6. Many shades of red

András Schweitzer, The idea and reality of East-Central Europe, Masaryk University, Brno, Dec. 2020

Required and recommended texts to read

- Nyyssönen, 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/vie w/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-

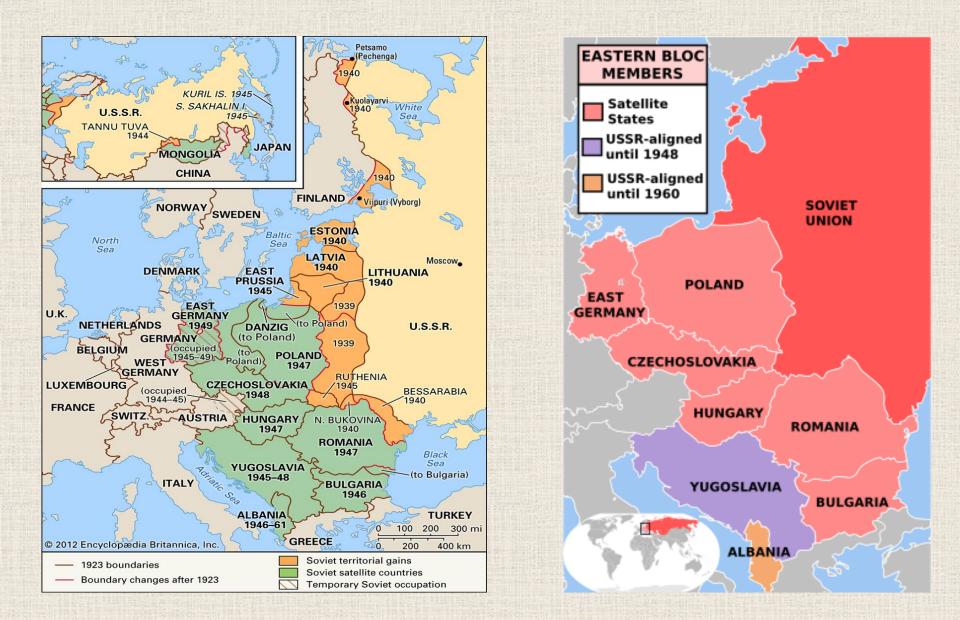


ROMANIA

Hungary

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

Advances of the Soviet Union to East-Central Europe



East-Central Europe, historical perception of Russia



<u>Polish</u>: bitter memories, Soviet-Polish war of 1920

<u>Hungarians</u>: antipathy against communism because of the Soviet Republic of 1919

<u>Czechs, Serbs, Bulgarians</u>: 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 agression

- 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" (Khruschtcev 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

Mark Kramer: Stalin, Soviet Policy and the Consolidation of a Communist Bloc in Eastern Europe, 1944-53. In: Vladimir Tismaneanu (ed.): Stalinism Revisited. The Establishment of Communist Regimes in East-Central Europe. Budapest-New York: CEU Press. 2009. pp. 59-71.

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)

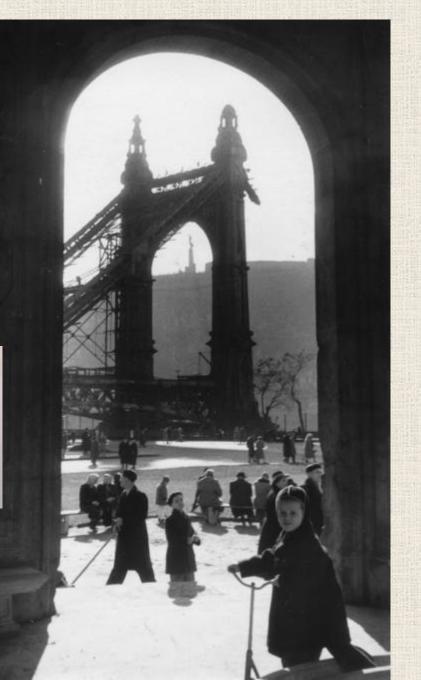
1948 February: Czechoslovak putsch; People's Democracies are established everywhere

Sovietization 1945-1948



Budapest, 1945



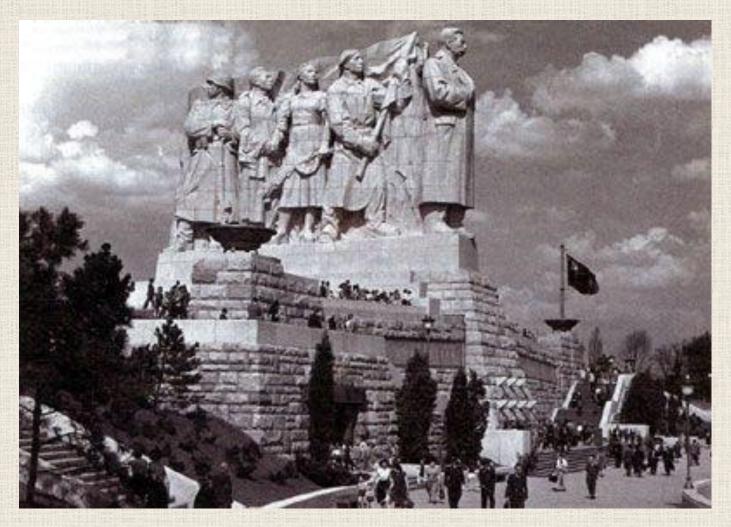


Salami and Stalin



Stalin Statue in Budapest 1951-1956

Utopenec and Stalin

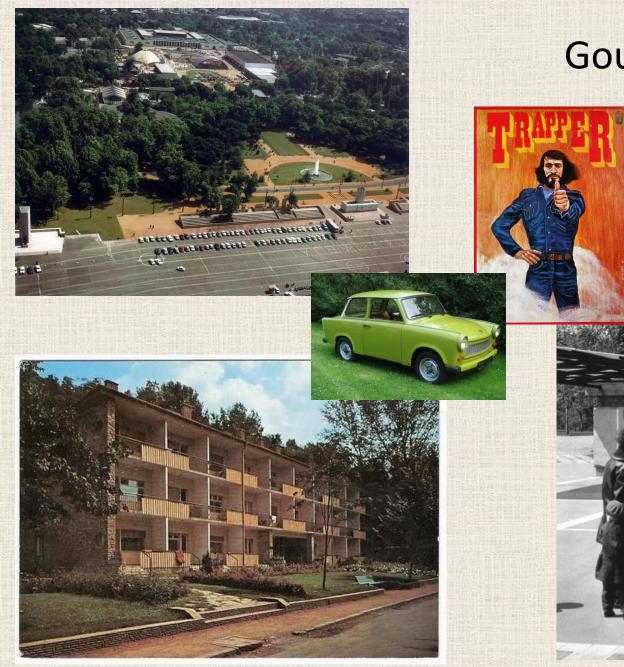


Stalin Statue in Prague 1955-1962

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

(János Rainer M. on "Kádárizmus")

Thank you for your attention! Schweitzer.andras@tatk.elte.hu