

*1950s- 1960s

- * SED Party Congress convened in 7/1950 and emphasized industrial progress
- * First Five-Year Plan (1951–55) introduced centralized state planning; stressed high production quotas for heavy industry and increased labor productivity
- * **Uprising of June 1953**



* **German Democratic Republic**

- * As West Germany was reorganized and gained independence from its occupiers, the German Democratic Republic was established in East Germany in 1949
- * 1952 "Stalin Note " - J. Stalin put forth a proposal to reunify Germany with a policy of neutrality, with no conditions on economic policies and with guarantees for "the rights of man and basic freedoms, including freedom of speech, press, religious persuasion, political conviction, and assembly" and free activity of democratic parties and organizations
- * This was turned down; reunification was not a priority for the leadership of West Germany, and the NATO powers declined the proposal

- * Result of these measures was a sharp deterioration in living standards in the GDR
- * Due to the construction of heavy industry, the light and food industry was deliberately neglected, and of course this had corresponding consequences - nor was the state's trade able to provide the population with basic foodstuffs such as butter, margarine or potatoes plus government has raised prices several times
- * Measures were particularly hard on private farmers - in order to force farmers to join new collectives, agricultural cooperatives - they were cut off from the supply of machinery and seeds, but at the same time they increased the taxes and compulsory levies they had to pay to the state
- * Who did not want to voluntarily submit to this double pressure was often arrested and expropriated for arrears of taxes and levies
- * More and more farmers fled to West Germany and the supply crisis in the GDR has exacerbated
- * Similar procedure against tradesmen

* **GDR**

- * SED saw everywhere "enemies", "saboteurs" and "agents" that had to be combated and destroyed
- * The prisons in the GDR were full of political prisoners who were often condemned for the most minor offenses or for insignificant criticisms
- * SED launched a systematic struggle against the Church and Christians in Protestant East Germany, during which the Protestant Youth Associations were proclaimed as "agent organizations,,
- * Even members of the government, such as the liberal democratic minister of commerce Karl Hamann or the Christian democratic foreign minister Georg Dertinger - disappeared with their families in Investigation Prison in Berlin
- * Even within the party itself - enemies were everywhere
- * Show trials
- * As in Moscow - East German Jews were also accused of a worldwide Zionist conspiracy

- * Significant reduction (food prices and free election, resignation of government and release of political prisoners)
- * Fact that the protest became so hot can only be explained by the tense internal political situation in the GDR: after Stalin's attempt to prevent the incorporation of the Federal Republic of Germany into the Western camp through diplomatic notes, the Soviet dictator in April 1952 ordered the "building of socialism" in the GDR
- * May 1952 East German border was closed
- * July 1952 second party conference set new measures ordered by Stalin: building its own army of GDR, building heavy industry, collectivizing agriculture, and far-reaching liquidation of private farming, self-governing states were abolished and GDR became a centralist united state
- * Funds for increased military spending were to be obtained through savings in pensions, other taxes and consumption restrictions, while the high war reparations paid to the Soviet Union remained unchanged

- * People fled to West Germany in large quantities, leaving the population of the entire smaller town on average on a monthly basis
- * USSR – worried about the crises in the GDR and ordered them a "new course": collectivization of agriculture was to stop, heavy industry to slow down, and consumer goods production to be strengthened again, churches should no longer be persecuted, and the rights of citizens should be more respected
- * 11th June 1953 SED published a communiqué in the central press Neues Deutschland: SED Politburo recommended a series of measures to increase the standard of living and enhance legal certainty for citizens
- * Dissatisfaction among the working class has increased even further

- * Dissatisfaction with the SED regime in East Germany led to the first popular uprising - workers in East Berlin went on strike on June 1953 to protest against increased production quotas; 10 % reduced wage
- * Reason: government's resolution on raising labor standards by at least a tenth, because otherwise the targets of the first five-year plan would not be met
- * Regime failed to respond - workers demanded a change (letter to PM)
- * In order to prolong the uprising and win support for the West – US established an aid program to feed East Germans
- * In the wave of retribution that followed, some 1,300 were sentenced to prison
- * East German government portrayed it as a plot by West Germany and US

* Uprising of June 1953


- * Rebellion 1953 – failed
- * Consequences for further development in the GDR: population realized that an open rebellion against the Communist system was not possible - it was protected by the weapons of Soviet occupying power
- * Despite their own varied political rhetoric, the rebels did not receive any aid (Western States)
- * SED, again, until the end of SED domination, feared that the events of 1953 might be repeated - it built a huge security apparatus while trying to reassure the population with considerable social benefits
- * The Soviet Union helped GDR by renouncing further reparations since 1954
- * However, the most paradoxical consequence of the events was that Chairman Walter Ulbricht, who had no majority in the Politburo at that time, remained in office for another eighteen years

* Uprising of June 1953

● Readings

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* 1960s

- 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 Crisis 1961 and August 1968 in Czechoslovakia

● GDR 2nd and 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** (West Germany)
- 11/1958 - Soviet Premier N. Khrushchev delivered a speech in which he demanded that the Western powers of US, UK and France pull their forces out of West Berlin within six months
- This ultimatum sparked a three year crisis over the future of the city of Berlin that culminated in 1961 with the building of the Berlin Wall
- Control of West Berlin – **N. S. Khrushchev** – neutral or part of GDR – pressure Paris conference 1960 – not successful
- August 1961 – **Berlin Wall**
- **1963: J. F. Kennedy visited Berlin:**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=56V6r2dpYH8>

- * **Berlin crisis of 1961** - Cold War conflict between USSR and US concerning the status of the divided German city of Berlin
- * It culminated in the construction of the Berlin Wall in 8/1961
- * **Pretext:**
- * 1948 USSR [blockaded Berlin](#) – to prevent Western access to that city: US and UK responded by initiating the Berlin airlift to keep food and supplies flowing to West Berlin and to maintain its connection to the West
- * After the blockade in 1949: US, UK, France, USSR maintained the status quo in Berlin; each of the former WWII allies governed its own sector and had free access to all other sectors
- * Free city of West Berlin, surrounded by the communist GDR was a Cold War crucible for US and USSR , in which both superpowers repeatedly asserted their claims to dominance in Europe

* **2nd Berlin crisis**

- * 10/1958, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev demanded: US and its allies relinquish their occupation roles in Berlin
- * He also declared that if they did not sign an agreement to this effect within six months, USSR would no longer honour their postwar agreement and would enter into a separate treaty with East Germany
- * Dwight D. Eisenhower refused N. Khrushchev's demands, insisting that their Berlin agreement still held
- * On 27th November USSR announced that it had rejected the postwar agreements concerning the occupation and governance of Germany and West Berlin
- * Nikita Khrushchev proposed that Berlin become a free city
- * Although Nikita Khrushchev did not indicate that USSR would use military force if US did not comply, it was widely understood that USSR intended to back up its threat

* 2nd Berlin crisis

- * US and UK refused to agree to the Soviet demands, arguing that a free Berlin, with no guaranteed access to the West, would soon be controlled by communist East Germany
- * Multiple attempts to find a diplomatic solution were fruitless:
- * 9/1959 US - Soviet talks took place at Camp David, but no agreement was reached
- * 5/1960 summit in Paris collapsed in the wake of the so-called U-2 Affair (sparked by the shooting down of US spy plane over USSR)
- * John F. Kennedy took office in 1961 - Berlin situation heated up
- * 6/1961 Vienna Summit – Nikita Khrushchev reiterated his threat that if a Berlin agreement was not achieved by December, USSR would sign a separate treaty with East Germany (an arrangement that West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt disparagingly characterized as Khrushchev “marrying himself”)
- * J. F. Kennedy made it clear that Berlin was of supreme strategic importance to US and that free access to the city had to be maintained

* 2nd Berlin Crisis

- * By July 1961 it was estimated that over 1,000 East German refugees were crossing into West Berlin each day, an economic and demographic drain that, left unchecked, would spell disaster for the East
- * On the night of 12 – 13 August 1961 - East German government, backed by the Soviet Union, began to build a barrier between East Berlin (the Soviet-occupied sector) and West Berlin
- * US did not intervene because USSR was exercising control over its sector
- * A major outcome of the Berlin crisis was a new understanding between US and USSR: USSR would continue to have dominance over its eastern European allies and East Berlin, while US and its allies would claim western Europe, West Germany, and West Berlin within their sphere of influence

* 2nd Berlin Crisis

• Berlin Wall

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



• Czechoslovakia

- President **Antonín Novotný** – first secretary of CP 1953 – 1968, President 1957 – 1968 (K. Gottwald died on March 14, 1953 a week after attending J. V. Stalin's funeral in Moscow)
- 1960 – New constitution and new name Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (ČSSR) and new state symbol - centralization and concentration of totalitarian power, The 1960 Constitution of Czechoslovakia declared the victory of "socialism" and proclaimed the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic - leading role of the Communist Party in society, the president, the cabinet, the Slovak National Council, and the local governments were made responsible to the National Assembly - National Assembly needed approval of CP policies
- Bill of Rights emphasized economic and social rights (right to work, leisure, health care, and education); Civil rights were deemphasized
- The judiciary was combined with the prosecuting branch; all judges were committed to the protection of the socialist state and the education of citizens in loyalty to the cause of socialism.
- All private enterprises using hired labour were abolished
- Comprehensive economic planning was reaffirmed
- 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
- Collectivization was completed by 1960
- Liberalization: 1st phases of liberalization of the political regime



• De-Stalinisation

- 1958 CP Party Congress XI. - formalized the continuation of Stalinism.
- Czechoslovak economy became stagnated
- 1963 reform-minded Communist intellectuals produced a proliferation of critical articles – respond of CP (trials were reviewed, for example, and some of those purged were rehabilitated; some hardliners were removed from top levels of government and replaced by more liberal communists)
- 1965 CP approved the New Economic Model
- CP "Theses" of December 1965 presented - call for political reform (democratic centralism was redefined, placing a stronger emphasis on democracy; leading role of the CP was reaffirmed but limited) → **CONSEQUENCE:** National Assembly was promised increased legislative responsibility; The Slovak executive and legislature were assured that they could assist the central government in program planning and assume responsibility for program implementation in Slovakia; regional, district, and local national committees were to be permitted a degree of autonomy; CP agreed to refrain from superseding the authority of economic and social organizations. **BUT CP control in cultural policy was reaffirmed**
- **January 1967 was the date for full implementation of the reform program** → first secretary of CP A. Novotný and his supporters hesitated (pressure from the reformists was stepped up; Slovaks pressed for federalization.; economists called for complete enterprise autonomy and economic responsiveness to the market mechanism; **The Fourth Writers' Congress** adopted a resolution calling for rehabilitation of the Czechoslovak literary tradition and the establishment of free contact with Western culture) → **A. Novotný** regime responded with repressive measures

• De-Stalinisation

- October 1967 meeting of the CP Central Committee, **Alexander Dubček** challenged first secretary of CP **A. Novotný** → **A. Dubček** was accused of nationalism
- University students in Prague demonstrated in support of the liberals → **A. Novotný** appealed to Moscow for assistance → December 1967 Soviet leader **Leonid Brezhnev** in Prague (but did not support **A. Novotný**) and gave speech to the inner circle of the CP in which he stated
 - *"I did not come to take part in the solution of your problems... ...you will surely manage to solve them on your own."*
- **5 January 1968**, the Central Committee elected **A. Dubček** to replace **A. Novotný** as first secretary of the CP (**A. Novotný's** fall from CP leadership precipitated initiatives to oust Stalinists from all levels of government, from mass associations, e.g., the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and the Czechoslovak Union Youth, and from local party organs. On 22 March 1968, **A. Novotný** resigned from the presidency and was succeeded by General **Ludvík Svoboda**).
- 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

• Czechoslovakia 1968

- 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**



- * New first secretary of CP of Czechoslovakia: Alexandr Dubček was propelled into the role of chief reformer, even though he was not particularly qualified for it
- * He was a young Slovak who had spent his political life in the party apparatus, and, because he was a compromise candidate, people did not expect much from him
- * A. Dubček was aided by the pressure of public opinion, which was growing stronger, especially after members of the press became determined to express themselves more freely in early March 1968
- * April 1968 - old apparatus had crumbled, but on the whole the transfer of power was peaceful: Oldřich Černík became prime minister, and Ota Šik and Gustav Husák became vice premiers in charge of reforms in the economy
- * Since end of March 1968 – New president Ludvík Svoboda, who had been minister of defense in the first postwar government

• **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 programme – April 1968 - principles of market economy, political freedoms and citizens' rights, did not **guarantee political pluralism and creation of democratic regime**

- * **Prague Spring** - period of liberalization in Czechoslovakia under Alexander Dubček in 1968
- * Soon after he became first secretary of the Czechoslovak CP (5th January 1968) Alexandr Dubček granted the press greater freedom of expression; he also rehabilitated victims of political purges during Stalinist era
- * 4/1968 he promulgated a sweeping reform program that included autonomy for Slovakia, a revised constitution to guarantee civil rights and liberties, and plans for the democratization of the government
- * Alexandr Dubček claimed that he was offering “**socialism with a human face**”
- * By June many Czechoslovaks were calling for more rapid progress toward real democracy
- * Alexandr Dubček insisted that he could control the country’s transformation, USSR and Warsaw Pact countries viewed the developments as tantamount to counterrevolution
- * 20 – 21st August 1968 - Soviet armed forces invaded the country and quickly occupied it
- * As conservative communists retook positions of power, the reforms were curtailed, and Dubček was deposed 4/1969

Prague Spring

• Prague Spring 1968

- **A. Dubček** - reform movement a step further in the direction of liberalism (censorship was lifted, media—press, radio, and television—were mobilized for reformist propaganda purposes)

- April 1968 CP Presidium adopted the Action Programme - "new model of socialism" (e.g. National Front and the electoral system were to be democratized, and Czechoslovakia was to be federalized; freedom of assembly and expression would be guaranteed in constitutional law; New Economic Model was to be implemented; also reaffirmed the Czechoslovak alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist states; reform movement, which rejected Stalinism as the road to communism, remained committed to communism as a goal)

- Action Programme: 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 1968 **Ludvík Vaculík**, a lifelong communist and a candidate member of the Central Committee, published a manifesto entitled the "*Two Thousand Words*" (The manifesto expressed concern about conservative elements within CP and "foreign" forces as well; It called on the "people" to take the initiative in implementing the reform programme) → **A.**

Dubček, CP Presidium, National Front, and the cabinet denounced it

<http://www.radio.cz/en/section/curaffrs/the-two-thousand-words-that-started-the-prague-spring>

- * Main achievement of the new reformist government was the Action Program, adopted by the party's Central Committee – 4/1968
- * Program - reform ideas of the several preceding years; it encompassed not only economic reforms but also the democratization of Czechoslovak political life; promotion of Slovakia to full parity within a new Czechoslovak federation, long overdue industrial and agricultural reforms, a revised constitution that would guarantee civil rights and liberties, and complete rehabilitation of all citizens whose rights had been infringed in the past
- * Program also envisaged a strict division of powers: the National Assembly, not CP, would be in control of the government, which in turn would become a real executive body and not a party branch; courts were to become independent and act as arbiters between the legislative and executive branches
- * Political pluralism was not recommended, but CP would have to justify its leading role by competing freely for supremacy with other organizations in the process of formation
- * Socialism with human face

*** Action Plan**

● Artists

- 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

- * 27th June 1968 - dissident writer Ludvík Vaculík published a document signed by a large number of people representing all walks of Czechoslovak life
- * “Two Thousand Words” constituted a watershed in the evolution of the Prague Spring: it urged mass action to demand real democracy
- * Declaration that was one of the first and most important steps of the national revival referred to as the Prague Spring
- * The manifesto, which appeared in several publications, posed important questions for the future of democratic reforms in communist Czechoslovakia
- * *“The 2000 words manifesto was the first public show of discontent or opinion unconsulted with the communist authorities since 1948 when the communists took power. So it is important both emotionally and politically on one hand, and on the other it was devastating for the old style communists, and accepted and perceived as a tremendously important show of new public self-confidence. It is a truly historical document and I think that its importance should not be forgotten.” Jan Urban*

* Two Thousand Words

- * June 27th 1968: four publications Literární Noviny, Mladá Fronta and two others published a manifesto entitled “*Two thousand words which belong to workers, farmers, officials, artists and to everyone*”
- * They were written by Czech writer Ludvík Vaculík at the behest of several prominent Czech scientists
- * Manifesto expressed a fear of hard-line conservative elements within the communist guard – and openly speculated about a Soviet invasion
- * But the language was also deliberately non-provocative, criticising anti-communism and calling for civic engagement

* **Two Thousand Words**

• Prague Spring 1968

- **USSR alarmed by L. Vaculík's Manifesto** → Warsaw Pact declared the defence of Czechoslovakia's socialist gains to be not only the task of Czechoslovakia but also the mutual task of all Warsaw Pact countries → **CP** rejected the Warsaw Pact ultimatum, and **A. Dubček** requested bilateral talks with USSR
- **L. Brezhnev** hesitated to intervene militarily in Czechoslovakia
- USSR agreed to bilateral talks with Czechoslovakia: held July 1968 in **Cierna nad Tisou** (**L. Brezhnev** decided on compromise: CP delegates reaffirmed their loyalty to the Warsaw Pact and promised to curb "antisocialist" tendencies, prevent the revival of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, and control the press more effectively; USSR agreed to withdraw their troops - stationed in Czechoslovakia since the June maneuvers- and permit CP congress)
- 3 August 1968: USSR, GDR, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia met in Bratislava and signed the **Bratislava Declaration** (affirmed unshakable fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and declared an implacable struggle against "bourgeois" ideology and all "antisocialist" forces).
- After the Bratislava conference, Soviet troops left Czechoslovak territory but remained along Czechoslovak borders

- * USSR and the other members Warsaw Pact allies were alarmed
- * After Alexandr Dubček declined to participate in a special meeting of Warsaw Pact – he received letter on July 15 saying that “...*his country was on the verge of counterrevolution and that they considered it their duty to protect it...*“
- * Alexandr Dubček accepted an invitation by Leonid Brezhnev to a conference at Čierná-nad-Tisou - where the Soviet Politburo and the Czechoslovak leaders tried to resolve it
- * 3rd August 1968 representatives of the Soviet, East German, Polish, Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Czechoslovak CPs met again in Bratislava

* **Eastern reaction**

• Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia

- CP party congress scheduled for 9 September 1968
- After Bratislava conference - information: most of **A. Dubček's** opponents would be removed from the Central Committee; Prague municipal party organization prepared and circulated a blacklist, anti-reformist coalition could hope to stay in power only with Soviet assistance → CP anti-reformists: effort to convince USSR → danger of political instability and "counterrevolution" did indeed exist
- CP anti-reformist used **Jan Kašpar** Report, prepared by the Central Committee's Information Department (report provided an extensive review of the general political situation in Czechoslovakia as it might relate to the forthcoming party congress; it predicted that a stable Central Committee and a firm leadership could not necessarily be expected as the outcome of the congress)
- **Drahomír Kolder** and **Alois Indra** evaluate the report for the 20 August meeting of the CP Presidium.
- These actions are thought to have precipitated the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia: - CP Presidium convened on 20 August, the anti-reformists planned to make a bid for power, pointing to the imminent danger of counterrevolution - **D. Kolder** and **A. Indra** presented a resolution declaring a state of emergency and calling for "fraternal assistance." (resolution was never voted on, because the Warsaw Pact troops entered Czechoslovakia that same day)

• Warsaw Pact intervention and the end of Prague Spring

- August 18, 1968 Moscow - adopted a resolution on military intervention
- At night August 20, 1968 – Soviet troops, Hungarian, GDRs, Polish and Bulgarian crossed the boards
- CP conservatives had misinformed Moscow regarding the strength of the reform movement
- CP Presidium met during the night of 20–21 August; it rejected the option of armed resistance and condemned the invasion. Two-thirds of the KSCĚ Central Committee opposed the Soviet intervention. A KSCĚ party congress, convened secretly on 22 August, passed a resolution affirming its loyalty to **A. Dubĉek's** Action Program and denouncing the Soviet aggression.
- President **Ludvĭk Svoboda** repeatedly resisted Soviet pressure to form a new government under **A . Indra**
- Czechoslovak government adopted resolution – occupation is against the will of Czechoslovak citizens, international law

- * 20 – 21st 1968 - Soviet-led armed forces invaded the country
- * Soviet authorities seized Dubček, Černík, and several other leaders and secretly took them to Moscow
- * Meanwhile, the population spontaneously reacted against the invasion through acts of passive resistance and improvisation (e.g., road signs were removed so that the invading troops would get lost)
- * 14th Communist Party Congress took place on August 22; it elected a pro-Dubček Central Committee and Presidium—the very things the invasion had been timed to prevent
- * National Assembly declaring its loyalty to A. Dubček, continued its plenary sessions

* **Occupation**

- * On August 23 President Ludvík Svoboda and Gustav Husák, left for Moscow to negotiate an end to the occupation
- * But by August 27 the Czechoslovaks had been compelled to yield to the Soviets' demands in an agreement known as the Moscow Protocol
- * Czechoslovak price to pay for “socialism with a human face” - *“Soviet troops were going to stay in Czechoslovakia for the time being, and the leaders had agreed to tighter controls over political and cultural activities...”*

* **Occupation**

• Warsaw Pact intervention and the end of Prague Spring

- Nonviolent resistance, also called civil resistance
- The generalized resistance caused the Soviet Union to abandon its original plan to oust **A. Dubček**
- **A. Dubček**, arrested on the night of 20 August, was taken to Moscow for negotiations (outcome was the **Brezhnev Doctrine** e.g. strict CP control of the media, and the suppression of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party; it was agreed that **A. Dubček** would remain in office and a program of moderate reform would continue)



- Occupation of Czechoslovakia

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- 21st August 1968 – troops of 5 states entered
- Against occupiers - citizens unarmed resistance
- **Moscow Protocol August 1968** – was signed (allowed most Czechoslovakian leaders to remain in power, but implicitly condemned the post-January reforms. The agreement demanded the increased suppression of opposition groups and a tighter censorship policy. It also allowed Soviet forces to remain in Czechoslovakia)



- Public reaction to the Moscow protocol was mixed, with many seeing it as a failure of the resistance. Mass resistance is said to have lasted for about seven days, after which the resisters became exhausted and partly demoralized.
- Soviet forces would linger in Czechoslovakia for months, pushing their political agenda.
- But public resistance to the occupation didn't stop completely. In early November there were mass demonstrations in Prague, Bratislava, Brno, and other cities.
- Later, tens of thousands of students conducted a four-day sit-in in high schools and colleges, with factories sending them food in solidarity.

*Moscow Protocol

- * First of all - 14th Party Congress was declared invalid, as required by the Moscow Protocol; hard-liners were thus able to occupy positions of power
- * Czechoslovakia was proclaimed a federal republic, with two autonomous units—the Czech Lands forming the Czech Socialist Republic and Slovakia the Slovak Socialist Republic, respectively—each with national parliaments and governments; federal arrangement was the one concession the hard-liners were ready to make, and, indeed, many citizens (particularly the Slovaks) had desired it
- * Gradually A. Dubček either dismissed his friends and allies or forced them to resign – 17th April 1969
- * Gustav Husák declared the Dubček experiment to be finished and promptly initiated a process of “normalization”

• Poland

- The reform-promising **W. Gomułka** of 1956 turned into the authoritarian **W. Gomułka** of the 1960s (W. Gomułka promised - end to police terror, greater intellectual and religious freedom, higher wages, and the reversal of collectivization; other forms of collective community expression and a legally guaranteed academic autonomy lasted until 1968 *Polish political crisis*)
- The dissident *Club of the Crooked Circle* - discussion survived until 1962
- After the first wave of reform – **W. Gomułka's** regime started to move back on their promises
- Decisions of XIII Plenum of the Central Committee (1963) - definite end of the post-October liberalization period
- **W. Gomułka's** regime became steadily less liberal and more repressive and **W. Gomułka's** popularity declined

• Poland in 1968

- By the 1960s - rival regime officials and their followers, generally people of a younger generation, had begun to plot against the rule of **W. Gomułka** and his associates
- January 1968 - Polish revisionist opposition and other circles were strongly influenced by the developing movement of the Prague Spring
- March 1968 - student demonstrations at Warsaw University broke out in the wake of the government's banning of the performance of a play by **Adam Mickiewicz** at the National Theatre in Warsaw because of its alleged "*anti-Soviet references*"
- **March 1968 events:** used the spontaneous and informal celebrations of the outcome of the 1967 Arab–Israeli war and the Warsaw theatre affair as pretexts to launch an anti-intellectual and anti-Semitic press campaign; real goal was to weaken the pro-reform liberal party faction and attack other circles - thousands of generally secular and integrated people of Jewish origin lost their employment and some 13,000 Jews emigrated between 1967 and 1972

• Poland in 1968

- Other victims: college students, academic teachers, liberal intelligentsia members; Jewish or not, were removed from the government and other places of employment...
- Finally purge in CP itself
- 1968 purges meant also the beginning of a large scale generational replacement of CP executive membership
- March 1968 Gdańsk - students and workers fought by the police
- Internal attempt to discredit **W. Gomułka's** leadership, but **W. Gomułka's** regime reasserted itself and was saved by a combination of international and domestic
- August 1968 - Polish People's Army took part in the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia → Some Polish intellectuals protested and **Ryszard Siwiec** burned himself alive during the official national holiday celebrations
- Granted Soviet right to forcefully intervene if an allied state strays too far from the fraternal course

• Poland

- By the mid-1960s - economic difficulties
- From 1960, the regime increasingly implemented anti-Catholic policies, including harassment, atheistic propaganda, and measures that made carrying out religious practices more difficult
- 1965 Conference of Polish Bishops issued the *Letter of Reconciliation of the Polish Bishops to the German Bishops*
- 1966 Celebrations of the 1,000th anniversary of the Baptism of Poland led by the Cardinal **Stefan Wyszyński** and other bishops turned into a huge demonstration of the power and popularity of the Catholic Church in Poland

- * After a short period of economic growth in years 1956-1960, Polish economy experienced a serious crisis resulting in the increase of food prices
- * Polish society no longer hoped for improvement of economical and political condition of the country under W. Gomułka
- * 3/1964 group of 34 intellectuals issued an open letter to the authorities as a protest against limitations on the amount of paper to print books - as a matter of fact, it was a protest against the cultural policy of CP - letter resulted in further repressions
- * Six Day War – Israel attacked Egypt – USSR satellites decided to suspend diplomatic relations with Israel

*** Poland 1960s**

* Jan Józef Lipski

* <https://www.webofstories.com/play/jj.lipski/62>

* <https://www.webofstories.com/play/jj.lipski/61>

* Freedom of speech

* **Club of the Crooked Circle**

- * Series of major student, intellectual and other protests against the communist regime of the Polish People's Republic
- * Crisis resulted in the suppression of student strikes by security forces in all major academic centres across the country and the subsequent repression of the Polish dissident movement
- * It was also accompanied by mass emigration following an antisemitic campaign
- * Anti-Jewish campaign had already begun in 1967
- * The policy was carried out in conjunction with the Soviet withdrawal of all diplomatic relations with Israel after the Six-Day War
- * At least 13,000 Poles of Jewish origin emigrated in 1968–72

* 1968 Polish political crisis

- * Anti-Jewish campaign had already begun in 1967
- * The policy was carried out in conjunction with the Soviet withdrawal of all diplomatic relations with Israel after the Six-Day War, but also involved a power struggle within the Polish communist party itself
- * Poland (member of the Warsaw Pact) officially advocated Egypt
- * W. Gomułka - speech at the meeting of the Central Committee of CP expressed fear that “...*Israel might be willing and would prepare to produce nuclear weapon...*“
- * Amongst part of the society - opposed the domination of the USSR over Poland - it meant sympathy for Israel
- * Fraction in CP surrounding Mieczyslaw Moczar (ex communist guerrilla soldier) gained importance
- * Group was often accused of anti-Semitic
- * Anti-Semitic campaign began after W. Gomułka's speech 6/1967 - he called Polish Jews “the 5th column”, comparing them to the German minority living in Poland and participating in Nazi invasion during WWII

* 1967

- * Jews were removed from the army, secret service,...
- * Propaganda accused Jews of threatening the political system of Poland
- * Official target of attacks was the state of Israel, not the Jewish nation itself however in practice the campaign had clearly anti-Semitic character

- * Student movement in 1960's - group of students at the University of Warsaw, called later by the secret police the "Commandos"
- * Members of communist youth organizations the "Commandos" were taking part in official gatherings, starting discussions and asking difficult questions no one wanted to hear
- * The group organized the celebration of 10th anniversary of workers protests (1956)
- * Leszek Kolakowski – prominent philosopher was expelled from CP - after it many intellectuals left CP
- * Leader of the "Commandos" Adam Michnik – history student at University of Warsaw

* **Student movement in Poland**

- * Cause of the protests was a ban imposed on a play (author Adam Mickiewicz) “Forefathers' Eve” for the National Theater in Warsaw
- * Play - part of the celebration of 50th anniversary of 1917 Revolution in Russia; celebration included different cultural events in Poland
- * CP was disappointed with modern interpretation of Mickiewicz's work and positive press reviews were banned by Office of Censorship; issue of independence in 19th century - had never before been considered anti-communist; Kazimierz Dejmek (director) interpretation was regarded by Polish authorities as targeted against USSR
- * Reason why “Forefathers' Eve” was banned remains unclear, banned January 1968

* Student movement in Poland

- * Late 1960's - period of strict repressions against the critics of the political system in Poland (compare Czechoslovakia)
- * Academic year 1967/1968 started with discussions amongst students and young scholars at University of Warsaw - created an intellectual background for further actions
- * After last performance of "Forefathers Eve" - group of youth from University of Warsaw (supported by students from Warsaw National Theater School) gathered around Adam Mickiewicz monument (Warsaw) asking for stopping of censorships
- * Demonstration around monument was suppressed by the police; 35 people were
- * arrested,...

*** Political situation in Poland**

- * The next day: students Adam Michnik and Henryk Szlajfer met with Bernard Margueritte, a journalist of French Le Monde
- * The information was later broadcasted by Radio Free Europe
- * After the source of information became clear for Polish authorities: A. Michnik and H. Szlajfer were expelled from the university – 3/1968
- * As a response to the expulsion of Henryk Szlajfer and Adam Michnik, the “Commandos” organized an rally in defense of citizen rights, as one of leaflets distributed (students quoted article 71 of Polish Constitution which guaranteed freedom of speech and gatherings)
- * Thousand students gathered at a yard of a main campus of the Warsaw University at the noon of March 8 1968, participants - resolution demanding the reinstatement of expelled students

* Student movement in Poland

- * Soon protest was supposed to end, activities were stopped by *workers collective* – civilians, mainly workers of Warsaw factories inspired by CP
- * Workers collective entered the university with batons beating the students
- * Protesters - amongst them young women - police hurt random people from the crowd, including some passers-by
- * Students were arrested
- * 1500 students had to leave schools, 2500 people were arrested, “Commandos” group members were treated more strictly
- * Press reported the protests without providing readers with the context and suggesting the leading role of Jews

* **March 1968**

- * Next day - students of Technical University in Warsaw decided to support the action at Warsaw University and organized rally
- * Two days later - protest spread around the country
- * Protests took place in towns with no universities, when high school students and young workers joined the action
- * Movement ended fast – last actions took place on March (22 – 23) and the very last protest took place – 1 st May
- * Students activities did not have any detailed program, main goal was to change the attitude of CP
- * Important aspect - protesters did not fight against the entire communist system
- * As a result of the March protests - anti-Semitic campaign stepped up
- * Persecutions of the Jews became an obsession - people were bringing documents confirming that they were baptized - which is particularly strange in an officially atheist country – to prove they do not have a Jewish origin

*** March 1968**

- * Communist discourse - common enemy to focus the force of people
- * Before 1968 - hooligans, American imperialists and Colorado beetle
- * Fact is - many of protest leaders had Jewish ancestors
- * Anti-Zionism - grown to enormous extend in Poland
- * Probably, an important role was played by a group of prominent CP members surrounding Mieczyslaw Moczar, for whom the rebel of March 1968 was a confirmation of their anti-Semitic claims
- * Fact is that Jews were called the Zionist
- * Anti-Semitism as contradictory to communist doctrine could not be officially supported
- * “Zionist” became synonym of the Jew

* Persecutions of the Jews

- * Anti-Semitic campaign - distributing leaflets after the protest
- * from March 8.
- * Leaflets prepared by the secret service - highlighted the Jewishness of protest leaders
- * 11th March - “Slowo Powszechne”, edited by PAX - Catholic association - collaborating with communist, published an article extending such accusations
- * Main focus of Polish press - writing about March protests
- * Many protesting students were relatives of prominent Jewish members of CP from Stalinist period was exposed (Polish Jews joined communist organizations even before WWII, they hoped to assimilate with the Polish society; stereotypical Pole was considered Catholic and with a new Communist movement Jews hoped to find a way how to become member of polish society)

* Persecutions of the Jews

- * 1968 CP – members of Jewish protesters families gained their positions under the most oppressive and already officially condemned period of Stalinism, they were accused of preparing an overthrow of the government and reestablishing of a tough regime
- * Zionists were supposed to be a part of international conspiracy
- * Press - propaganda against participants of the March riots, but also gatherings in factories - workers inspired by CP - criticizing students rebelling

*** Persecutions of the Jews**

• Hungary

- **J. Kádár** followed retributions against the revolutionaries. 21,600 dissidents were imprisoned, 13,000 interned, and 400 executed
- In the early 1960s – **J. Kádár** announced a new policy under the motto "*He who is not against us is with us*"
- **J. Kádár** declared a general amnesty, gradually curbed some of the excesses of the secret police, and introduced a relatively liberal cultural
- 1966 Central Committee approved the "*New Economic Mechanism*", which moved away from a strictly planned economy towards a system more reminiscent of the decentralized Yugoslavian model
- Over the next two decades of relative domestic quiet, **J. Kádár's** government responded alternately to pressures for minor political and economic reforms as well as to counter-pressures from reform opponents
- Dissidents still remained closely watched by the secret police

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