

HISTORY OF CENTRAL EUROPE

Anti Soviet action

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 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 and his fellow victims of the showcase trial of 1949 were 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.

WARSAW PACT 1955 - 1991

- ◉ The Warsaw Treaty Organization of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance - Warsaw Pact: mutual defense treaty btw eight communist states of Eastern Europe
- ◉ Treaty was established under the initiative of the Soviet Union on 14 May 1955 Warsaw
- ◉ The Warsaw Pact military complement to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CoMEcon), regional economic organization for the communist states of Eastern Europe
The Warsaw Pact was a Soviet military reaction to the integration of West Germany into NATO in 1955

FIRST CRISES IN SOVIET BLOCK

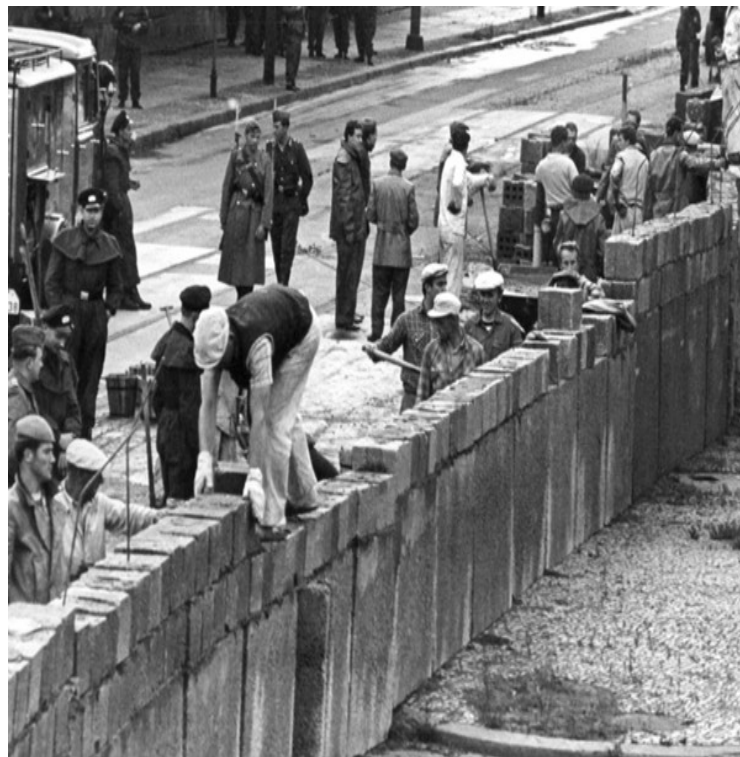
- ◉ After J.V. Stalin death 1953 - hope for change
- ◉ Growing dissatisfaction in
- ◉ Demonstration: raise (salary), enough food, trouble-free supply
- ◉ Slowly began to manifest itself incidents of political dissent
- ◉ These conflicts were compounded by fighting Stalin's followers (after his death in Soviet Union)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND GDR

- First signs of dissatisfaction with the low standard of living, cultural bankruptcies and brutal case of political persecution
- Czechoslovakia: monetary reform 30th May 1953 - devaluation savings, increased food prices, clothing, and other goods and also meant a crisis of confidence the population
- GDR: expression of discontent among Berlin construction workers - 17th June 1953 - strike - riots spread
- Workers' uprising was stopped by Soviet tanks and state of emergency

- Walter Ulbricht - General Secretary and President of the National Council- repressive measures → continuous flow of refugees to the West
- 1949 - 1961 from GDR to West - 2, 700, 000
- Mainly very good educated - top experts from all sectors
- August 1961 - construction on Berlin Wall - as prevention

BERLIN WALL



POLISH OCTOBER 1956

- another crisis communist regime after the XX Congress - February 1956 - revealed of the bloodiest sides of Stalinist regime brought in all the countries of the Soviet bloc profound moral and ideological crisis
- Poland: assassinated of polish communist leaders in soviet prison (before War) - strengthening opposition (center: catholic church) and weakened Communist regime and hatred from WWII for Soviet War crimes in Poland

- ◉ June 1956 - Poznan - Workers' uprising, violent suppression, 50 people died
- ◉ All over country: formed Workers' councils
- ◉ Crises in Communist Party: neo-Stalinist x reformists
- ◉ Confrontation culminated - October 1956
- ◉ Leader of Polish united Workers party after 8 years of prison - Wladyslaw Gomulka
- ◉ Situation was dramatically
- ◉ Even N.S. Khrushchev came to Poland, soviet tanks, demonstration in streets, ...
- ◉ Changes: soviet marshal Rokossovskij left Polish army, some Catholic priests were released, relaxation of censorship

- ◉ Economical changes: small private business, agricultural cooperatives - canceled, 87% of farmland - private again
- ◉ 1957 - restoration of censorship and artistic and scientific life again under strict control of Communist Party and Workers' councils were closed
- ◉ W. Gomulka disappointed hopes of his followers, was unable to resist Soviet pressure
- ◉ Only: countryside - farmland private and Catholic church remained a privileged position
- ◉ Democratization process failed

[HTTP://WWW.YOUTUBE.COM/WATCH?V=UBM6ANOUZBQ](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UBM6ANOUZBQ)



UPRISING IN HUNGARY

- ◉ Tension btw neo - Stalinist and reformists since 1953
- ◉ After J. V. Stalin died - M. Rakosi was able to keep his power, March 1955 M. Rakosi accused Imre Nagy (reformist) of right-wing opportunism
- ◉ M. Rakosi - oriented to Moscow - help from Moscow against opposition
- ◉ Fear from similar event as happened in Poland - N. S. Khrushchev removed M. Rakosi from his post
- ◉ Hungarian society was not satisfied



- ◉ Polish Uprising - information about events in Poland led to a wave of discontent

23rd October 1956 - Budapest - manifestation of solidarity with the Polish workers - more than 200, 000 people came, requirements: Imre Nagy - Prime Minister, departure of Soviet troops from the country and punishment of all who participated in the Stalinist processes and lawlessness

- ◉ Riots spread, new leader of CP Erno Gero and his speech in Hungarian radio on 23rd October evening - huge impulse for public anger

- ◉ People started to occupy the public buildings

- ◉ Demonstrations escalated into a popular uprising

- Head of new government Imre Nagy
- Soviet troops (In response to requests for assistance) entered to Budapest on 24th October 1956 and Soviet tanks occupied militarily significant points
- 25th October - peaceful demonstration in front of the Parliament - Soviet army was attacked by machine-gun salute and they responded and more then 60 demonstrators died  shooting before Parliament was obviously a provocation from the side of members of the Political police
-  from this moment uprising in Budapest - bloody character and anti - soviet as well

- ◉ Similar situation in other place
- ◉ Real power in the hands of revolutionary or national councils
- ◉ General strike - main motto: immediate withdrawal of the Soviet Army
- ◉ E. Gero we replaced by Janos Kadar
- ◉ N.S. Khrushchev - only military intervention is the solution
- ◉ 1st November 1956 neutrality of Hungary and leaving from Warsaw Pact - even better reason for Soviet bloc to intervene - it is not possible in such times of to leave the Pact and weaken the strength (NATO could abuse the situation)

- ◉ All satellite states gave their agreement to military intervention
- ◉ Soviets learnt that USA and NATO will not react - confirmed by J. F. Dulles and even D. Eisenhower
- ◉ France and G. Britain - interested in Suez Crises
- ◉ Hungarian uprising was supported just by Radio Free Europe and Austria - possibility to cross the boards for refugees
- ◉ 4th November 1956 - soviet attack - soviet tanks in Budapest
- ◉ Fights took more than 1 week in Budapest, some place even more


- ⦿ Hungarian resistance was broken, massive exodus to Austria more than 200, 000
- ⦿ Imre Nagy asked UN to help - only formal answer - Hungary stayed ALONE, western democracies confirmed their agreement with Soviet intervention
- ⦿ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LVdQ9PK9Q5o>

HISTORY OF CENTRAL EUROPE

1960`s - 1970`s

2 BLOCS: NEED TO COEXISTENCE

- ◉ Since 2nd half 1950s new relation btw 2 blocs
- political rapprochement, but emergency of objective need of crisis management on international scale - fear of nuclear weapons
- ◉ Need of coexistence: both blocs in fact needed each other - economical interests:
Soviet Bloc - technical and technologically backwardness x USA: possibility of new market - Eastern Europe
- ◉ 1962: after Caribbean Crisis - beginning of beginning of the negotiations on the control of nuclear danger

- BUT basic objectives of both superpower remained incompatible
- USA: balance bwt 2 blocs x Soviet Union: aim to spread the power
-  alternating periods of negotiations, conflict, tension and loosening (end 1989)
- 1st phases lasted until end of 1960s : quite successful solution: Indo-China and Austria x lasting issue - Germany - 2nd Berlin Crises 1961 and August 1968 in Czechoslovakia

2ND BERLIN CRISIS

- One of the most sensitive question - Germany - conflicts of interest
- Hallstein doctrine (named after Walter Hallstein, was a key doctrine in the foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Germany - West Germany after 1955. It established that the Federal Republic would not establish or maintain diplomatic relations with any state that recognized the German Democratic Republic - GDR, East Germany. Important aspects of the doctrine were abandoned after 1970 when it became difficult to maintain and the Federal government changed its politics)
- Economical miracle
- Control of West Berlin - N. S. Khrushchev - neutral or part of GDR - pressure Paris conference 1960 - not successful
- J.F. Kennedy
- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XjHcNhc ahv4>
- August 1961 - Berlin Wall

BERLIN WALL

- ◉ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_vXsdaUmG8s



CZECHOSLOVAKIA



- 1960 - new constitution and new name Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (ČSSR) and new state symbol - centralization and concentration of totalitarian power

- leading role of the Communist Party in society

- President Antonín Novotný - ex first secretary of CP, 1957
- Drastically decline of Czechoslovak Economy
- Need of Economical reform - the most - radical one in Soviet Bloc - showed that democratization and liberalization of the economy is not possible without changes in policy
- Liberalization: 1st phases of liberalization of the political regime

- First time criticism of dogmatism and the aim go back to “Young or authentically Marx”
- Not only democratization but also democracy: main tension between culture and political power
- demand for creative freedom



- Artists - requirement - creative freedom
- Czechoslovak film: Miloš Forman, Ivan Passer, Jan Němec, Vojtěch Jasný, Jiří Menzel, Věra Chytilová...
- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WM3lrSc0Tp4>
- Writers: Milan Kundera, Ivan Klíma, Ludvík Vaculík, Josef Škvorecký, Bohumil Hrabal, Arnošt Lustig,...
- 4th congress of writers 1967 - open criticism of political conditions - cruel punishment - cancel: Literární noviny and movement against liberalism

DISINTEGRATION OF THE REGIME

- ◉ Need of the reforms even in the CP - conservative fraction in troubles
- ◉ calls for pluralism, autonomous development and ignoring official institutions
- ◉ consolidation of the Catholic church

1968 IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- requirements: demission of the President, economical reform and liberalization of life BUT all changes should be done under the control of CP
- Head of CP Alexander Dubček



JANUARY PLENUM

- ⦿ = beginning of the democratization of the Czechoslovak society
- ⦿ Requirements: recall of the President, economical reform, relax tense social situation
- ⦿ New leader of CP Alexandr Dubček
- ⦿ End of censorship
- ⦿ law to the Federation
- ⦿ Prague Spring

REFORM: SOCIALISM WITH HUMAN FACE, PRAGUE SPRING

- against: bureaucratic-totalitarian model of socialism
- Idea of Socialist democracy
- Requirement: more democratic, more economical and more social regime
- Idea of political pluralism
- Church - freedom of religion,...
- Action program - April 1968 - principles of market economy, political freedoms and citizens' rights, did not guarantee political pluralism and creation of democratic regime

- ◉ Action plan: did not promise - pluralism and creating standard democratic regime
- ◉ Effort to restore the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party
- ◉ Since May 1968 - growing tension - reform in deep crises
- ◉ June 27th 1968 - Manifesto “2000 words” - Literární noviny
<http://www.radio.cz/en/section/curraffrs/the-two-thousand-words-that-started-the-prague-spring>

OCCUPATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- ◉ Conservative part of CP supported by Soviet Union - preparation of the coup d` etat
- ◉ August 18, 1968 Moscow - adopted a resolution on military intervention
- ◉ At night August 20, 1968 - Soviet troops, Hungarian, GDR s, Polish and Bulgarian crossed the boards
- ◉ Czechoslovak government adopted resolution - occupation is against the will of Czechoslovak citizens, international law

- 21st August 1968 - troops of 5 states entered
- Against occupiers - citizens unarmed resistance
- Moscow Protocol - was signed - Soviet troops can stay in Czechoslovakia



OCCUPATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA



TIME OF NORMALIZATION

- ◉ Moscow Protocol - Moscow Protocol demanded normalization = no reformators in CP
- ◉ Normalization = also period from August 1968 - November 1989
- ◉ Important function - People loyal to the Soviet Union
- ◉ Slovakia - leader of CP Gustav Husák guarantees at least of some reforms
- ◉ Soviet leading - back to period before Prague Spring

- People connected with Prague Spring - out of public life
- Jan Palach burned himself to protest against the regime in January 1969



- ◉ March 1969 - Ice Hockey World Championship - Czechoslovakia beat Soviet Union - DEMONSTRATION x Soviet protest
- ◉ April 1969 - A. Dubček was replaced by Gustav Husák = strict censorship, no protest; „review“ in CP
- ◉ All society = apathy
- ◉ Emigration
- ◉ Economy = since 1968 back to Central planning
- ◉ 1975 G. Husák - president
- ◉ Conferences in Helsinki - Soviet Block agreed on Respect for Human Rights

- Ex CP members, intellectuals, artists, church - fellowship, which was to monitor respect for human rights „Charta 77“ - Jan Patočka, Václav Havel and Jiří Hájek - members were persecuted
- 1978 - Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted
- Dissidents repeatedly jailed
- Release after 1985 - M. S. Gorbachev - As de facto ruler of the USSR, he tried to reform the stagnating Party and the state economy by introducing *glasnost* ("openness"), *perestroika* ("restructuring"), *demokratizatsiya* ("democratization"), and *uskoreniye* ("acceleration" of economic development), which were launched at the 27th Congress of the CPSU in February 1986

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE DISINTEGRATION OF SOVIET BLOCK

- 1975 Conference in Helsinki - Final Act - signed the declaration in an attempt to improve relations between the Communist bloc and the West
 - Sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty
 - Refraining from the threat or use of force
 - Inviolability of frontiers
 - Territorial integrity of States
 - Peaceful settlement of disputes
 - Non-intervention in internal affairs
 - Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief
 - Equal rights and self-determination of peoples
 - Co-operation among States
 - Fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law

- The document was seen both as a significant step toward reducing Cold War tensions and as a major diplomatic boost for the Soviet Union at the time, due to its clauses on the inviolability of national frontiers and respect for territorial integrity, which were seen to consolidate the USSR's territorial gains in Eastern Europe following the Second World War
- 1976 Soviet Block signed pact of UN - human rights
- Reflection of Helsinki - “Charta 77”,...
- 1988 -89:Vienna meeting - „Human dimension“ - better human rights protection

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