

6. Many shades of red

Required and recommended texts to read

- Nyysönen, Heino. “**Salami Reconstructed: ‘Goulash Communism’ and Political Culture in Hungary.**” *Cahiers Du Monde Russe* 47, no. 1/2 (2006): 153–72.
- Szczygieł, Mariusz. ***Gottland: Mostly True Stories from Half of Czechoslovakia***. Brooklyn: Melville House, 2014. pp. 78-103.
- Kolakowski, Leszek: **My Correct Views on Everything**. The Socialist Register. 1974.
<http://www.socialistregister.com/index.php/srv/article/view/5323#.WqUPjmrOXIV>

Soviet insecurity, the danger comes from the West...



Napoleon, 1812

Crimean war, 1853-1856

I. World War, 1914-1918

Pilsudski, 1920-1921

Hitler, 1941-1945



Soviet expansion, Western buffer zone 1939-



Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact
(neutrality agreement)
August 23., 1939

Advances of the Soviet Union to East-Central Europe



East-Central Europe, historical perception of Russia



Polish: bitter memories,
Soviet-Polish war of 1920

Hungarians: antipathy
against communism
because of the Soviet
Republic of 1919

Czechs, Serbs, Bulgarians:
Pan-Slavic feelings,
memory of great-power
support from earlier times

Pre-war factors effecting Soviet post-war policies for East-Central Europe

- 1.) Soviet demand: East-Central Europe to become a Western security zone against German or other future aggression
- 2.) Soviet military power grew
- 3.) East-Central Europe is fractured, powerless
- 4.) USA and UK hints to Moscow that it can have a free hand in „its own sphere of interest” (Warsaw uprising, Churchill-percentages, Roosevelt in Yalta about the withdrawal of American troops, Berlin and Prague to be occupied by SU)
- 5.) Perception of liberation (esp. Czechs and Bulgarians)
- 6.) „Unwilling allies” (Khrushchev about Hungary and Romania)
- 7.) Entirely different Russian-Soviet political culture
- 8.) For geographic and historical reasons primary Soviet focus in on East-Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia
- 9.) New political agenda to replace earlier ones about historical-territorial conflicts, occupation to stop Balkanization

Sovietization 1945-1948

Allied Controll Commission in occupied, enemy countries (with Soviet leadership)

Salami tactics (Mátyás Rákosi): ousting, arresting deporting, political adversaries

1947 September:
Kominform (plans for it before the Marshall plan)

1948 February:
Czechoslovak putsch;
People's Democracies are established everywhere



Budapest,
1945



Salami and Stalin



Stalin
Statue in
Budapest
1951-1956

Utopenec and Stalin



Stalin
Statue in
Prague
1955-1962

Hungary: From „Salami” to „Goulash” in the „happiest barrack”

1945-1949 „Salami tactics” era

1949-1953 Stalinist terror, forced industrialization, iron fist

1953-1956 Moderation and revolution

1956-1963 open terror and retribution

1963-1972 recovery period and economic reform (1968 „New Mechanism”)

1972- reforms halted, but Goulash goes on, then from 1985 a new wave of economic reforms, political moderation, open up to the West – yet Salami reconstructed

„After having been hated in the 1950s, Kádár managed to rule the country in such a way that he might even have had a chance of winning in a free election”

(Finnish journalists in 1983, see: Salami Reconstructed p. 154)

Goulash and Kádár



Hungary: From „Salami” to „Goulash” in the „happiest barrack”

- 1.) => Changes mirror those in the Soviet Union
- 2.) => The main structure (essence of the Soviet-type system) did not change:
 - undivided one-party rule
 - same institutions with the same functions,
 - state ownership of the means of production,
 - one ideology,
 - Warsaw Pact Alliance
 - Burocratic redistribution
- 3.) => Important shifts in detail
 - Diminishing role of coercive apparatuses and functions
 - Rising importance of (informal) coordination and bargain
 - Instead of the ideology of „world revolution” more talk of modernization
 - Rationalization of central planning, elements of consumerism

Thank you for your attention!

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