

- **History of Central Europe**

**1970s**

# • **Process of Normalization in Czechoslovakia**

- **Moscow Protocol** - Moscow Protocol demanded **normalization** = no reformators in CP
- Normalization = also period from August 1968 – November 1989
- Gustáv Husák replaced Alexander Dubček as leader of CP in April 1969
- Important People “loyal“ to the Soviet Union
- Slovakia – leader of CP **Gustav Husák** guaranteed at least of some reforms
- Soviet leaders – back to period before **Prague Spring**



- **Gustav Husák**

- Consolidation of CP under G. Husák leadership and remove of reformers from leadership positions
- Revoke or modify the laws enacted by the reform movement
- Reestablish centralized control over the economy
- Reinstate the power of police authorities
- Expand Czechoslovakia's ties with Soviet Block

- **Czechoslovakia under leadership of G. Husák**

- Method by which CP under G. Husák ruled was commonly summed up as "reluctant terror "
- It involved careful adherence to USSR's policy objectives and the use of what was perceived as the minimum amount of repression at home necessary to fulfill these objectives and prevent a return to Dubček's reforms
- The result was a regime that, while not a complete return to Stalinism, was far from being a liberal one either
- G. Husák stabilized Czechoslovakia's relations with its allies by arranging frequent intrabloc exchanges and visits and redirecting Czechoslovakia's foreign economic ties toward greater involvement with socialist nations
- 1971 G. Husák reported to the delegates attending the officially sanctioned Fourteenth Party Congress that the process of normalization had been completed satisfactorily and that Czechoslovakia was ready to proceed toward higher forms of socialism

## • **Czechoslovakia under leadership of G. Husák**

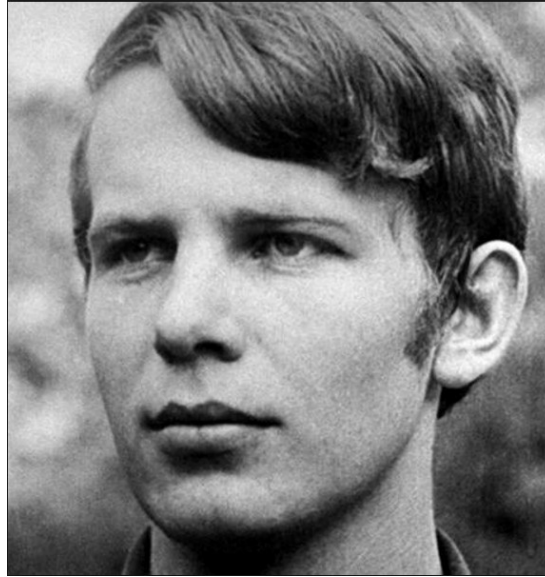
# • Normalization in Czechoslovakia

- **A. Dubček** - remained in office only until April 1969
- Anti - Soviet actions:
  - **Jan Palach** burned himself to protest against the regime in January 1969, † 19 January 1969 → 20 January demonstration march, 25 January – funeral
  - **Miroslav Malinka** burned himself - 22 January 1969
  - **Blanka Nacházellová** Committed suicide - gas poisoning – 22 January 1969
- **L. Breznev** – warned Czechoslovak government - events after **J. Palach's** deaths - dangerous political character
  - **Jan Zajíc** burned himself 25 February 1969 – Anniversary of February 1948
  - **Evžen Plocek** burned himself 4 April 1969

**Jan Palach**



**Jan Zajíc**



**Evžen Plocek**



# • Normalization in Czechoslovakia

- Anti - Soviet actions:

- March 1969 – **Ice Hokey World Championship** – Czechoslovakia beat USSR – DEMONSTATION x Soviet reaction → Czechoslovakia's victory over the Soviet team in the World Ice Hockey Championships in precipitated Soviet pressures for a CP Presidium reorganization → **Gustáv Husák** was named first secretary (title changed general secretary in 1971)

- A program of "*normalization*"— the restoration of continuity with the pre-reform period was initiated; normalization entailed thoroughgoing political repression and the return to ideological conformity





- **Ice Hokey World Championship, Sweden, 1969**

# • Normalization in Czechoslovakia

- A new purge cleansed the Czechoslovak leadership of all reformist elements ( e.g. 115 members of CP Central Committee, 54 were replaced; CP party membership, which had been close to 1.7 million in January 1968, was reduced by about 500,000; top levels of government were purged)
- Publishing houses and film studios were placed under new direction and censorship was strictly imposed and a campaign of militant atheism was organized
- May 1971 Czechoslovakia and USSR signed the **Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance**; Soviet advisers supervised the functioning of the Ministry of Interior and the security apparatus
- **V. Bilak** became the most ardent advocate of Proletarian internationalism
- The purges of the first half of 1970 eliminated the reformists within CP
- Fall 1970 - ex-communist intelligentsia organized the Socialist Movement of Czechoslovak Citizens - protest movement dedicated to the goals of 1968 (47 leaders of the movement were arrested )
- Organized protest was effectively stilled

## • Normalization in Czechoslovakia

- Czechoslovakia had been federalized under the Constitutional Law of Federation of 27 October 1968
- 14th Party Congress 1971 **G. Husák** announced: 14th CP Congress had been abrogated - "**normalization**" had been "completed" and that all the party needed to do was consolidate its gains
- Cultural life - suffered greatly from the limitations on independent thought, as did the humanities, social sciences and ultimately even natural sciences; art had to adhere to a rigid formula of socialist realism
- Government's emphasis on obedience, conformity, and the preservation of the status quo was challenged by individuals and organized groups aspiring to independent thinking and activity
- Czechoslovakia had signed UN Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in 1968
- 1975 The Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe's ***Final Act*** (Helsinki Accords), signed also by Czechoslovakia - also included **guarantees of human rights**

# Normalization in Czechoslovakia

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- **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

- **Human and civil rights**

- 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 – “**Charter 77**”,...

## • **Human Rights**

# • Charter 77

- January 1977 - **Charter 77** appeared in FDR newspapers, document was translated and reprinted throughout the world
- The original manifesto reportedly was signed by 243 people; among them were artists, former public officials, and other prominent figures - **Zdeněk Mlynář** (secretary of CP Central Committee in 1968), **Václav Slavík** (Central Committee member in 1968) and **Ludvík Vaculík** (author of "Two Thousand Words")
- **Charter 77** defined itself as "a loose, informal, and open community of people" concerned with the **protection of civil and human rights**; it denied oppositional intent and based its defense of rights on legally binding international documents signed by the Czechoslovak government and on guarantees of civil rights contained in the Czechoslovak Constitution
- **Charter 77** had over 800 signatures by the end of 1977, including workers and youth
- **G. Husák** regime - claimed that all rights derive from the state and that international covenants are subject to the internal jurisdiction of the state, responded with fury to the **Charter 77**

# Charter 77 and Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted

- Text was never published in the official media; signatories were arrested and interrogated; dismissal from employment often followed; Czechoslovak press launched vicious attacks against the **Charter 77**; public was mobilized to sign either individual condemnations or various forms of "**anti-Charters**,"
- Closely associated with **Charter 77 - Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted** was formed in 1978 with the specific goal of documenting individual cases of government persecution and human rights violations



Prohlášení CHARTY z 1. 1. 1977

Dne 13.10.1976 byly ve sbírce zákonů ČSSR /S. 126/ zveřejněny "Mezinárodní pakt o občanských a politických právech", který byl našemu státu ratifikován v roce 1968, sčíslený v Helsinských r. 1975 a vstoupil u nás v platnost dnem 23.3.1976. Od této doby mají naši občané právo a náš stát povinnost se jím řídit. Svoboda a práva lidí, jež tyto pakty zaručují, jsou důležitými civilizačními hodnotami, k nimž v dějinách směřovalo d silně mnoha pokrokových sil a jejich uskolení má své významné pomoci lidskému vývoji naší společnosti. Vidíme proto, že Československá socialistická republika k těmto paktům přistoupila. Jejich zveřejnění nám ale zároveň s novou naléhavostí připomíná, kolik základních občanských práv platí v naší zemi - zatím bouze jen na papíře. Zeleis iluzorní je například právo na svobodu projevu, zaručené čl. 19. I. paktu. Desítkám lidí občanů je znemožněno pracovat ve svém oboru jen proto, že zastávají názory odlišné od těch zorař oficiálních. Jsou přitom často objektem nejrozmanitější diskriminace a šikanování ze st ron y úřadů i společenenských organizací, zbrazení jakékoliv možnosti bránit se, stávají se prakticky obětmi apartheidu. Statistickým dalším občanů je odopřeno "svoboda od strachu" (přesunuté I. paktu), protože jsou nuceni žít v trvalém nebezpečí, že projeví-li své názory, ztratí pracovní i jiné možnosti. V rozporu s čl. 13 II. paktu zajišťující vřem právo na vzdělání, je nešťastným mladým lidem křd něno ve studiu jen pro jejich ná zory, nebo dokonce pro názory jejich rodičů. Bosp čet občanů máří žít ve strachu, že kdyby se projevíli v souladu se svým předsvědčením, mohli by být buď sami nebo jejich děti zbaveny práva na vzdělání. Uplatnění "práva vyhledávat, přijímat a rozšiřovat informace a myšlenky všeho druhu, bez ohledu na hranice, státní, písemné nebo ústní" čl. protisovětského usměř /bod 2 čl. 19 I. paktu/ je stíněno nejen mlzo soudně, ale i soudně, často pod rouškou kriminálního obvinění /jakžto tom svědčí mimo jiné právě probíhající procesy s mladými hudebníky/. Svoboda veřejného projevu je potlačena centrálním řízením všech sdělovacích prostředků i publikačních a kulturních zařízení. Žádný politický, filozofický či vědecký názor, nebo umělecký projev jen trochu se vymykající úzkému rámci oficiální ideologie či estetiky nemůže být zveřejněn, je znemožněna veřejná kritika králových společenských jevů; je vyloučena možnost veřejné obrany proti neprovořivým útokům na život a pověst, zejména zaručené čl. 17 I. paktu, v praxi neexistuje. Léživá obvinění nelze vyvrátit a smrtý je každý pokus dohlednout nepravdy nebo opravy soudní cestou; v cílech duchovní a kulturní tvorby je vyloučena otevřená diskuse. Mnoho vědeckých a kulturních pracovníků je diskriminováno jen proto, že před léty legálně zveřejňovali si otevřeně vyslovovali názory, které souba s ná politická moc odsuzuje. Svoboda náboženského vyznání, důrazně zajiřtované čl. 18 I. paktu je systematicky omezována anebo zcela odněta, okleřtována činnost i úřadovců, nad nimiž visí trvalá hrozba odeřpení nebo ztráty stá tního souhlasu s výkonem jejich funkce;

Souhlasím s Prohlášením  
charty 77 z 1. 1. 1977  
Václav Havel

VÁCLAV HAVEL, spisovatel,  
U DEJVIČKÉHO RYBNÍČKU,  
PRAHA 6

• Charter 77

# • Poland

- **Edward Gierek** (4th First Secretary CP)
- "**New Development Strategy**" - based on import-led growth - program faltered suddenly because of worldwide recession and increased oil prices
- **1975 Helsinki Accords**
- **E. Gierek** government's growing difficulties led also to increased dependence on USSR e.g. economic cooperation
- Constitution (amended in February 1976) - formalized the alliance with USSR and the leading role of CP → proposed changes was softened after protests by intellectuals and the Church, but the regime felt it needed additional authority given the indebtedness to the West and the deepening economic crisis → divisive issues raised helped to coalesce the emerging circles of active political opposition



- **Edward Gierek**

## • Poland

- As a result of the 1970 worker rebellion food prices remained frozen and were artificially low until 1976
- June 1976 - in an attempt to reduce consumption the government introduced a long-announced and several times delayed, but radical price increase: basic foodstuffs had their **prices raised by an average of 60%** → nationwide **wave of strikes**, with violent demonstrations, looting and labor unrest at the factory near Warsaw, in Radom, Płock and other places
- The government quickly backed down and repealed the price rises, but the strike leaders were arrested and put on trial
- A series of "spontaneous" large scale public gatherings was staged by CP leadership in a number of cities, but the Soviet pressure prevented further attempts at raising prices
- **E. Gierek's** cordial in the past relations with **L. Brezhnev** were seriously damaged
- Food ration cards - introduced because of the destabilized market in August 1976, were to remain a feature of life in Poland for the duration of the People's Republic



- A queue, a common sight in Poland's shortage economy in the 1970s and 1980s

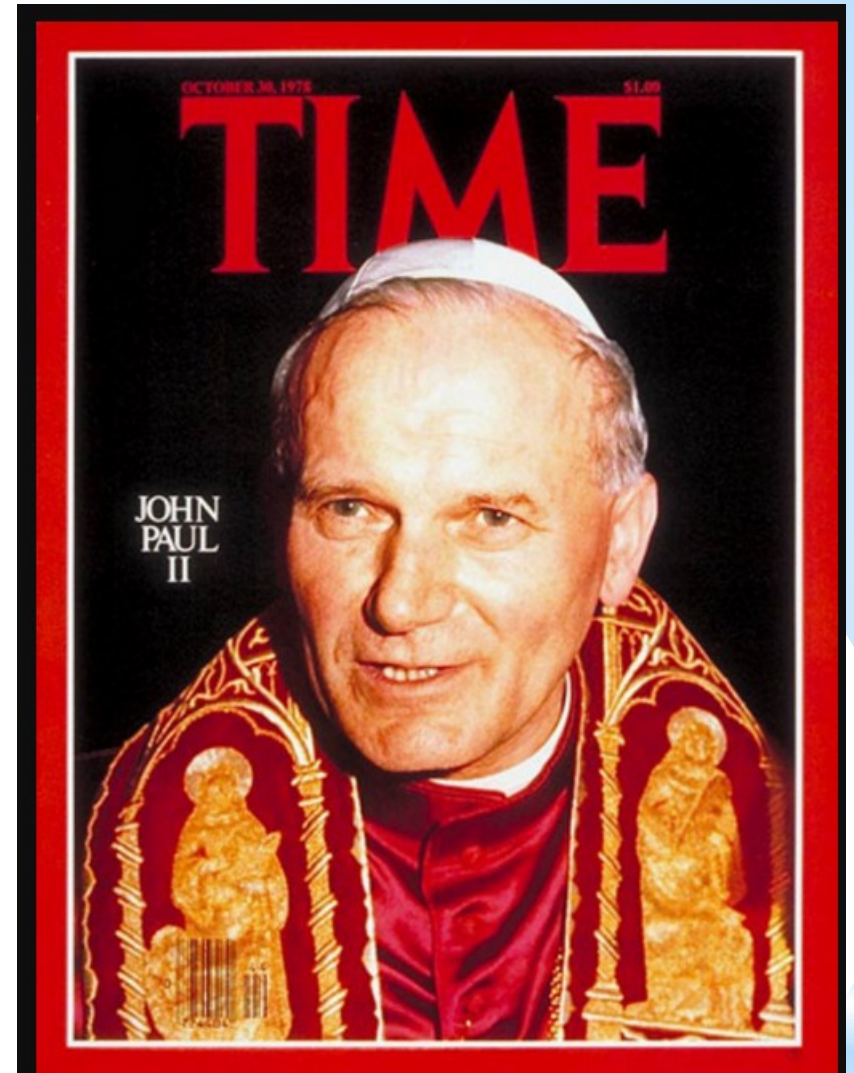
## • Poland

- The regime's retreat, having occurred for the second time in several years, amounted to an unprecedented defeat; within the rigid political system, the government was neither able to reform (it would lose control and power), nor to satisfy society's staple needs, because it had to sell abroad all it could to make foreign debt and interests payments → this quandary, combined with the daily reality of the lack of necessities, **facilitated the consolidation of organized opposition**
- 1976 group of intellectuals led by **Jacek Kuroń, Antoni Macierewicz, Jan Józef Lipski** and **Adam Michnik** founded and operated the **Workers' Defence Committee**
- More opposition groups indeed soon followed - Movement for Defense of Human and Civic Rights, Free Trade Unions of the Coast and the Confederation of Independent Poland
- The periodical "***The Worker***" was distributed in factories from September 1977

## • Poland

- The idea of independent trade unions was first raised by the Gdańsk and Szczecin workers striking in 1970–71, but was later developed and promoted by **Workers' Defence Committee** and its leftist collaborators - led to the establishment in **1978 of Free Trade Unions**, the precursor of **Solidarity**
- **Confederation of Independent Poland** represented right-wing of the Polish opposition (opposition members tried to resist the regime by denouncing it for violating the Polish constitution, Polish laws and Poland's international obligations, they called for human rights movements in Soviet Bloc)
- For the rest of the 1970s, resistance to the regime grew, assuming also the forms of student groups, clandestine newspapers and publishers, importing books and newspapers, and even a "*Flying University*" (regime practiced various forms of repression against the budding reform movements)
- 16 October 1978 Cardinal **Karol Wojtyła**, the archbishop of Kraków, was elected **pope** at the Vatican - **John Paul II**

- [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4K\\_iBXbE3UI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4K_iBXbE3UI)





# • Hungary

- 1966 Central Committee approved the "*New Economic Mechanism*" - 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 however, particularly during the anniversaries of the 1956 uprising in 1966, 1976, and 1986

# • GDR

- **Walter Ulbricht's** (first secretary of CP) foreign policy from 1967 to 1971 responded to the beginning of the era of “*détente*” with the West
- 1968 East German Constitution proclaimed the victory of socialism and restated the country's commitment to unification under communist leadership
- August 1970 USSR and FDR signed the **Moscow Treaty**
- May 1971 CP Central Committee chose **Erich Honecker** as the party's first secretary
- **E. Honecker** combined loyalty to the Soviet Union with flexibility toward détente
- 8th CP Congress June 1971 - **E. Honecker** presented the political program of the new régime
- In his reformulation of GDR foreign policy: **E. Honecker** renounced the objective of a unified Germany and adopted the "defensive" position of ideological *Abgrenzung* (demarcation or separation)
- Under this program, the country defined itself as a distinct "socialist state" and emphasized its allegiance to USSR.
- *Abgrenzung* - defended GDR sovereignty, in turn contributed to the success of détente negotiations that led to the **Four Power Agreement on Berlin (Berlin Agreement)** in 1971 and the **Basic Treaty** with FGR in December 1972

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# • GDR

- **Berlin Agreement** and **Basic Treaty** normalized relations between East Germany and West Germany (**Berlin Agreement** - effective June 1972: signed by US, GB, France, and USSR - protected trade and travel relations between West Berlin and FGR and aimed at improving communications between East Berlin and West Berlin)
- USSR - West Berlin would not be incorporated into **FGR**
- **Basic Treaty** (effective June 1973) - politically recognized two German states, two countries pledged to respect one another's sovereignty; under the terms of the treaty, diplomatic missions were to be exchanged and commercial, tourist, cultural, and communications relations established
- September 1973 **GDR** and **FGR** joined **UN**
- GDR participated in the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Europe in July 1975 signed the Helsinki Final Act, which was to guarantee the regime's recognition of human rights.
- The Final Act's provision for freedom of movement elicited approximately 120,000 East German applications for permission to emigrate, but the applications were rejected