- **United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA)**, organization founded (1943) during World War II to give aid to areas liberated from the Axis powers. 52 participating countries, each of which contributed funds amounting to 2% of its national income in 1943. A sum of nearly \$4 billion was expended on various types of emergency aid, including distribution of food and medicine and restoration of public services and of agriculture and industry. China, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Italy, Poland, the Ukrainian SSR, and Yugoslavia were the chief beneficiaries. UNRRA returned some 7 million displaced persons to their countries of origin and provided camps for about 1 million refugees unwilling to be repatriated. More than half the funds were provided by the United States.



# Czechoslovakia after WWII

- Foreign policy – E. Beneš and others – advocated an alliance with the West and the East (continue of policy – exile) but they knew – USSR will be the main power factor in CE
- E. Beneš and J. Masaryk – Czechoslovakia – bridge between East and West – they didn't expect so fast division of the world and such development of USSR - consolidation of the Stalinist dictatorship and imperial policy
- CSR – not only communist party, democratic parties following Western concept of democracy but they couldn't rely on effective alliances with the West - dependence on the USSR
- J. Masaryk: „... I flew to Moscow as the Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs and return as Stalin's henchman...”

# Postwar political order

- Government at the local level = National Committee
- National Front of Czechs and Slovaks - Association of parties had representation in exile and to participate in the liberation
- Majority of approved parties – socialism
- New political order rely on Kosice government program - foundation of the People's Democratic regime
- Differed from parliamentary democracy - guaranteed the Constitution of 1920
- Non-communist parties didn't want to admit – KGP (Košice`s gover. prog.) – a lot of changes to parliamentary democracy

# KGP

- Czech and Slovak National Interests - Munich atonement, war damage and suffering
- Social and socializations steps - nationalization and land reform
- CSR: two equal nations
- Punishment of war criminals, collaborators and betrayers
- Czechoslovak citizenship lost: Germans and Hungarians, who ran afoul of the Republic
- X citizenship was given to those who actively fought against fascism
- Property transferred under national administration and then was confiscated and nationalized

# KGP

- Advantage of the Communist Party in government
- Legislative power in the hands of the President – decrees had to be signed by government and it was agreed once The National Assembly is established – decrees must be retrospectively approved, 89

# Nationalization and land reforms

- Banks, insurance companies, key industries and mines and industries with more than 500
- Planned economy
- Private sector and craft small
- Land reform (decree June 1945) – land of Germans or of collaborator - landless, peasant - in the borderlands

# Beneš Decrees

- The **Decrees of the President of the Republic** and the **Constitutional Decrees of the President of the Republic** commonly known as the **Beneš decrees**, were a series of laws drafted by the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in the absence of the Czechoslovak parliament during the German occupation of Czechoslovakia in World War II. They were issued by President Edvard Beneš from 21 July 1940 to 27 October 1945, and retroactively ratified by the Interim National Assembly of Czechoslovakia on 6 March 1946.
- The decrees dealt with various aspects of the restoration of the Czechoslovakia and its legal system, denazification and reconstruction of the country. In journalism and political history, the term "Beneš decrees" refer to the decrees of the president and the ordinances of the Slovak National Council dealing the status of ethnic Germans, Hungarians and others in postwar Czechoslovakia and represented Czechoslovakia's legal framework for the expulsion of Germans from Czechoslovakia.



# Potsdam Conference

- Based on the agreements of the Potsdam Conference was postponed until November 1, 1946 2,232,544 German inhabitants (in 1947 was expelled another 80 000 Czech Germans).
- Since the Potsdam conference also refused to approve a similar expulsion for citizens of Hungarian nationality, Czechoslovak government entered into with the Government of the Hungarian agreement on population exchange at which any member of the Slovak minority in Hungary to move into Czechoslovakia and for him he was moved to Hungary, a member of the Hungarian minority in the Slovak Republic. Under this agreement was deported to Hungary 90000 Slovak Hungarians.

# Potsdam Conference and Expulsion

- August 1945 – transfer of German population from Czechoslovakia and Poland, expulsion of Hungarian population was not agreed
- Related President's Decrees - revoke citizenship, National Administration of firms, confiscation of land
- Immovable property, valuables
- Personal luggage 30 – 50 kilos
- Organized transfer – 1946 - Allied Control council. 2, 256,000
- 1947 – 48 - Additional transfer - family reunification – 80, 000



- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g6IFfQdM7EI&feature=related>

# Expulsion of the German population

- May 1945 – wild expulsion (15,000 – 30, 000)!!
  - displacement and expulsion of German populations, Saxon, Austria – 660, 000



# Hungarian question

- In Slovakia 600, 000 Hungarians
- West powers did not agree with the transfer but 1946 - Czechoslovakian - Hungarian Agreement on exchange of populations (only 73,000 to Slovakia and quite a lot of Romas)

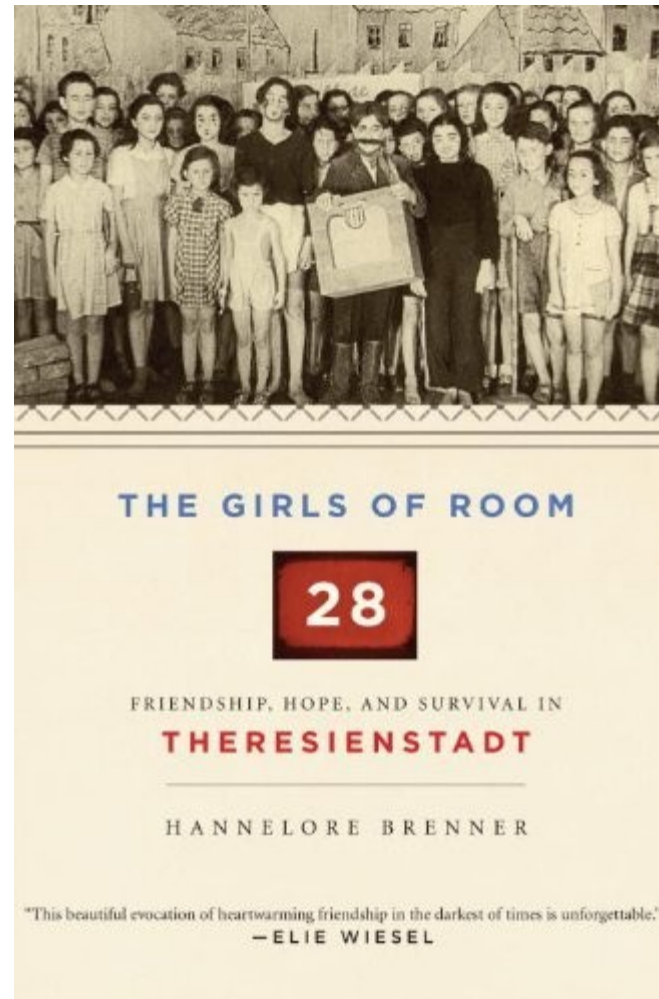
# Jewish population

- Open asylum policy, pro – Jewish state policy
- Anna Hanusová – Flachová



Historical Czech Jewish population		
Year	Pop.	±%
1921	125,083	—
1930	117,551	-6.0%
1945	18,000	-84.7%
1970	7,000	-61.1%
2000	4,000	-42.9%
2010	3,900	-2.5%

- BRENNER, H.: *The Girls of Room 28: Friendship, Hope, and Survival in Theresienstadt*. New York 2009.



# Jewish population

- CSR – trying to solve transfer of Eastern Jews (Poland) and strong support for the establishment of an independent state in Palestine
- UN – CSR supported establishment of Israel and provided military aid
- Integration of Jewish population to Czechoslovak society – difficult – as many of Jews - German nationality
- Antisemitism
- return of property to persons of Jewish origin

# Jewish population

- disappointment, Israel, injustice, coup d'Etat 1948
- Since 1947 - departure of Jews from CSR
- After April 1949 only 500 Jews in CSR

# Jewish population

- The Communist coup of February 1948, and the establishment of the State of Israel in May of that year, led to a mass migration of Jews from Czechoslovakia. Between 1948 and 1950, 18,879 Jews went from Czechoslovakia to Israel, while more than 7,000 emigrated to other countries. When emigration was barred by the Communist authorities, in 1950, the number of Jews still remaining had dropped to some 18,000, while some 5,500 of them were still registered for migration to Israel. There were sporadic instances of Jewish emigration after 1954 but only from 1965 were 2,000–3,000 Jews allowed to leave Czechoslovakia. After the Soviet invasion in August 1968, 3,400 Jews left the country, according to a spokesman of the American Joint Distribution Committee in Vienna. It may therefore be assumed that at the end of 1968 there were less than 12,000 Jews left in Czechoslovakia. In June 1968, Rudolf Iltis of the Council of Jewish Communities in Bohemia and Moravia gave their average age as 60, while in the 15–20 age group there were only 1,000 Jews left. He also added that "with the exception of a few communities in Slovakia, the demographic situation of Czechoslovak Jewry does not necessitate religious instruction, because there are not enough children of school age."



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# Roma population

- $\frac{1}{4}$  of Romas victims from Czech lands
- controlled assimilation

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- Zeman, Z.: *The Life of Edvard Beneš, 1884-1948: Czechoslovakia in Peace and War*. Clarendon Press, 1997.

# The defeat of democracy

- 1946 – last democratic election - Constituent National Assembly
- Only parties united in National front
- restoration of the structure of state power, the formation of CNA, which should prepare a new constitution
- Parties: Communists (1,000,000) – chairman K. Gottwald
- National Socialists (520, 000) – P. Zenkl, middle class, continuity – T.G. Masaryk and E. Beneš
- The People's Party – J. Šrámek
- Social Democrats – Z. Fierlinger
- Democratic Party – J. Letrich – Slovakia,...

- Between May 1945 and May 1946, KSČ membership grew from 27,000 to over 1.1 million.
- E. Beneš continued as president of the republic, and Jan Masaryk, son of the revered founding father, continued as foreign minister. K. Gottwald became prime minister. Most important, although the communists held only a minority of portfolios, they were able to gain control over such key ministries as information, internal trade, finance and interior (including the police apparatus). Through these ministries, the communists were able to suppress noncommunist opposition, place party members in positions of power, and create a solid basis for a takeover attempt.
- The year 1947 that followed was uneventful. The CP continued to proclaim its *national* and *democratic* orientation. The turning point came in the summer of 1947. In July, the Czechoslovak government, with KSČ approval, accepted an Anglo-French invitation to attend preliminary discussions of the Marshall Plan. The Soviet Union responded immediately to the Czechoslovak move to continue the Western alliance: J.V. Stalin summoned K. Gottwald to Moscow.
- Upon his return to Prague, the CP reversed its decision. In subsequent months, the party demonstrated a significant radicalisation of its tactics. The CP argued that a reactionary coup was imminent, and that immediate action was necessary to prevent it. Through media and police means, they intensified their activity. Originally announced by K. Gottwald at the CP Central Committee meeting in November 1947, news of the "reactionary plot" was disseminated throughout the country by the communist press.

# Election 1946

- Czech lands:
  - Communists – 40% (Klement Gottwald)
- X
- Slovakia:
  - Democratic Party – 62% x Communists – 30%



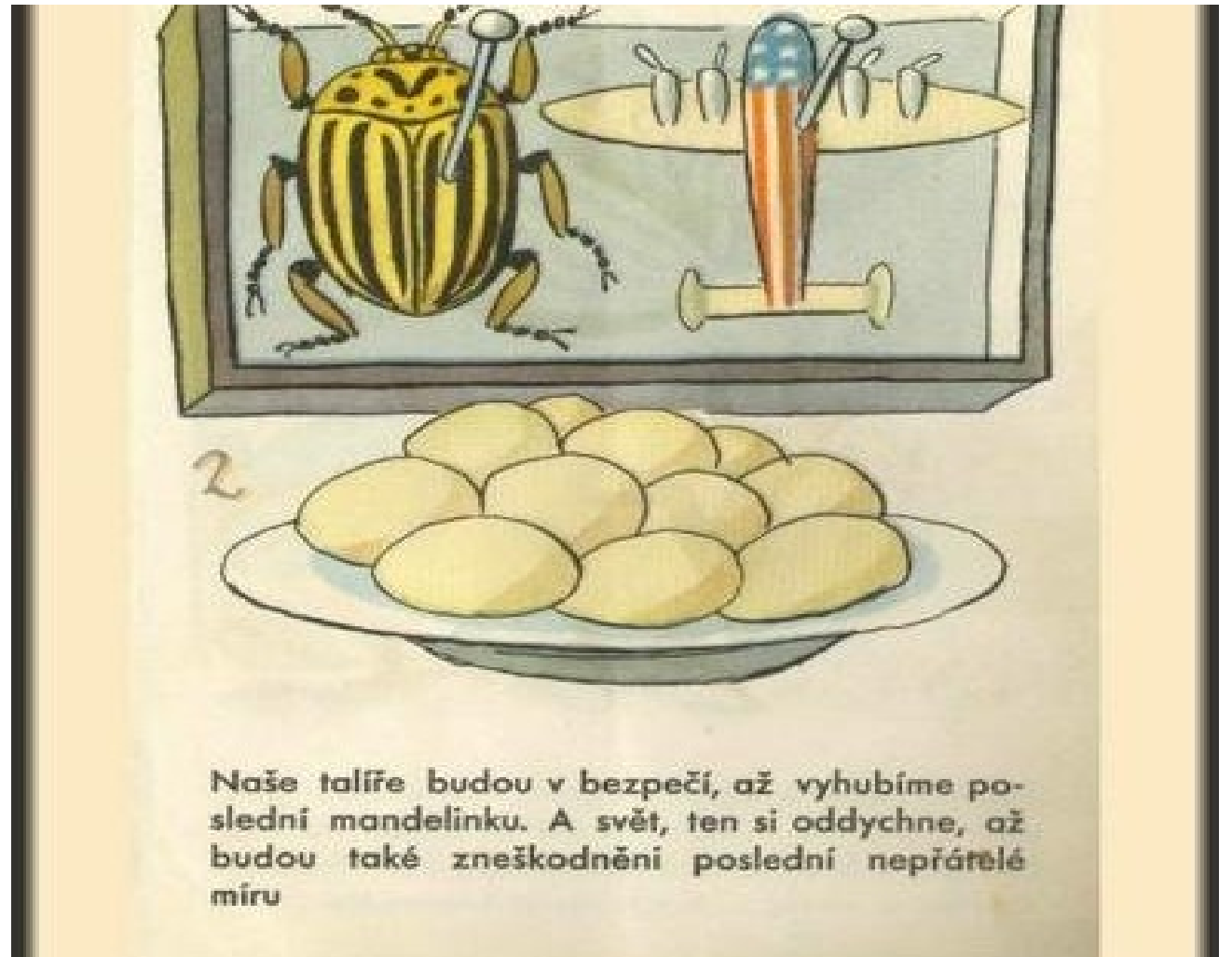
<b>Party</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Seats</b>
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia	2,205,697	31.2	93
Czech National Social Party	1,298,980	18.4	55
Czechoslovak People's Party	1,111,009	15.7	46
Democratic Party	999,622	14.1	43
Czechoslovak Social Democracy	855,538	12.1	37
Communist Party of Slovakia	489,596	6.9	21
Freedom Party	60,195	0.9	3
Labour Party	50,079	0.7	2
Invalid/blank votes	59,427	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>7,130,143</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>300</b>

# Growing power of left

- Negotiations on forming a government – a lot of disputes led by National Socialists (wanted democracy)
- Communist - Ministry of Interior Aff.; Ministr of Foreign Aff. J. Masaryk; Ministr of national Security L. Svoboda; deputy of Prime Minister P. Zenkl
- Main goal: 2 two-year economic plan and the new constitution
- Growing political tention – non cummunist parties profiling as an anti-communist
- 1947 – drought
- Ration supply
- Reduction of the supplying – growing black market
- Slovakia – real poverty
- Soviet Union help – 600,000 tons of grain x propaganda – Soviets saved Czechoslovakia again...



Sekora, Ondřej:  
1950.



# Communists

- Propaganda and publicity campaigns, mass protests, staged affair and assassination attempts, some of the policy component – provocation and espionage + close ties to the Soviet Union → effort to influence opinion about situation in Czechoslovakia
- Convergence process of democratic forces began late – lack of unifying personality



# Millionaire Dose

- Communists – mass POPULARITY
- Extra income to the Treasury
- Government succumbed to pressure – state budget + 6,000,000,000 Czechoslovak crown (76 304 993 000 Kčs)



# Before February 1948

- Non communist opposition hope – new elections planned for spring 1948
- Main aim - preservation of democratic principles
- 1947/1948 – dispute about anything in National Front, in government, national committee,....2 blocs
- 19<sup>th</sup> February 1948 – Valerian Zorin Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of USSR – arrived to Praha. He Prompted K. Gottwald, if need, asked for Soviet military aid (soviet army was ready – slovak/hungarian borders)
- K. Gottwald refused direct military intervention

# Coup d`etat 1948

- Specific suggestions to the government crisis – Corps of state security
- Non communists criticized the investigation procedure in some political affaires - protesting at government meeting, but no reaction from min. of Interior – these ministers refused to participate next gm
- 20<sup>th</sup> February 1948 12 ministers (3 non communistic government parties) resigned
- They hoped that: President will not accept their resignation. They expected new election of resignation of CP
- They wanted to resolve the government crisis Parliamentary ways x CP started counterattack

# Coup d`etat 1948

- CP – 21<sup>st</sup> February organized manifestation – Old Town Square, Praha
- Pressure on President
- Only 2 actions supporting democracy – university Students in Praha – marches and support to President
- President E. Beneš accepted demission of 12 ministers, affraid of civil war, millitary intervantion from USSR and neverending pressure of CP

# 25<sup>th</sup> February 1948

- President Edvard Beneš accepted demission of the ministers and the new government was accepted (Gottwald' s proposal), majority Communists = mission completed
- Action Committee
- June 1948 merging: Communists and SD
- May 9<sup>th</sup> new constitution , E. Beneš refused to sign
- End of May – parliamentary election – manipulated
- E. Beneš resigned and died
- New President Klement Gottwald, prime minister Antonin Zápotocký
- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WNFMmgE8etY>

# Period of Repression and Lawlessness

- Emigration
- Manifestations of discontent (Sokol festival)
- State Security - goal to end the regime's opponents, help from Soviet advisors →
- Wave of terror similar to the Nazi regime
- First victims: enemy of the regime → political processes - people were prosecuted for crimes they did not commit!!!
- 1949 General Heliodor Pika was executed
- June 1950 process with the National Socialist MEP Milada Horaková

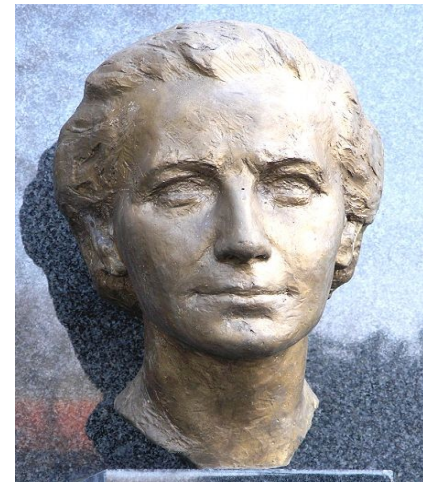


Milada Horaková



# Dr. Milada Horaková

- Milada Horaková along with others were sentenced to death and despite the protests of prominent foreign figures e.g. Albert Einstein, Winston Churchill or Eleanor Roosevelt, (contrived conspiracy and treason), judicial murder
- <http://www.radio.cz/en/section/special/olga-hruba-supporter-of-milada-horakova-and-campaigner-for-religious-freedom>
- Show trials: priest, diplomats, officers,
- Participants of resistance



# 1950<sub>s</sub>

- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8tNMgCGaHyM>
- Later also against Communists – Rudolf Slanský, some of trials – antisemitic, Gustav Husák
- Economy: central planning, tasks that have to be fulfilled were included in the five-year plans, collectivization, decline in living standards, 1953 monetary reform, president Antonín Zapotocký

# Poland

- After WWII – most powerful Polish Workers' Party (*Polska Partia Robotnicza*; PPR) under Władysław Gomułka and Bolesław Bierut
- 1946 a national plebiscite, known as the "3 times YES" referendum, was held first, instead of the parliamentary elections
- The Communists consolidated power by gradually whittling away the rights of their non-Communist foes, particularly by suppressing the leading opposition party – Mikołajczyk's Polish People's Party (PSL).

# Poland

- In some widely-publicized cases, their perceived enemies were being sentenced to death on trumped up charges — among them Witold Pilecki, the organizer of the Auschwitz resistance; and numerous leaders of Armia Krajowa and the Council of National Unity. Many resistance fighters were murdered extrajudicially, or forced to exile

# Poland

- ◎ By 1946, all rightist parties had been outlawed, and a new pro-government Front of National Unity was formed which included only the forerunner of the communist Polish United Workers' Party and its leftist allies.
- ◎ January 19, 1947, the first parliamentary elections took place featuring PPR candidates and a token opposition from the Polish People's Party already powerless due to government control. Results were adjusted by Stalin himself to suit the Communists. Through rigged elections, the regime's candidates gained 417 of 434 seats in parliament (*Sejm*), effectively ending the multi-party system in politics.
- ◎ Many opposition members, including Mikołajczyk (threatent), left the country.
- ◎ Western governments did not protest, which led free-spirited Poles to speak about a continued "Western betrayal" regarding Central Europe. In the same year, the new Legislative Sejm created the Small Constitution of 1947.
- ◎ Over the next two years, the Communists monopolized their political power in Poland

# Poland

- In 1948, the Communists and Cyrankiewicz's own faction joined ranks to form the Polish United Workers' Party in power for the next four decades.
- Poland became a *de facto* single-party state, and a satellite state of the Soviet Union.
- Only two other parties were allowed to exist legally, a small one for the farmers (United People's Party) and a token one for the intelligentsia, called the Democratic Party
- A period of Sovietization and Stalinism started

# Stalinist era (1948–1956)

## Poland

- 1948 September, Communist leader Władysław Gomułka, who opposed Stalin's direct control of the Polish party, was charged with "nationalistic tendency" and dismissed from his posts of First Secretary. He was arrested by the Ministry of Public Security.
- W. Gomułka was put under house arrest without typical show trial, and released unharmed a few years later, in 1954 or 1955.
- Bierut replaced him as party leader until his own sudden death
- The new government was controlled by Polish Communists aided by the Ministry of Public Security, and the Soviet "advisers" who were placed in every arm of the government as guarantee of the pro-Soviet policy of the state



# Stalinist era (1948–1956)

## Poland

- The most important of them was Konstantin Rokossovsky Defense minister from 1949 to 1956, former Marshal in the Soviet Armed Forces, backed by a slew of well-trained Russian Commissars in control of Polish state security.
- The Soviet-style secret police and UB grew to around 32,000 agents as of 1953. There was one UB agent for every 800 Polish citizens. The MBP ministry was also in charge of Internal Security Corps, the Civil Militia, Border guard, prison staff and paramilitary police used for special actions (with 125,000 members). For many years, the public prosecutors and judges as well as functionaries of MBP, engaged in acts recognized by international law as crimes against humanity and crimes against peace, such as the torture and execution of seven members of the 4th Headquarters of anti-Communist organization in the Mokotów Prison in Warsaw after the official amnesty and their voluntary disclosure. All executed members of WiN took active part in anti-Nazi resistance during World War II. The postwar Polish Army, intelligence and police were full of Soviet NKVD officers who stationed in Poland with the Northern Group of Forces until 1956.
- Mass arrests continued during the early 50's – in October 1950, 5,000 people were arrested in one night, in so called "Operation K"; in 1952 over 21,000 people were arrested. According to official data, there were 49,500 political prisoners in the second half of 1952.

# Stalinist era (1948–1956)

## Poland

- The government control over art and artists deepened. The Soviet-style Socialist Realism became the only formula accepted by the authorities after 1949. Most works of art and literature presented to the public had to be in line with the voice of the Party.
- persecuting the Catholic Church ("PAX Association") created in 1947 worked to undermine grassroots support from Roman Catholicism and attempted to create a Communism-friendly Church.
- 1953 the Cardinal Primate of Poland Stefan Wyszyński, was placed under house arrest, although before that he had been willing to make compromises with the government.
- In the early 1950s, the war against religion by secret police led to the arrest and torture of hundreds of Polish religious personalities, culminating in the Stalinist show trial of the Kraków Curia.

# Stalinist era (1948–1956)

## Poland

- Polish Constitution of 1952 officially established Poland as a People's Republic, ruled by the Polish United Workers' Party, which since the absorption of the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1948 had been the Communist Party's official name.
- The post of President of Poland was abolished, and Bierut, the First Secretary of the Communist Party, became the effective leader of Poland.

# Hungary

- August 1949 the parliament passed the new constitution of Hungary (1949/XX.) modeled after the 1936 constitution of the Soviet Union
- The name of the country changed to the People's Republic of Hungary, "the country of the workers and peasants" where "every authority is held by the working people,,
- Socialism was declared as the main goal of the nation. A new coat-of-arms was adopted with Communist symbols, such the red star, hammer and sickle

# Stalinist era (1949–1956)

- Mátyás Rákosi, Hungarian Working People's Party was de facto the leader of Hungary, possessed practically unlimited.
- His main rivals in the party were the 'Hungarian' Communists who led the illegal party during the war in Hungary, and were considerably more popular within party ranks.
- Their most influential leader, László Rajk, who was minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, was arrested in May 1949. He was accused of rather surreal crimes, such as spying for Western imperialist powers, L. Rajk was found guilty and executed.
- In the next three years, other leaders of the party deemed untrustworthy, like former Social Democrats or other Hungarian illegal Communists such as János Kádár, were also arrested and imprisoned on trumped-up charges.

# Stalinist era (1949–1956)

- The showcase trial of L. Rajk.
- Mátyás Rákosi now attempted to impose totalitarian rule on Hungary. The centrally orchestrated personality cult focused on him and Joseph V. Stalin soon reached unprecedented proportions. Rákosi's images and busts were everywhere, all public speakers were required to glorify his wisdom and leadership.
- Secret police persecuted all 'class enemies' and 'enemies of the people'. An estimated 2,000 people were executed and over 100,000 were imprisoned. Some 44,000 ended up in forced-labor camps, where many died due to horrible work conditions, poor food and practically no medical care. Another 15,000 people, mostly former aristocrats, industrialists, military generals and other upper-class people were deported from the capital and other cities to countryside villages where they were forced to do hard agricultural labor.
- These policies were opposed by some members of the Hungarian Working People's Party and around 200,000 were expelled by Rákosi from the organization.

# Stalinist era – show trial

- Preparations for a show trial started in Budapest in 1953<sup>l</sup>to prove that Raoul Wallenberg had not been dragged off in 1945 to the Soviet Union but was the victim of cosmopolitan Zionists
- For the purposes of this show trial, three Jewish leaders as well as two would-be "eyewitnesses" were arrested and interrogated by torture. The show trial was initiated in Moscow, following Stalin's anti-Zionist campaign.
- After the death of Stalin and Lavrentiy Beria, the preparations for the trial were stopped and the arrested persons were released.

# Imre Nagy and reforms

- As Hungary's new Prime Minister, Imre Nagy slightly relaxed state control over the economy and the mass media and encouraged public discussion on political and economic reform.
- In order to improve the general supply, he increase the production and distribution of consumer goods and reduced the tax and quota burdens of the peasants.
- Nagy also closed forced-labor camps, released most of the political prisoners - Communists were allowed back into Party ranks
- Gábor Péter, was convicted and imprisoned in 1954
- All these rather moderate reforms earned him widespread popularity in the country, especially among the peasantry and the left-wing intellectuals.



# Rákosi's second reign

- 1955, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party condemned Nagy for "rightist deviation". Hungarian newspapers joined the attacks and Nagy was accused of being responsible for the country's economic problems and on 18 April he was dismissed from his post by a unanimous vote of the National Assembly. Nagy was even excluded from the Party
- Rákosi once again became the unchallenged leader of Hungary.
- Rákosi's power was undermined by a speech made by Nikita Khrushchev in February 1956, in which he denounced the policies of Joseph Stalin and his followers in eastern Europe and the cult of personality
- Ernő Gerő, as his successor, who was unpopular and shared responsibility for most of Rákosi's crimes.
- The fall of Rákosi was followed by a flurry of reform agitation both inside and outside the Party. László Rajk of the showcase trial of 1949 was cleared of all charges, and on 6 October 1956, the Party authorized a reburial, which was attended by tens of thousands of people and became a silent demonstration against the crimes of the regime. On 13 October it was announced that Imre Nagy had been reinstated as a member of the party.

# Stalin's death

- J. V. Stalin died in 1953.
- 1953 and 1958 Nikita Khrushchev outmaneuvered his rivals and achieved power in the Soviet Union.
- March 1956 Khrushchev denounced Stalin's cult of personality at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.
- The de-Stalinization of official Soviet ideology left Poland's Stalinist hard-liners in a difficult position
- In the same month as Khrushchev's speech, as unrest and desire for reform and change among both intellectuals and workers was beginning to surface throughout the Eastern Bloc, the death of the hardline – changes.

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- Feis, H.: *Between War and Peace: The Potsdam Conference*. Greenwood Publishing Group, 1983.
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