

THE ROUTLEDGE COMPANION TO

Central and Eastern Europe since 1919

Adrian Webb



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CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE: THE SCOPE OF THIS BOOK

Dividing history into periods is notoriously artificial, but by any historical standard, 1919 marked a new beginning in central and eastern Europe. Politically, it had been largely divided for at least two centuries, and in many areas for much longer, between the competing empires of Austria, Germany, Russia and Turkey. (See map.) In 1917, however, the Russian Empire had been defeated by Germany. That German victory was overtaken the following year by the defeat of Austria–Hungary, Germany and Turkey, which marked the end of the First World War in November 1918. This defeat of all the imperial powers created a vacuum unparalleled before or since in which the political system could be completely reordered in accordance with the nationality principle. Poland and Lithuania returned to the map of Europe as sovereign states. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia appeared for the first time, Estonia and Latvia for the first time as independent entities. Further east, Georgia and the Ukraine briefly enjoyed autonomy. (See map.)

If the timescale of this book is easy to justify, its geographical limits are very much harder. This is to no small degree because the terms ‘Central’ and particularly ‘Eastern’ Europe have been used to describe subjective perceptions rather than objective geographical realities. Before 1919, Central Europe was broadly understood as the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire ruled from Vienna, and Eastern Europe as the territory of the Russian Empire ruled from Saint Petersburg. The Balkans, comprising the independent states of Bulgaria, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia, together with substantial tracts of the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish Empires, formed a third grouping. The new and enlarged states established in 1919 sought to give themselves a more western orientation, but their ambitions enjoyed a mixed response. For their German-speaking neighbours, most of them remained essentially subordinate, colonial peoples, and under Hitler, they could be swept aside in the creation of a new German *Lebensraum* in the east stretching far into what had become the Ukrainian and Caucasian Republics of the Soviet Union. For the British and the French, Eastern Europe comprised the states between Germany and the Soviet Union, whose prime interest, particularly for the French, was their presumed role as allies in the event of another German attack in the west. Embarrassing as it may be to recall now, they were identified primarily with romantic revolutionaries, Ruritanian monarchs with colourful mistresses, and ‘being troublesome’. Chamberlain was merely being truthful when he declared that ‘Czechoslovakia is a far away country of which we know nothing’.

After 1945, 'Eastern Europe' was the term adopted virtually universally to describe the Soviet bloc until its demise in 1990. The term, however, normally excluded the Soviet Union itself. It also ignored the anomaly that Prague is west of Vienna. This new 'Eastern Europe' was again as much a theatre as a real place, with Berlin at centre stage. Few of its governments recognised any responsibility for national actions taken during the Second World War. Even the Austrians, who had contributed Hitler, had been the victims of Nazism. It was now the scene of the struggle between east and west, between good and evil, between light and darkness, between Communism and democracy: the assessment depending on the standpoint of the speaker. It was appreciated only slowly that the bloc was far from monolithic.

Its dissolution in 1990 permitted the restoration of a more diversified image. Some definitions became easier, others harder. German unification effectively moved East Germany from 'East' to 'West'. The 'Visegrad' group of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland emerged as the nucleus of a new 'Central Europe', associated in varying degrees with both Austria and the former Yugoslav republic of Slovenia. 'Eastern Europe' came increasingly to mean the Balkans, really south-eastern Europe, while Eastern Europe in the geographical sense implicitly meant the states which had emerged from the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, and which, with the exception of the Baltic states, are now grouped in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

In order to give this book some coherence against such shifting sands, it has been decided to focus on an 'Eastern Europe' defined as the 1945–90 Soviet bloc, including Albania and also Yugoslavia with whose history it was intimately involved, together with the Baltic States, Moldova and Ukraine during their periods of independence, in view of their increased western orientation. (Readers particularly interested in East Germany are referred to the present author's *Companion to Germany since 1945*.) That focus is complemented by considerable attention to Austria whose history between 1919 and 1938, and to some extent since 1990, is an integral part of the history of central and eastern Europe. Reference to Greece is restricted to the limited number of occasions when it directly affected developments in its northern neighbours. That is not to imply that Greece is unimportant, merely that its inclusion would introduce so many considerations particular to itself, notably Cyprus and tension with Turkey, that this book might become unwieldy.

Other countries now independent but formerly part of the Soviet Union are largely excluded in view of their very different history. It is appreciated that their exclusion creates some anomalies, but history is never tidy, and they are accordingly covered in outline in section 4.3 in an attempt to meet this difficulty.

GEOGRAPHICAL EQUIVALENTS

The names under which most central and eastern European places are now normally known to English speakers are the names in the national language, but that was much less the case in earlier decades. Moreover, political and linguistic boundaries have remained in a state of flux. Again, many names have been changed and then changed back, with the rise and fall of political ideologies. The text of this book normally adopts the name which would have been in use at the time in question, with the current name in brackets where it seems appropriate. Older or foreign sources may follow different conventions, and the following list is designed to help the reader accordingly. Major cities and features with established English names such as Belgrade, Prague and Warsaw have been excluded.

Current name

Equivalent name

Alba Iulia (Romanian)	Gyulafehérvár (Hungarian)
Bratislava (Slovak)	Pressburg (German)
České Budějovice (Czech)	Budweis (German)
Cheb (Czech)	Eger (German)
Chisinau (Romanian)	Kishinev (Russian)
Cieszyn (Polish)	Tešín (Czech), Teschen (German)
Cluj (Romanian)	Kolozsvár (Hungarian)
Dn(i)estr (Russian/Ukrainian)	Nestru (Romanian)
Durrës (Albanian)	Durazzo (Italian)
Dubrovnik (Serbo-Croat)	Ragusa (Italian)
Gdansk (Polish)	Danzig (German)
Kaliningrad (Russian)	Königsberg (German)
Karlovy Vary (Czech)	Carlsbad (German)
Kaunas (Lithuanian)	Kovno (Russian)
Kyiv (Ukrainian)	Kiev (Russian)
Lviv (Ukrainian)	Lvov (Russian), Lwów (Polish), Lemberg (German)
Mariánské Lázně (Czech)	Marienbad (German)
Montenegro (extraterritorial Italian)	Crna Gora (Serbo-Croat)
Oradea Mare (Romanian)	Nagyvárad (Hungarian)
Plzeň (Czech)	Pilsen (German)
Rijeka (Serbo-Croat)	Fiume (Italian)
Sazan (Albanian)	Saseno (Italian)
Shkodër (Albanian)	Scutari (Italian)
Sopron (Hungarian)	Oedenburg (German)

GEOGRAPHICAL EQUIVALENTS

Szczecin (Polish)	Stettin (German)
Tirgu Mures (Romanian)	Marosvasarhely (Hungarian)
Transnistria (Romanian)	Transdnjestria (Russian)
Trento (Italian)	Trent (German)
Vilnius (Lithuanian)	Wilno (Polish), Vilna (Russian)
Vlorë (Albanian)	Valona (Italian)
Wroclaw (Polish)	Breslau (German)
Zadar (Serbo-Croat)	Zara (Italian)
Zagreb (Serbo-Croat)	Agram (German)

POLITICALLY INSPIRED NAME CHANGES

The Communist period saw the widespread renaming of towns and streets in honour of Communist heroes, although Stalin was rapidly expunged, except in Georgia, after Khrushchev's denunciation in 1956. Most reverted rapidly after 1990, and Kaliningrad is the only important exception at the time of writing (2007). The more important changes are listed below.

Traditional name	Communist name
Bazardjik	Tolbukhin
Chemnitz	Karl-Marx-Stadt
Dunaujvaros	Sztalinvaros
Eisenhüttenstadt	Stalinstadt
Oneşti	Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej
Pernik	Dimitrovo
Podgorica	Titograd
Shumen	Kolarovgrad
Varna	Stalin
Zlin	Gottwaldov

Street-name changes are far too numerous to be recorded here, but it should be noted that there has been considerable resistance in eastern Germany to total change. Marx and Engels are felt by many to be part of the national heritage and worthy of continuing commemoration. Karl-Marx-Allee (once Stalinallee) in East Berlin is likely to remain.

PERSONAL NAMES

As with geographical names, English-language sources now usually quote foreign personal names in the form native to the speaker. That used to be much less the case, and there are still some exceptions, particularly when familiar forenames such as Peter are involved. This book normally prefers the native form in the interests of consistency, e.g. Franz-Josef rather than Francis-Joseph, and Karl rather than Charles, for the last two emperors of Austria–Hungary, and Beneš rather than Benesh for the second Czechoslovak president.

The transliteration of names from the Cyrillic to the Latin alphabet has its own difficulties. Transliterations from the Bulgarian and the Ukrainian now tend to be simpler, if slightly less exact, and ‘ch’ is preferred to ‘tch’, ‘-ev’ to ‘-eff’ and ‘y’ to ‘j’. Serb names, however, are now normally given in the parallel Croat spelling rather than transliterated in accordance with Western norms. Bulgarian names (like Russian names) are, therefore, pronounced broadly as an English speaker would expect, while Serb names are not. This book follows modern practice throughout so that the same name does not appear in two different forms in the same volume.

A BRIEF GUIDE TO PRONUNCIATION

It would clearly be impossible to give a detailed guide to the pronunciation of all the central and eastern European languages, and it is hardly necessary, but the following notes may help those unfamiliar with them to approach the names of places and people with more confidence and to recognise them when they are pronounced by a native speaker. Cassettes are readily available for more detailed study.

The great majority of the region's languages, including Bulgarian, Czech, Macedonian, Polish, Russian, Ruthenian, Serbo-Croat, Slovak, Slovene, Ukrainian and White Russian, belong to the Slavonic group and are closely related. Only Polish, which, with French and Portuguese, is one of the few European languages to have developed nasal vowels, is significantly different. Different spellings can, therefore, mask very similar sounds or linguistic relationships. Czech *hrad*, for example, is the same as Bulgarian *grad* (city). Many words, not least *pivo* (beer), are common to all. In so far as specific Slavonic spellings are concerned:

č (Czech, Serbo-Croat, Slovak) = English 'ch' as in church.

cz (Polish) = English 'ch', likewise.

ć (Serbo-Croat) = a rather weaker version of the above with no exact English equivalent; closest to 'tch'.

c (Polish) = similar to the previous, but not confined to the end of words.

c (Czech, Serbo-Croat, Slovak) = usually the English 'ts' as in ts.

j (Czech, Polish, Serbo-Croat, Slovak) = English 'y' as in yacht when found at the beginning of words, but also, again like the English 'y', marks a diphthong after a vowel: oj = English 'oy' as in oy, and aj = English 'igh' as in igh.

ł (Polish) = the 'l' in English lamp, rather than the 'l' in English lamp. By an evolution similar to that in the Cockney pronunciation of cold (couwd), it can approximate to an English 'w'.

š (Czech, Serbo-Croat, Slovak) = English 'sh' as in ship.

sz (Polish) = English 'sh' as in ship.

szcz (Polish) = a soft guttural sound with no standard English equivalent, but very close to the soft final 'ch' of the German 'Ich' (I).

w (Polish) = English 'v' as in victor.

ż (Czech, Polish, Serbo-Croat, Slovak) = English 's' as in sure. The same sound is transliterated from the Cyrillic alphabet as 'zh', as in Zhdanov, Zhivkov, Zhukov.

Hungarian is related to no other central or eastern European language, and it has its own distinctive spelling conventions, although its pronunciation is much less

problematic to the outsider than that of, say, Polish. Principal among its spelling conventions are:

cs = English 'ch' as in church.

gy = English 'j' as in jelly. (Nagy is thus pronounced like English 'Nodge'.)

s = English 'sh' as in ship.

sz = English 's' as in sing. (Stalin is thus written Sztalin.)

ö = the German or Swedish pronunciation of the same spelling, which has no exact equivalent in standard English but is close to the final 'er' in such words as hammer.

ő = a more emphatic form of the foregoing, close to the standard English 'ur' as in burn.

Romanian is central and eastern Europe's only Romance (derived from Latin) language and has discernible similarities with French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish. Its main spelling conventions are:

c = before 'e' or 'i' English 'ch' as in church, otherwise English 'k' as in king.

ș = English 'sh' as in ship.

i = is mute at the end of words.

oe = the English 'oy' as in oy.

(As an example of the three foregoing rules, the town of Ploești is pronounced 'Ploysht'.) Moldovan (Moldavian) is essentially the same language as Romanian. It was written in the Cyrillic alphabet during the Soviet period.

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I
THE REORDERING OF EUROPE

1.1

THE BACKGROUND TO 1919

It can be argued persuasively that the First World War was a struggle for mastery between rival empires driven by economic and strategic concerns: that it was, in short, a war waiting to happen. Proponents of that view can point to the string of crises from 1900 onwards which threatened to bring Britain, France and Germany, in particular, into conflict, and the tension generated by Anglo-German naval rivalry. None of these crises, however, had actually led to war. Indeed, many of the points at issue either had been resolved or were well on the way to being resolved by the end of 1913, although the underlying animosities and suspicions certainly remained, as was witnessed by the enthusiasm with which the outbreak of war was to be received in Berlin, London and Paris. Nevertheless, the war which actually materialised was triggered by specifically Balkan rivalries and tensions.

The Balkans had been unstable for the best part of a century for several interrelated reasons, some of which were to outlive the post-war settlement of 1919 and remain live to this day. The most obvious was the progressive political decay of the Turkish Empire. The Empire, which in 1683 had included Hungary and had launched the siege of Vienna – half way to London from Istanbul – had lost its dynamism during the eighteenth century, and the nineteenth century had seen successive struggles for independence by its European colonies. Serbia had been the first to rebel in 1804, and its autonomy had been internationally recognised in 1829, but Greece in 1830 had been the first to gain full independence. The Turks had been obliged progressively to recognise the autonomy of Moldavia and Wallachia, the core of the modern Romania, in 1856, and of Bulgaria in 1878. The full independence of Serbia and Romania had come in 1878 and of Bulgaria in 1908. Albania had gained independence of a kind as recently as 1912.

The national liberation movements had enjoyed little general support from the outside world, a factor which has contributed to a certain inwardness of outlook. British governments, responsible for the world's largest empire, were unsympathetic in principle and were always nervous as to the implications for Ireland. More specifically, the Turkish Empire was seen as a bulwark against Russian expansionism, and it was British policy throughout the century to prop it up, even at the expense of offending domestic public opinion. The Austrians, the Turks' most obvious imperial rivals in the Balkans, similarly saw the Turks as necessary for their own survival by virtue of their holding Balkan nationalist

aspirations in check. They also preferred Turkish to national rule, because it provided a single framework for their plans for economic investment, notably in railways. The French were only really interested in Romania, on account of its Latin roots, and Germany's celebrated Chancellor, Bismarck, famously considered the Balkans not to be worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier. Russia alone, the one power with some emotional attachment to the Balkan Slavs and with its own strategic ambition of controlling Constantinople (Istanbul) and gaining access to the Mediterranean, had a clear interest in diminishing Turkish suzerainty. Russia, however, had lost the Crimean War and was not in a position to promote her own interests at the expense of those of the other powers.

In practice, the Great Powers had met sporadically, most notably at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, to regulate and confirm, but not usually radically alter, what had already happened on the ground. Their real concern was to ensure that none of their own number gained sufficient advantage to disturb the wider European balance of power.

For all their ethnic and geographical differences, the new states had a lot in common. They all, except Albania, belonged primarily to the Orthodox branch of Christianity organised on nationally independent (autocephalous) lines, and drew a proportion of their sense of national identity from the fight against the Turk and Islam, which were indissolubly linked. Prior to their conquest by the Turks in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they had formed part of the Byzantine world (see section VII, Glossary). That world, however, had lost any effective central direction centuries before its final demise, and power had been exercised from a number of changing centres over expanding and contracting areas with very fluid boundaries. Virtually every one of the new national boundaries could, therefore, be contested. The new Balkan states also shared many economic and social characteristics. Production was overwhelmingly agricultural and heavy industry almost unknown, apart from mining. The Greek merchant marine which had grown apace after independence was a case apart. Railways were few and educational levels generally low. Power lay with the monarchy and a small governing class drawn from the emerging bourgeoisie. Much commerce was in Greek hands. Only Serbia was not led by a monarch drawn from the seemingly inexhaustible pool of German princes. That bond of sympathy was sometimes contradicted by the stance of the small number of intellectuals, who in Romania in particular looked towards France. It was also contradicted in the Slav lands of Bulgaria and Serbia by the powerful force of pan-Slavism, part intellectual, part popular, part religious, which stressed the close cultural and linguistic links of the Slav peoples with each other and with their largest community, the Russians, in particular.

Not least, they shared an intense nationalism and the unstable blend of insecurity and assertiveness which is so often the legacy of colonial rule. This was a source of potential tension with the large ethnic minorities in virtually every state. When combined with the region's uncertain frontiers, conflict was

predictable, and the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 gave the Balkans a reputation for instability which was to dog it throughout the twentieth century.

These new states adjoined the large areas of what is now Bosnia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, where slightly different conditions applied. Turkish influence had penetrated more deeply. The Turkish minority itself was larger, and a significant proportion of the local population in some parts had converted to Islam. To this day, the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo, has in many places the look of a Turkish city. The new fashion of nationalism also had a much less certain focus. The dialects of Bosnia could be described as Serb, but those of Macedonia were more akin to Bulgarian. There was no memory, however remote or artificial, of a predecessor state. Moreover, the rugged terrain, just as in Albania and Montenegro further to the west, and just as in the Caucasus and Afghanistan much further away, readily nourished a ready rejection of governmental authority in any form.

The area of Bosnia–Herzegovina had proved a flashpoint in 1908 when it had been annexed by the Austro-Hungarian Empire rather than the neighbouring Slav states who had the most obvious claim on the grounds of ethnicity.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire was in some respects a mirror image of the Turkish. Its power was ebbing, and it had lost most of its Italian provinces during the nineteenth century. Hungarian nationalism had obliged the Habsburg monarchy in 1867 to convert the Austrian Empire into an Austro-Hungarian one under the ‘Compromise’ (*Ausgleich*). Such important regions as Croatia and Slovakia were technically Hungarian rather than Austrian colonies, and the Hungarians were determined to retain their dominance. It was the goal of southern Slav nationalists such as the Bosnian Serb, Gavrilo Princip, who assassinated the Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914, thereby setting the First World War in motion, to liberate all the southern Slavs from Austro-Hungarian as much as from Turkish rule and to unify them under Serb leadership.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire, however, was in a less advanced stage of political decay than the Turkish. It could still seize the initiative as it had in Bosnia–Herzegovina in 1908. Moreover, it was enmeshed in the system of interlocking great power alliances, which in 1914 was to escalate the localised dispute between Serbia and Austria–Hungary, following the Sarajevo assassination, into the First World War.

In the years before 1914, however, the Habsburg monarchy had probably been more preoccupied by separatism much further north in Austrian Poland. Unlike the Balkan states, which had succumbed to Turkey more than five centuries before, an independent Polish–Lithuanian Empire had been divided up between Austria, Prussia (now Germany) and Russia as recently as 1772–95. The composer, Chopin, had distilled the Polish national spirit in piano pieces played in drawing rooms across Europe and had been instrumental in persuading western public opinion, if not western governments, that Polish nationalism, like Italian, was a good cause. More violent figures culminating in Piłsudski (q.v.) had sought to

secure an independent and united Poland by more direct means. If Austrian rule in Kraków was somewhat less arbitrary than Russian autocracy in Warsaw, it was no less minded to preserve what it regarded as its own.

The issue ultimately at stake was the proper basis for constituting a nation. In the eyes of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the citizen owed a personal duty of loyalty to the crown which in turn owed a duty to its citizens to treat them equally regardless of their ethnic origins. Its culture was cosmopolitan but firmly rooted in its German-speaking core. It was the world of Haydn and Mozart. For its non-German-speaking citizens, particularly the Czechs, Hungarians, Poles and Transylvanian Romanians, loyalty was increasingly felt to lie with one's ethnic group organised as a nation state. It was a western European concept transferred to the very different world of central Europe, where populations were ethnically very mixed, and cultural and religious loyalties highly diverse. It was a highly stimulating cultural impulse, at least for a time, and closely allied with the equally imported concept of liberalism. Nevertheless, its inherent logic that the nation state was the particular preserve of a specific ethnic group was to cause havoc repeatedly in the twentieth century and continues to do so in the twenty-first century.

It is as difficult for the historian now, however, as it was for the Imperial government then, to propose an alternative. Perhaps the Hungarian precedent could have been built upon to establish a loose central European federation still focused on Vienna. It may yet materialise nearly a century later in the wider concept of common EU membership. Habsburg rule, though, was detested by Croats, Czechs, Poles, Romanians and others alike, and their leaders had unlimited faith in the nationality principle. If they had been able to foresee the history of the twentieth century, they might perhaps have felt differently.

The First World War, however, had brought all these animosities to the fore, and destroyed what limited scope there was for compromise. Austria-Hungary, Germany and Turkey, with their Balkan ally Bulgaria, had been pitted against Russia (with its British, French, and at the end American, allies on the Western Front) and Italy with their Balkan allies Montenegro, Romania, Serbia and Greece. All the empires, on the eastern fronts as on the western, conscripted their citizens. Ethnic Italians from, say, Trieste had been expected to fight against the Kingdom of Italy, just as Austro-Hungarian and German Poles had been expected to fight against Russian Poles. Desertion was treason and punished as such. It had nevertheless happened, sometimes on an organised scale. A Czechoslovak Legion, for example, fought with the Italians, contributing to sympathy between the two countries for a time after 1919.

Casualties had everywhere been severe and weighed particularly heavily, perhaps, on the Balkans, which had not yet recovered from their own wars of 1912 and 1913. Serbia had lost almost a quarter of its population in 6 years of war, a proportion higher than that suffered by any nation state in the Second World War. The economic losses were to be longer lasting. Livestock herds were not to reach their prewar level for another 20 years, and although economists

have calculated that European productivity as a whole had returned broadly to its prewar level as early as 1924, central and eastern European agriculture had now not only to recover but to compete with the output of the United States and Canada, and its industry with the increased productivity of western Europe and North America alike. The certainties of prewar society were never to return.

1.2

VERSAILLES, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW ORDER AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The Treaty of Versailles represents the formal opening of the period covered by this book, and that is fully justified because it gave international recognition to the new Europe which the forces unleashed by the First World War had created. Indeed, in retrospect, the ‘creations’ of the Conference itself were probably negative rather than positive in their impact: the establishment of the free city of Danzig, the imposition of an unrealistic burden of reparations on Germany and reliance on a League of Nations to which nobody was willing to give serious support and which America declined ever to join.

It was, nevertheless, Versailles which endorsed the changes which had been happening on the ground since at least 1916, and in some areas even earlier. These changes had sometimes even been initiated by the combatants themselves. Germany and Austria had both promised the Poles sovereignty in 1916 in an attempt to free troops for the Western Front. Such promises were not necessarily honoured once victory had been secured. The secret Treaty of London of 1915 had promised Italy a large part of the Dalmatian coast then under Austro-Hungarian rule, but the Treaty was disowned by America’s President Wilson, who became a major player with America’s entry into the War in 1917. Italy saw the coast pass to Yugoslavia. Similarly, the secret Treaty of Bucharest of 1916 had promised Romania the whole of the Hungarian Banat, but it was to be divided along ethnic lines. Likewise, earlier secret agreements meant that the Czechs and the Serbs were represented at Versailles, but neither the Slovaks nor the Croats.

Governments had similarly appeared and disappeared before the Conference had even been convened. The imperial governments had fallen in Russia in 1917, and in Austria–Hungary and Germany in 1918, although the Turkish Sultinate did not finally succumb until 1922. Only in Hungary, despite Béla Kun’s unsuccessful revolution, was there a measure of continuity, although Admiral Horthy was not installed as regent for the absent Habsburg monarchy until March 1920. On the other hand, the Czechs, the Poles and the southern Slavs already had shadow governments with as much (or as little) practical experience as the post-imperial governments of Austria, Germany, Hungary and Russia.

Nevertheless, Versailles did not settle the peace terms between the Allies and the Austrians, the Bulgarians, and the Hungarians. Those were to follow at St. Germain, Neuilly and Trianon. None of the treaties, however, was to settle all the frontier disputes between the central and eastern European countries, new and old. These were typically areas of mixed population, where cultural, ethnic, historic, linguistic and strategic ties pulled in different directions. Disputes rapidly flared between Italy and Yugoslavia over Fiume and Istria, between Russia and Poland over their common border, and most dramatically of all, although just outside our area, between the Turks and the Allies, notably the Greeks, over the future Turkish state. Some of the disputes were to be settled at later conferences, others were settled or revised during and after the Second World War, and others remain potential flash-points. In practice, settlement has usually meant an exchange of populations, sometimes slow and voluntary, often abrupt and brutal.

The choice of the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles for the signature of the peace treaty was motivated by the overwhelming desire of the French to have their revenge for the treaty they had been forced to sign there by the victorious Germans at the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. Unintentionally, however, it proved to be a metaphor for the order which the Treaty brought into being, not least in central and eastern Europe. It was an order based on appearances and illusions rather than on realities.

The France of Versailles appeared to be the greatest power in continental Europe and the victorious nations of central and eastern Europe relied on her protection and her training of their armies accordingly. The comparative power of France, however, had been suffering erosion for over a century from the malign combination of a low birth rate and a shortage of many of the mineral resources needed to build up an industrial society. At the same time as the states of central and eastern Europe were looking to her for protection, she was envisaging them as future defenders of France. The years 1938–9 were to reveal her inability and reluctance to protect them and 1940 her inability (and again perhaps reluctance) to defend herself without them.

Russia was feared when she was weak in the 1920s but largely ignored in the 1930s when she was recovering her strength. No one was to see fit to invite her to the 1938 Munich Conference which dismembered Czechoslovakia, and as late as 1939 Poland could not accept that she was the only power which could possibly protect her from Germany. Piłsudski had maintained that Poland was a great power or she was nothing. The year 1939 was to show that when her romantic illusions and cavalry were set against the reality of the German Stuka bomber, she would be the latter before she would be the former.

The master illusionist, however, was Mussolini, who seized power in Italy in 1922. His armies were poorly equipped, his support shallow and his strategic vision defective, but none of this was to prevent him from causing apprehension everywhere. He was also to prove a master of intrigue, although that designation does not do justice to his diplomatic skills. He was to intrigue in Albania,

in Austria, in Bulgaria, in Czechoslovakia, in Greece and in Yugoslavia. Moreover, he was to intrigue successfully for the best part of 20 years. Not surprisingly, he was to spawn imitators like King Carol in Romania and Dr Dollfuss in Austria, and admirers like King Boris in Bulgaria, General Averescu in Romania, and King Zog in Albania. Piłsudski's march on Warsaw of 1926 was to be highly reminiscent of Mussolini's march on Rome of 1922. Mussolini's fascism and the reasons for its widespread appeal are discussed in section 1.4.

Even Germany formed part of this pattern of appearances and illusions. The western Allies certainly had no illusions about Germany's resentment at her defeat and were to be highly alarmed in 1922 when she signed the Treaty of Rapallo with Russia. It was always implausible, though, that the two countries, with opposing philosophies and urgent internal concerns, would be jointly proactive on the European stage. When the threat presented by Germany did become real in the mid-1930s, illusions again came to the fore. Many were to find it difficult to take Hitler with his toothbrush moustache and prominent forelock seriously: Charlie Chaplin was to try unsuccessfully in 'The Great Dictator' to undermine him with ridicule. Mussolini continued to be seen by many as the real threat. When all else failed, the illusion surfaced that Hitler would be amenable to reason. The dismemberment of Czechoslovakia was to be initiated at Munich by the British and the French in the hope that it would satisfy him. Chamberlain's fond belief that Hitler's signature on a 'scrap of paper' meant 'peace for our time' proved to be the greatest illusion of all.

These illusions were to be stimulated rather than checked by the serious structural defects in the Versailles and successor settlements over and above the essential mismanagement of the whole German question. In particular, no real attempt was made to balance the national ambitions and insecurities of the Europe they had created. The inconsistency in application of the ethnic nationality principle meant that whereas the Czechs and Slovaks, and the Serbs and Croats, had been placed in one state despite their uncertain enthusiasm for union, the Germans of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire were forbidden to unite with their kinsmen in Germany. They either had to become citizens of the new Austria or were incorporated in Czechoslovakia so as to give the new state an allegedly defensible frontier. Czechoslovakia was thus awarded upwards of some three million unwilling citizens. Not dissimilarly, some three of the 11 million ethnic Hungarians found themselves excluded from the new nation state, whereas the new Poland and Romania were barely 70 per cent ethnically Polish and Romanian respectively.

The victors were not necessarily any more satisfied. Italy, denied the Dalmatian coast and acquiring Istria and Fiume only after a struggle, feared the new Yugoslavia and her French ally as a threat across the Adriatic to even her modest great power ambitions. With the advent of Mussolini to power in 1922, those ambitions were to become appreciably less modest with domination of the whole Mediterranean as the ultimate goal. In the medium term, the objective

was to dominate the Balkans. In practice, that was to mean cultivating Albania together with Bulgaria and Hungary, which were both anxious to reverse their territorial losses to the new Yugoslavia. The Hungarians sought to recover the fertile plains of the Banat (the Vojvodina) and even entertained hopes of breaking the new Yugoslavia in two by attracting the Croats back to their Hungarian allegiance. To the south, the Bulgarians were to pursue their ancient claim to Macedonia through support for terrorism which also profited from Italian assistance. The Yugoslavs for their part had aspirations to incorporate Bulgaria in a Slav union. The containment of Yugoslavia was also to involve Italy in Austria's affairs, because she represented the only land transit route from Italy to Hungary. For all its technical flair, however, Italy's foreign policy was strategically flawed. It had no prospect of displacing the British and the French from the Mediterranean except in alliance with Germany. Any alliance with Germany, however, would quickly underline the limitations of Italian strength. As early as 1934, the assassination by the Nazis of Dr Dollfuss in Vienna was to mark the end of Italian supremacy in Austria. Although Austro-German union (*Anschluss*) was to be deferred for 3 years, from then on it was Hitler rather than Mussolini who was to make the running wherever it really mattered.

Subordination to Germany, however, was not to spell the end of either Italian ambition or even its realisation. The partition of the Balkans between German and Italian spheres of influence remained plausible, and the Mediterranean was peripheral to Germany's world view. As chance would have it, Hitler appears to have been personally pro-Italian, and he and Mussolini soon mastered the art of alternately creating crises which the other would use his best offices to solve. The Munich Agreement was to be the greatest achievement of this masterly double act.

The clarity and coherence of Italian policy were to compare favourably with the vacillation of the French. Having antagonised Germany throughout most of the post-war period, she was terrified by the rise of Hitler, and was to seek agreement with Italy as a counterbalance at almost any price, undercutting her dignity and probably her self-respect in the process. She was to persuade Yugoslavia in 1934 to ignore Italian complicity in the assassination of King Alexander and the Italians themselves to encourage the Hungarians to be more conciliatory. The actual result was to prove counterproductive. Yugoslavia was to become more sympathetic to the German cause.

The British were to remain aloof until 1938, by which time the threat posed by Hitler to the established European order could no longer be ignored. Their intervention, this time in Czechoslovakia, was to prove as counterproductive as the French in Yugoslavia 4 years earlier. The Munich Agreement signalled to Hitler and central and eastern European governments alike that the western powers would take no serious action to deflect Hitler's ambitions. An anti-German stance was no longer a serious political option until the German invasion of Poland, by which time it was too late.

The underlying illusion generated by Versailles, however, was strategic. It partnered a resentful Germany on its eastern and south-eastern borders with a series of weak states, which could only be defended from her by genuine reconciliation, by the western Allies or by Russia. No serious attempt was made to pursue any of these options. The central and eastern European states could not even make common cause together. Although the Little Entente linked Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia, and relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia greatly improved from the early 1930s onwards, Hungary and Poland remained outside, albeit for different reasons. Hungary was unreconciled, and Poland had its own national agenda. Even the Little Entente was to have its illusions. It was to seem on occasion more afraid of the restoration of the Habsburg monarchy in Vienna, of which there was much talk in Austria in the mid-1930s, than of Austro-German union and subsequent German expansionism.

Such illusions were, however, as nothing compared with the self-deception to be indulged in by the Poles, which would be comic if its consequences had not been so tragic. Colonel Beck, foreign minister after 1932, persuaded himself that he could not only preserve Poland but actually enlarge it by helping the Germans to expand eastwards through Czechoslovakia and in due course defeat the Soviet Union. Poland could then remain profitably neutral if a victorious Germany turned against the western powers, which Beck assumed would be able to win. It was somewhat ironic in these circumstances that those same western powers were to go to war in 1939 to protect Polish independence as a moral commitment.

The basic facts on the changing allegiances of the states of central and eastern Europe up to and during the War are detailed in sections 2.2 and 2.3, and may be readily summarised. Virtually all their governments sought accommodation with the Germans because it was either a means to redressing national grievances, as with Bulgaria and Hungary, or a means to pursuing national ambitions, as with Poland, or, more generally, because of a sense that Germany was in the ascendant, and resistance was pointless. That sense was strongly reinforced by the Munich Agreement, which appeared to establish that the western European nations would not risk war to protect those of eastern Europe. When the British and the French had taken the initiative in dismembering Czechoslovakia to placate Hitler, accommodation was hardly an unreasonable policy for the other governments to follow.

Although, by 1940, government was everywhere in the hands of men of a dictatorial or fascist temper (except in Albania, Czechoslovakia and Poland, which had all effectively ceased to exist), it was not totally subservient to German interests, partly because of its own intense nationalism, partly because of an element of reserve over the nature of Hitler's Nazism, and partly because of a sense of self-preservation. Boris III in Bulgaria always knew that the pro-Russian sentiment of his people would not allow him to declare war on the Soviet Union, although he could on America and Britain. Yugoslavia's regent, Paul, was deposed as soon as he tried to override public opinion and ally his country with Germany.

Public opinion in most countries, though, was extremely divided. Righting perceived injustices to the nation was always popular, as was anti-Semitism, and Hitler's calls for a campaign against Bolshevism met with a ready response in the middle and upper classes. The newly empowered nationalisms of Croatia and Slovakia were dependent on German support for survival. On the other hand, many nationalists, particularly the aristocracy even in Germany, found Hitler's Nazism distasteful. The disenfranchised peasantry, which everywhere formed the majority of the population, followed rather than led, but bore the brunt of the war losses and soon questioned the value of the cause for which it was fighting. Regardless of earlier alignments and interests, however, virtually nobody wanted to be on the losing side once the tide of war had turned. Italy again acted as a model for central and eastern Europe, although for the last time, when it changed sides and declared war on Germany on 13 October 1943.

The resistance movements which arose were similarly divided, and reflected the internal conflicts of the 1920s and 1930s. Some devoted as much attention to fighting each other as to fighting the external enemy. The Communists, though, proved to be the most determined and effective of the competing groups as well as the best organised. The War, also, imposed its own remorseless logic. One was either for or against the Germans and, in the circumstances of central and eastern Europe, that meant was either for or against the Soviet Union. The latter was no more willing to let Bulgaria sit on the fence than Germany was Hungary. That same logic, once the Soviet Union had seized the military advantage, meant that foreign policy could only be pro- or anti-Soviet. Neutrality was not on the agenda.

Moreover, the Soviet Union was to repeat at Yalta, with American and British agreement, that the future governments of central and eastern Europe would have to be governments 'friendly' to the Soviet Union so as to create what it saw as a 'cordon sanitaire' to protect it from any further attack from Germany. The Soviet Union's definition of 'friendly' did not extend to cabinet ministers who had come to any form of accommodation with fascism, whether they had a popular mandate or not. That was hardly surprising when Hitler had enjoyed just such a popular mandate. *Pravda* declared on 9 April 1945 that 'there can be no question of politicians, styling themselves democrats but actually supporting reaction, being included. Mikolajczyk, for instance ... actually still supports the fascist 1935 constitution ...'. The declaration concerned strategically vital Poland, but it was of general relevance.

The creation of 'friendly' governments was to happen naturally in Albania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, but it was more problematic elsewhere. It was to be eased in Bulgaria by traditional pro-Russian sympathy, but both Hungary and Romania (like Finland) were to enjoy a greater measure of discretion than might have been expected by recently pro-Axis nations. Free national elections were to be held in Hungary as early as November 1945, nearly 4 years before West Germany, and government entrusted to a broadly based Smallholders Party. The situation in Romania was to remain confused partly because, like

Poland, it was suffering from the widespread breakdown of law and order. It seems probable though that the autocracy of the Groz(e)a government was to be attributable to domestic factors rather than to intrigue by the Soviet Union, which was to remain willing for several years to work with and through King Michael.

1.3

THE CONCEPT AND HISTORY OF NATIONALISM IN EASTERN EUROPE

It was noted in section 1.1 that nationalism was essentially a western European concept transferred to the very different conditions of central and eastern Europe. It was also noted that it contrasted markedly with the dynastic principle. That is not to suggest that central and eastern European nationalism had no local roots. On the contrary, it was often rooted in a strong sense of cultural and often religious identity, which the ruling imperial powers had normally tolerated. Ironically, perhaps, the Muslim Turks had often been more tolerant than the Christian Austrians and Russians. The Austrians had forcibly suppressed Czech protestantism and national rights, and Austrians, Germans and Russians alike had sought to suppress the Polish sense of identity after the partitions at the end of the eighteenth century.

What did distinguish central (including German and Italian) and eastern European nationalism from the nationalism of England, Denmark, France, Spain or Sweden was that in the western cases, the creation of the nation state had predated any strong popular sense of cultural or national identity. The states were above all the creations of powerful individual monarchs who stimulated the creation of the cultures which sustained them. The great power of the monarch had in its turn provoked counter-claims of individual liberty and, in France, the truly revolutionary concept that the foundation of the state was a social contract between freely consenting citizens.

The pattern of development in central and eastern Europe was the reverse. There (as in Ireland and Norway), the sense of cultural identity had come first, and it demanded a nation state for its expression. The nation was a cultural and ethnic community, rather than a political one. By definition it looked back into the past. This historicising trend, operating after centuries of foreign rule, often associated with heavy destruction at the time of invasion, frequently gave nationalist sentiment a very introverted, romanticised quality. Comparatively brief periods of national prominence were disproportionately glorified, and much was imagined and indeed invented. This is easy to mock from a western European perspective, but the visitor to, say, Hungary cannot but be struck by the virtual absence of any extant monuments dating from before 1700.

This romanticism, which extended to Germany, was associated with a conspicuous vein of exclusivity. Having finally achieved recognition of their

national identity, the peoples concerned reacted by both overlooking the ethnic intermingling which had been proceeding for centuries and persuading themselves that they were intrinsically superior to their neighbours. Hitler's concepts of Aryan purity and superiority were only particularly extreme forms of views widely held across central and eastern Europe.

It was also a nationalism which percolated downwards from the artists, the intellectuals, the military and even the Church, and, if there was one, the aristocracy, rather than upwards from the people at large. It was a nationalism that was taught, and sometimes taught without sophistication because the teachers themselves were in places men of limited learning.

It also has to be said that the very concept of nationalism had a darker side to it than its proponents, many of them humanitarian and liberal men like Czechoslovakia's Professor Masaryk and America's President Wilson, appreciated. The stress on the unity of one people implied its lack of unity with any other people, and it was a very short step from inclusiveness to exclusiveness, from nationalism to racism, from tolerance to intolerance. This had been less obvious in the case of the great nineteenth-century models of German and Italian unification which had been focused primarily on joining together petty statelets and sweeping away semi-feudal administrations, although the outlook of the German educated classes had been transferred from a liberal to a nationalist stance after 1871. In central and eastern Europe, though, there were not the same homogenous culturally defined populations, and where there were, they could contradict the ethnic principle. Areas like Macedonia and Transylvania had a measure of regional consciousness, but a German, a Hungarian or a Romanian could equally claim to be a good Transylvanian.

The proponents of the national ideal also failed to realise the ease with which the goal of unity could be translated into the suspicion of, and then suppression of, dissent. They and their nineteenth-century predecessors had linked the ideal of nationalism with the ideals of liberalism and parliamentarianism, but nationalism was related at least as closely to corporatism (see section 1.4), and in times of stress, like those introduced by the end of the First World War, the simplicities of nationalist corporatism were progressively to overwhelm the sophisticated complexities of parliamentarianism. Moreover, cultural and ethnic nationalism was emotional and bound up with the land and the spirit of the people it had brought forth. It readily opposed itself to, and despised, the intellectual concepts, popularised by the French revolution, of the rights of man. Democracy and individual rights were increasingly seen as alien western values, particularly once the west had become an economic competitor.

Romantic, exclusive and introspective nationalism, therefore, grew ever stronger in the interwar years, rather than weaker as might have been expected as the experience of independence matured. Similarly, it became ever more dominant in the universities, not least in Germany. It was rendered even more compulsive by the very need to overcome the reality of cultural, ethnic, political and religious fragmentation. The vicious circle was further poisoned by the stresses induced by

the continuous economic crisis. Whether more favourable economic conditions would in due course have directed central and eastern European nationalisms into more constructive channels cannot now be known, but many in the ruling classes gained substantial private benefit from nationalistic economic policies. Corruption and profiteering were widespread, though certainly not universal.

The victims of this virulent form of nationalism were the minorities, and above all the Jews. Anti-Semitism flared in the universities, especially in Poland where the Jews were particularly unpopular for reasons suggested in section 1.5 following. The scale of Hitler's 'final solution' has tended to deflect attention from the fierce anti-Semitism prevalent in many of Germany's neighbours as it has from the role of their citizens in the concentration camps, in national SS units and the like.

Special mention must also be made of the nationalist cross-currents within the new states of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. There was always a measure of optimism in the belief that ethnic and linguistic similarity and, perhaps, military common interest would be sufficient to weld the new states together, and at no stage had union enjoyed unanimous support. Divisions, however, readily opened over the presumption of the Czechs and Serbs that, as they had played the leading role in defeating imperial rule, they should also play the leading role in running the new state. Piedmont and Prussia had made similar presumptions on Italian and German unification some 50 years earlier. Moreover, the Czechs could point to their financial support for Slovakia, and the Serbs to their military and other wartime losses in the interests of the southern Slavs as a whole. This did not stop the presumption from being resented, or the perceived lack of appreciation which it provoked from being resented in its turn. Moreover, both the Czechs and the Serbs felt the insecurity engendered by being minorities in the states they aspired to lead. A not dissimilar pattern of tension has been discernible between western and eastern Germany since unification in 1990. In the nineteenth century, Germany and Italy had succeeded in resolving such problems, but against a favourable economic background. The economic background in the interwar years was unfavourable, and such resentments festered. They festered all the more because the then guardians of both Croat and Slovak nationalisms were men of narrow vision whose final rise to power under Nazi auspices only increased their paranoia. The genocide of Serbs and minorities in Croatia under Dr Pavelić, which on occasion provoked even the Germans to intervene, was to leave scars which became all too apparent when Yugoslavia fractured in the 1990s.

The vicious circle of ever-more introverted nationalism was broken by the defeat of Germany and the victory of the Soviet Union, followed by the progressive assumption of power by Communist regimes. The problem of minorities had in some cases been eased by the conduct of the war itself. Some 13 million Germans were forcibly ejected, or fled, from across central and eastern Europe in Europe's largest population movement in over a thousand years. It was 'ethnic cleansing', to employ a later term, on a scale to dwarf anything which

would happen subsequently in the Balkans, and it was approved by all the Allies at Potsdam. In association with the westward movement of her frontiers, it meant that Poland was now ethnically Polish in a way she had never been before. Not least, perhaps six million Jews had been annihilated across Nazi Europe, and the goal of many of the survivors was to emigrate to what was to become Israel, as quickly as possible.

Communist education and propaganda now glorified proletarian internationalism rather than the nation state. It is easy to be cynical about the endless talk of fraternal friendship, and it concealed much that was far from fraternal, but it is harder not to feel that some such corrective was needed. Eastern Europeans were now obliged to master one another's languages and to learn about each other's customs. Their very isolation from the west threw them back on their own resources. This did not mean that nationalism disappeared. It quickly surfaced, or rather was not suppressed, in Yugoslavia and Albania. It was part of the particular genius of Tito that he was able to harness the Yugoslav ideal of 1918 to a new forward-looking nationalism which would for several decades supersede and transcend the traditional nationalisms of Croatia and Serbia. Nationalism resurfaced successively in East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Romania, although the experience of the War made nationalism a sensitive subject in East and West Germany alike. Successive Romanian Communist governments, on the other hand, self-consciously exploited nationalist sentiment to the end to enhance their popularity. Moreover, the Communist regimes sought to insulate their peoples from each other. It could be as difficult to travel from one Soviet bloc state to another as to cross the Iron Curtain itself. Nevertheless, the whole philosophy of Communism was internationalist, and economic and military necessity drove contact and cooperation. COMECON and the Warsaw Pact were as unlike the national chauvinism of the prewar years in the east as the EEC and NATO were in the west. Again as in the west, the new forces of tourism and television helped to break down national barriers.

The collapse of Communism in 1990 tilted the balance back in favour of nationalism. The Soviet Union dissolved into its constituent republics, and although the Russian Federation itself has held, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Armenia and Georgia have been added to the number of European states, all but the first three loosely grouped under the umbrella of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Yugoslavia fractured more slowly but much more painfully into its constituent republics of Bosnia–Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia. Neither the Soviet Union nor Yugoslavia, however, fully dissolved into truly national units. The boundaries, and indeed sometimes the very existence, of the constituent republics had been determined by the need to accommodate or balance ethnic and religious groupings within the wider federation, not to form the nucleus of a nation state. Neither Bosnia, nor Macedonia nor Moldova was in any sense a nation in waiting. This may or may not prove fatal. Belgium has thrived, at least comparatively, since 1830 from similarly inauspicious beginnings.

The process of dissolution also involved Czechoslovakia, which split by agreement into its constituent Czech and Slovak parts in 1992/3. Only Germany had gone against the trend with the unification of East and West in 1990.

The future is open to differing interpretations. On the one hand, the process of dissolution may continue. As the Marxist historian E. J. Hobsbawm has caustically observed, 'The eggs of Brest-Litovsk are still hatching'. Kosovo is the most immediately plausible candidate for independence, but it is not difficult to imagine others. This may or may not matter. If the EU or the CIS provides an environment within which small independent nations can thrive, then all may be well. The pressures for autonomy and independence are, after all, equally marked in western Europe, with the diminutive Faroe Islands being just the latest applicant for independence. Even under the most favourable scenario, however, Poland alone of the central and eastern European states outside the CIS now has the area and population to exercise any meaningful influence at EU level. If enhanced cooperation focused on France and Germany materialises, as is possible, their influence is likely to be even less. That is an essentially unstable scenario. Moreover, the level of public support for EU membership in central and eastern Europe is far from overwhelming and could fall appreciably, while there is evidence of a return to the virulent nationalism of the 1930s. The extreme nationalist, Corneliu Vadim Tudor, leader of the Greater Romania Party, came second in the Romanian presidential election of December 2000. President Havel of the Czech Republic feared in the November that any moves to postpone EU enlargement would play into the hands of 'xenophobes, chauvinists, and nationalists' – a less than optimistic analysis of his political environment. Wider travel, particularly by the young, the trend towards urbanism and service industries, and greater cultural sophistication may or may not help to keep such extremism in check.

On the other hand, there could ultimately be some form of consolidation. Belarus and Russia have set a precedent with a measure of reunification. Even 'liberal' western opinion is coming to question the viability of some of the new and potential nation states. Consolidation would probably be most beneficial in the Balkans, but the NATO attacks on Serbia of 1999 and the subsequent rise of the ultra-nationalist Serbian Radical Party have probably set the prospects for comprehensive regional cooperation back by more than a decade.

Uncertainty also hangs over the long-term impact on the local nationalisms of the NATO and UN presence in Bosnia, Kosovo and Macedonia, and the practical espousal of the Albanian over the Slav cause by the latter-day Great Powers. Much of the area has effectively returned to the autonomous semi-colonial status it enjoyed under the Turkish Empire in the nineteenth century. That again is an essentially unstable scenario.

1.4

AUTHORITARIANISM, FASCISM AND THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL MINORITIES FROM 1919 TO 1939

By 1921, virtually all the states of central and eastern Europe had adopted liberal democratic constitutions. By 1939, authoritarianism was to have triumphed everywhere except Czechoslovakia. Such a universal trend, which also extended to the Baltic States, Finland and Greece, was not coincidental, and although the precise circumstances varied from country to country, common factors were at work everywhere. They can be broadly classified as political, economic and social.

At the political level, the pluralism on which liberal democracy depends was widely the subject of suspicion. This was not always unjustified. Parliamentary democracy can only really work when there is broad agreement on the purposes of the state, and in many countries even a minimal sense of common purpose was lacking. Moreover, many of the liberal democratic leaders were necessarily inexperienced. These political difficulties could perhaps have been overcome had it not been for the economic problems. The new countries were going to face daunting challenges in the most favourable circumstances, as were those countries like Austria and Hungary with drastically revised frontiers, because economically integrated regions had been split and cities separated from their hinterland. The all-important railways had often been built to serve imperial rather than national objectives. These economic challenges became almost insurmountable with the global financial crises of the interwar years, ultimately attributable to the destabilising impact of the totally unrealistic burden of reparations imposed on Germany at Versailles. The social unrest resulting from the collapse of markets and from unemployment exacerbated the existing political difficulties to make many countries virtually ungovernable. Ever more authoritarian rule was the almost inevitable outcome.

The authoritarian trend was strongly reinforced by social factors, although they operated in a more subtle manner. Central and eastern Europe, other than the Czech parts of Czechoslovakia and pockets of Poland and Hungary, was overwhelmingly agricultural. Power was exercised by the crown and aristocracy, where they existed, and by a small bourgeoisie of sometimes aristocratic but more usually rich peasant, and only rarely commercial, origin. The power of the crown

lay in its control of the army and its skill in the art of divide and rule. In Romania, a large part of the nation's industry was the king's personal property. In Hungary, one-third of the national territory was held by the large estate owners, and just 63 families owned one and half million acres between them. They had been terrified by Béla Kun's brief Communist revolution of 1919, and anything was a lesser evil than Communist expropriation. As the interwar years advanced and the power of Germany and the Soviet Union grew, the governing classes of the countries in between increasingly opted for the former, however reluctantly, because their self-interest dictated it.

It also has to be said that, again with the general exceptions of Austria before 1932 and Czechoslovakia before 1939, the liberal democracy of the constitutions frequently bore little resemblance to the reality on the ground from the very beginning. Ballots were often rigged, candidates drawn from a restricted pool and voting conducted in public. In Bulgaria, at the extreme, formal parliamentarianism went hand in hand with state terror after the military coup of 1923. The violent right-wing Inner Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (IMRO) was regularly used by the government to assassinate radical peasant leaders, and its leaders, Commander Alexandrov and General Protogerov, were assassinated in their turn when they plotted to establish an independent Macedonia. Bulgarian elections were simply suspended between 1931 and 1938, and when they were restored, candidates were not allowed to represent political parties.

Authoritarianism, as distinct from the royal autocracy of the nineteenth century, first appeared in twentieth-century Europe in Italy in the guise of fascism. The word 'fascism' is derived from the 'fasces' or bundle of rods bound up with a projecting axe which the magistrates of Ancient Rome carried as their symbol of authority and which Mussolini adopted as the badge of his Italian political movement, but the more instructive description is 'corporatism' derived from the Latin word for the body. Corporatism saw the state as an organism like the human body in which each part had an allotted function and which was under the leadership of the head. Parallels were readily drawn with the traditional family in which the husband and wife had distinct and separate roles, and in which there was an accepted generational and functional hierarchy. It was as disastrous for the state to harbour elements unwilling to play their allotted role as it was for the body to harbour malignant organisms. It was a concept which contrasted markedly with the individualism, pluralism and compromise inherent in liberal democracy, and even more with the Communist perception that loyalty was owed to social class rather than nation.

It was not in itself an unworthy concept. It valued family loyalty, patriotism, responsibility and self-sacrifice. The practice, though not the theory, differed little from the dominance of the aristocracy and the gentry virtually everywhere in rural Europe in earlier centuries. That very fact, however, pointed to some of the inherent weaknesses of the corporate concept of society. It was backward-looking, it was intolerant of diversity and innovation, and it was out of tune with the real needs of industrial society. Those very features, however, were for

many the source of corporatism's attraction. It provided a sense of belonging, a sense of continuity and tradition, and a sense of personal worth. Those virtues were particularly attractive in the insecure world which was the aftermath of the Great War of 1914–18. Equally attractive to some was the legitimacy given to the frustration, resentment and blind hatred engendered by that insecurity. Not surprisingly, corporatism appealed to princes of church and state, whose world was one of hierarchy and authority. The power of the Roman Catholic church in Hungary, in fields ranging from education to public appointments, increased dramatically after 1919 as it became a pillar of the new corporatist order. It also appealed to business, which preferred the security of the cartel to the uncertain prospects of unfettered competition. The high water mark of corporatist thinking was to be represented by the Papal encyclical 'Quadragesimo Anno', promulgated by Pope Pius XI in 1931.

The imagery of corporatism and its sense of a body ruled by the head was readily associated with the concept of the superman which had originated with Nietzsche and gained increasing currency as the nineteenth century advanced. It had attracted D. H. Lawrence and Shaw in Britain, and numerous other philosophers and writers across Europe. Like corporatism, it was not of itself an ignoble concept. The artist as man of action and the very notion of the 'hero' had ancient roots. Who, though, was to distinguish between 'man' and 'superman'? The only very plausible answer was the majority, inspired by an individual's acts of courage and daring, charisma, contempt for constraint, and power of leadership. Some plausible candidates could be put forward – Garibaldi, perhaps, in Italy, Napoleon in France – but their claims could only be considered in retrospect. The aspiring superman had to seize power first and justify it later. This was an open invitation to the bully and the braggart, and the first of the heads of the interwar corporate states, the Italian Benito Mussolini, had both traits in abundance. Nevertheless, the concept had its positive side. Mussolini was a great admirer of, and was himself admired by, Gabriele d'Annunzio, who was both Italy's greatest late nineteenth/early twentieth-century poet and a daring man of action, having flown an audacious propaganda flight to Vienna in 1917 and seized Fiume for Italy in 1919. For good measure, he had also conducted a passionate and publicised affair with Italy's most famous actress, Eleonora Duse. The 'masterly inactivity' of Stanley Baldwin, who was to become British prime minister in 1924, could hardly have stood in greater contrast, except perhaps for Herbert Hoover, American president from 1929, who was alleged by wags at the time to be living proof that there was life after death.

Mussolini was also successful. He gave Italy confidence and direction, and he understood well before most other politicians the positive economic impact of government spending on public works in times of recession. Like Hitler later, he saw himself as a great moderniser. He also appreciated the power of propaganda and show: he was a media man long before his time with his flags, his mass meetings, his salutes and his uniforms. Of course, the show was hollow, but the totality impressed governments, including the British, and public alike.

The impact on central and eastern Europe was direct. Marshal Piłsudski's march on Warsaw of 1926 echoed Mussolini's march on Rome of 4 years earlier, and similarly marked the end of parliamentarianism. Chancellor Dollfuss was to abolish the Austrian parliament likewise in 1932 and to seek to establish a corporate state under Mussolini's guarantee. King Zog in Albania was to be increasingly an acolyte of Mussolini, and King Carol II in Romania directly imitated him, as did the Hungarian prime minister, General Gyula (von) Gömbös and Latvia's Kārlis Ulmanis. Both the Romanian Iron Guard and the Hungarian Party of National Unity were modelled on Italian fascism. Tsar Boris III of Bulgaria and General Averescu in Romania were both Italian in sympathy.

This is not to say that the corporatist ideal was identical everywhere. It could not be by definition, because the nation state was at its core, and every nation was different. Dr Dollfuss was to state explicitly that he did not want to imitate Italian fascism. There was the further problem of establishing what fascism actually stood for. The very concept of the 'will to power' was supported by the philosophical belief that blind action would cause new institutions and structures to grow organically. Moreover, to meet its claims of being a party for the whole nation, fascism tended to seek to appeal to all interests, however contradictory, at one and the same time. Many industrial workers were initially to support Mussolini and Piłsudski, as they later did Major Szalassi in Hungary, because of their earlier socialist backgrounds. Business interests on the other hand were to support them as a defence against trade unionism and Communism. Fabri, the Italian revolutionary anarchist, described the fascism of the early 1920s as inspiring 'preventive counter-revolutions'. This dichotomy was exacerbated by Mussolini's tendency constantly to change his mind on any subject, not infrequently several times on the same day. In practice, though, the logic of anti-Communism and of the central role allocated to the nation was to push fascism ever further to the right. Piłsudski was mobilising aristocratic support almost as soon as he had seized power.

Despite their admiration for Mussolini, the presidential and royal dictators of central and eastern Europe did not run truly fascist regimes. Their power, which in the case of the monarchs dated back to the nineteenth century, was rooted in their control of the army, the bureaucracy and of certain key elites, but not in a mass fascist party on Italian lines. Indeed, they were often to see their national fascist parties as threats to their own position. Their preferred response was to control all political parties as much as possible, if not to ban them outright, but in practice fascist sentiment was too strong and their own power too weak. Those that survived, particularly after the rise of Adolf Hitler to power in Germany in 1933, were to seek to harness fascism and increasingly to try to outflank it by promoting programmes which were more fascist than those of the fascists themselves. It was a maelstrom of accelerating viciousness, and the positive desire, or the perceived need, to cultivate Germany was to accelerate it yet further. Churchill was to say in 1941 that the attitude of the Yugoslav regent, Paul, 'looks like that of an unfortunate man in a cage with a tiger, hoping not to provoke him while steadily

dinner time approaches'. None of the western powers had developed enough economic or political influence in the region to provide an effective counterforce. Specifically Nazi groups were to grow at the expense of those of a more traditionally autocratic, fascist orientation.

The strongest link in central and eastern Europe between these groups, apart from their common authoritarianism, was their anti-Semitism, which had been peripheral to Mussolini's fascism. It had, though, been rife in the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires, and had blossomed after 1919. Nazi Germany was to export its own anti-Semitism eastwards as a means of gaining friends and influence and was to support national anti-Semitic movements, like the Romanian Iron Guard, financially. It was to gain its reward in the pro-German orientation of many of the ambitious young, who considered the Jews to be occupying jobs in business and industry which were rightfully theirs. The subject of anti-Semitism is discussed more fully in section 1.5 following.

Hitler was to give to German corporatism the heady fusion of cunning, surgical precision in political action and utter ruthlessness in the pursuit of absolute power which continues to fascinate and appal 70 years later. He was also to underline the essential weakness of corporatism: if the head is rotten, the whole nation is corrupted. Mussolini had been implicated in a political murder; Hitler directed mass murder as a matter of course. His allies in central and eastern Europe, some of them men of the same unstable, charismatic stamp, others only intolerant and of narrow outlook, were to be similarly corrupted with equally negative effect.

1.5

ANTI-SEMITISM

The wider causes of anti-Semitism are probably to be found in the historic Christian antipathy to Judaism, Jewish particularism and the Jewish involvement in finance, common to Europe as a whole, and cannot be discussed in a book of this compass. The particular strength of anti-Semitism in late nineteenth- and twentieth-century central and eastern Europe, however, calls for additional explanation rooted in the particular circumstances of place and time, and although the phenomenon escapes final explanation, the following factors must have made a significant contribution.

The nationalist movements in the ascendant across central and eastern Europe were echoed amongst the Jews, and Jewish national councils were established everywhere except Hungary under nationalist Jewish leadership. They sought traditional minority rights, including the right to education in their own language, territorial autonomy and sometimes even statehood. Such councils operated in parallel to the more familiar and ultimately more successful Zionist movements for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, and sought at Versailles, for example, to secure a constitutional guarantee of Jewish national autonomy in Poland. There were similarly powerful pressures in Lithuania and Ruthenia. Although national councils enjoyed much less support amongst assimilated Jews, it is not difficult to understand how they could be perceived as a threat in new insecure nations. The same must be said of the Jewish political parties and alliances formed in Czechoslovakia, Lithuania and Romania.

The Chief Rabbi of Great Britain, Dr Jonathan Sacks, argued in his Reith lectures broadcast in 1990 that Jews had to be bilingual: their second language was of identity, their first was of shared citizenship. Much suffering might have been averted if the Jews of up to a century earlier had placed more emphasis on that ideal of shared citizenship.

The Jews were also often literally alien. Eighty per cent of Polish Jews spoke Yiddish as their mother tongue and a further 8 per cent Hebrew, and in the first Lithuanian census, 98 per cent of all 'Jews by religion' claimed also to be 'Jews by nationality'. Only 3 per cent of Latvian Jewish primary school children attended Latvian-speaking schools. This was a recipe for disaster in the circumstances of the time, and it is surely not coincidental that the pogroms which broke out in Lvov (Lwow) in November 1918 and in Pinsk, Lida and Vilnius in April 1919 were in regions of contested national identity. Later attempts at assimilation, however sincere, were a classic case of too little, too late. Another difficulty was

that Jews were often disproportionately represented in the wealthier professions and the universities on the one hand and in the impoverished industrial working class, as well as in the populations of whole cities and districts, on the other. Although Hungary was only 5 per cent Jewish, the percentage rose to 25 in the capital, Budapest, where 66 per cent of its shopkeepers and nearly 50 per cent of its doctors and journalists were Jewish. Hitler wanted to turn Prague into a museum of Jewish life.

There could also be specifically national problems. Educated young Hungarians had traditionally entered the military or civil services of the Empire and left commerce to others, in practice to the Jews. When their former career paths disappeared after 1918, they perceived themselves as excluded from jobs which were properly theirs.

More generally, anti-Semitism had a wider economic dimension. The Jewish community was both rooted in the family and deeply cosmopolitan, and it was natural and comparatively easy for aid to flow across frontiers in times of financial difficulty. Natural mutual help was easily seen by outsiders as an unfair advantage. At a deeper level, the nation states of central and eastern Europe were acutely aware of the tensions between the interests of international capital, over which Jews had, and have, power quite disproportionate to their numbers, and the interests of nation states seeking to promote autarkic economic policies. It was all too easy to see those tensions in terms of the international Jewish conspiracy of which Dr Goebbels, as Nazi Germany's minister of propaganda, was to speak with such fear and loathing.

It is also possible, perhaps, to be misled by the scale of Hitler's 'Final Solution' into making the nature of central and eastern European anti-Semitism more complex than it really was. In decades of national self-assertion and economic difficulty, they simply did not 'fit'. Some, like Béla Kun, were Communists, many more were socialists, and a few were nationalists, again like Béla Kun. Hardly any, however, could be described as being in communion with their native soil, unless, of course, that was construed as Palestine. They were, in a very real sense, rootless.

The Allied victory in 1945 obviously brought Nazi and fascist persecution to a close, although only after its elimination of perhaps six million Jews, but it did not mark the end of anti-Semitism. Polish anti-Semitism in particular was rekindled by the ongoing struggle between the Roman Catholic Church and the Communist Party, many of whose leaders were Jewish. It has also outlasted Communism, with ugly disputes over 'moral ownership' of the victims of the Oswiecim (Auschwitz) concentration camp repeatedly coming to the surface during the 1990s. It remains a ready instrument, particularly in the hands of ultranationalists, with which to attack reformed Communist political opponents in particular. Ferenc Gyurcsány, the Hungarian prime minister as of 2007, whose third wife is Jewish, is a case in point. It goes hand in hand with hostility to minorities in general and ethnic minorities above all, amongst whom gypsies (Roma) are paramount.

1.6

THE LIBERAL TRADITION

It was noted in section 1.4 that liberal constitutions had been adopted virtually everywhere by 1921 but had disappeared everywhere by 1939, and an attempt was made to explain the appeal of authoritarianism and corporatism, of fascism and Nazism. It was also noted that the practice of democracy had often fallen widely short of the theory.

Liberal democracy was, though, not without roots. The Austro-Hungarian Empire had been an imperial autocracy, but it had had a parliament in which the nationalities had been represented and in which views could be freely expressed, even if its powers were very circumscribed. The obstructionism of its national, particularly Czech, members, extending on occasion to the throwing of ink-wells, had nevertheless reduced its value as a school for the potential new democracies. Moreover, Austrian, though not Russian, Poland had had a consultative assembly.

Bulgaria, Romania and Serbia prior to 1914 were perhaps better described as constitutional monarchies than as democracies in any true sense. Power was shared, and elections were held for functioning parliaments, but the political class represented the interests of only very small parts of the population. The peasantry which formed its overwhelming bulk was effectively disenfranchised. It had risen in rebellion in Romania in 1907, and the suppression of the revolt had cost some 10,000 lives. It was the conventional wisdom that Romanian elections were held merely to confirm what had already been decided elsewhere. The power of the crown remained considerable everywhere, although Peter I of Serbia had been a strong but probably unique advocate of the merits of constitutionalism.

These weaknesses were exacerbated by the First World War settlement. Romania and Serbia had to extend their own fragile constitutional structures out to the 'new territories' of Bessarabia, Bukovina and Transylvania, and of Croatia, Bosnia and Macedonia respectively. They did not, and probably could not, succeed because the inherited administrative, legal and political structures were just too diverse, and the core nations did not have the maturity and sophistication to cope with such demanding challenges as autonomy. The newly independent African and Asian states of the former European Empires were to wrestle with very similar problems in the second half of the twentieth century. The newly created states of Czechoslovakia and Poland were in the same situation. The disaffection of the large Sudeten German minority hindered the establishment of a viable Czechoslovak liberal democracy, and in Poland Marshal Piłsudski simply

lost patience with the efforts of the parliamentarians to build the new state. His impatience was widely shared and found expression in the view of observers of central and eastern Europe that every politician had a different view on every subject, but that none of them would take responsibility for anything. Their level of mutual respect was also often minimal.

A further common problem was their rather narrow interpretation of democracy. It was often seen in legalistic terms, which had little regard to the real world and in particular to the interests of the peasantry which everywhere formed the bulk of the population. The masses were electoral currency and the passive objects of policy, not its instigators. As in so many other fields, the politics of the central and eastern European states after 1919 had a great deal in common under their national dress. The Radicals in Yugoslavia, the Agrarians in Czechoslovakia and the Liberals in Romania were all increasingly bourgeois parties which could offer patronage through their long spells in power. Although they often relied on peasant votes, they primarily represented businessmen, tradesmen and public officials, and tended to be narrowly self-interested. Nominally Liberal parties, like the Romanian, were better understood as progressive conservatives than as liberals in the western sense, although their sympathies lay with France. Many, if not most, politicians of all parties were opportunists. Social democracy was normally weak, partly because it was associated with things German but more because the number of industrial workers was small. In addition, the post-war split in the socialist movement had normally produced a larger Communist than Social-Democrat grouping. Although the Communists attracted considerable support in early post-war elections (see section 1.7) they were progressively declared illegal, except in Czechoslovakia, and estimates of their level of support thereafter must be highly conjectural. There is, though, good reason to believe that by 1939, liberal democracy had lost much of its credibility in Yugoslavia, and that the educated young in particular were seeing the future as lying with Communism.

Liberal democracy in central and eastern Europe between the Wars was deeply flawed, but it would be unjust to depict it in overly negative terms. It was faced from the very beginning with enormously challenging problems of government in circumstances which were difficult to start with but also worsened as time went on. Its politicians received little positive help from outside, and were sometimes thwarted and ultimately even betrayed by their supposed allies. They were exposed to the hostility and, in due course, the vituperative abuse of the fascist and Nazi powers. Moreover, it was a personally dangerous calling, with assassination a commonplace. The persistence of men like Dr Maniu in Romania in trying to work within some sort of constitutional framework remains remarkable.

Not least, it must be remembered that liberal democracy was under great strain in western Europe as well, and did not always acquit itself with any very great distinction. Universal suffrage, even for men, did not come to Britain until 1918. Moreover, the matching of the facade to the reality of democracy is in all countries

a challenge which is always only imperfectly met. The ballot box is never enough. It must be backed up by a framework of trust in chosen representatives, in a representative assembly, in authority and in the rule of law. It cannot evolve until such trust has been nurtured by a culture of contract and obligation, extending beyond family, clan and socio-economic group.

1.7

COMMUNISM

The story of Communism between the Wars is a story of anti-climax. Its leaders, from Marx and Engels, who had written the Communist Manifesto as long before as 1848, up to and including Lenin, had presumed that the coming revolution would break out in Germany, as Europe's most socialist-minded state. The successful Russian revolution of 1917 was seen as an almost irrelevant precursor in a backward agricultural country to the real revolution, which would erupt in Germany and spread to the rest of western Europe. It did not happen. German social democracy split at the end of the War between the Communist revolutionaries in Berlin and Munich and the liberal Social Democrats who had come to power in the political vacuum caused by the flight of the Kaiser. The liberal Social Democrats allied themselves with the Army establishment bloodily to suppress revolution, leaving scars between the two wings of the socialist movement which contributed significantly to the rise of Hitler. Lenin's strategy of exporting revolution westwards through Poland had lost its point. Communist revolution in Hungary temporarily enjoyed more success, partly because it was associated with Hungarian national resistance to the territorial changes sought by the Allies, notably the loss of Slovakia. Nevertheless, by August 1919, it had been overcome by a combination of internal and external pressures.

In the longer term, the much more important development was the continued splitting in the socialist movement between its revolutionary Communist and liberal Social Democrat wings. The most successful, and the only continuously legal, Communist Party was the Czechoslovak, *Komunistická Strana Československa*, founded in 1921, which by 1939 had attracted some one million supporters. In central and eastern Europe, except for Austria, the Communist wing enjoyed much more electoral support than the Social Democratic wing on the limited number of occasions when their rivalry could be put to the test, and it was a gap which appeared to be widening. In the successive Bulgarian elections of 1919 and 1920, for example, the Communists, who had been the 'Narrows' prior to May 1919, increased their share of the vote by more than half, whereas the Social Democrats lost one-third of theirs. By 1923, the Communist vote was nearly ten times that of the Social Democrats.

In practice, though, the fear of revolution caused governments progressively to introduce measures of repression. The Hungarian White Terror of 1920

suppressed Communism, as did the Polish victory over Soviet Russia of the same year. In some countries, the Communists may have weakened their position by boycotting elections, or refusing to enter into governing coalitions when they did enjoy electoral success, as in Bulgaria in August 1919, when they were the second largest political party. In any event, the Bulgarian Communist Party was made illegal on 1 April 1924, although it did resurface as the Bulgarian Labour Party. Romanian and Yugoslav Communism were similarly declared illegal in 1924 and 1920 respectively.

Such considerations make estimates of Communist support in most countries between the Wars little better than guesswork. Czechoslovakia is the exception, although the Bulgarian Labour Party was sufficiently successful for its members to be suspended from the *Sobranje* in 1933. There was obviously always a vast difference between the numbers of members of outlawed Communist Parties and the numbers of sympathisers and potential voters.

Another difficulty is represented by the changing role of the Soviet Union. The revolutionary expectations of 1919, which led to the establishment of the Third or Communist International (the Comintern) in Moscow to direct the anticipated national revolutions, were replaced within a few years by the perceived need to harness national revolutionary fervour to the interests of the Soviet Union as the world's pioneering Communist state. This meant on the one hand that many post-war Communist leaders, including Dimitrov, Tito and Ulbricht, spent years in Moscow, but on the other hand that Communist Parties were expected to enter into 'popular fronts' with their rivals, or could even, like the Polish Communist Party in 1938, be disbanded at Stalin's behest. The wheel turned full circle when Stalin dissolved the Comintern itself on 15 May 1943 so as to improve his relations with the western Allies.

Much has been written about the progressive assumption of power by Communist regimes across central and eastern Europe from 1944 onwards, and the subject is likely to remain intensely controversial. Nevertheless, it can probably be said that many fewer analysts than was once the case now believe that the Communists came to power in accordance with a master plan devised in, and administered from, the Kremlin. It now seems at least as likely that the Soviet Union, like the western Allies, responded to unpredictable events as they unfolded and tried to turn them to its advantage, not always successfully. In particular, it seems implausible that the Soviet Union, after its appalling economic and human wartime losses, was ever minded to pursue a war policy.

On the other hand, the Communists were determined revolutionaries, hardened by persecution before and during the War, and all too conscious of the extent to which the failed German and Hungarian revolutions of 1919 had led, immediately in the latter case and within 14 years in the former case, to right-wing dictatorship. They were no less conscious of the ruthlessness with which the infant bourgeois French Republic had suppressed the Paris Commune in 1870 and of how the rivalry between Communism and Social Democracy in Germany had let in Hitler.

Communists who had led the liberation of their countries and experienced great personal danger like Hoxha in Albania and Tito in Yugoslavia, Communists who had been active in the resistance like Gomulka in Poland and Husák in Czechoslovakia, Communists who had spent the War in concentration camps like Honecker in Germany, and Communists who had spent the War in the strictly comparative safety of Moscow like Ulbricht, also in Germany, were all united in their determination to build a quite different type of society. They could rely on some solid pillars of support. The economic and political failures of the liberal capitalism and liberal democracy of the 1920s and 30s had widely discredited them and boosted the attraction of Marxism as a viable alternative. The Left throughout Europe, including Britain, was determined to nationalise and place under governmental control key industries and financial institutions. Not least, it was the Communist Soviet Union which had driven the Germans out of central and eastern Europe, and power always commands respect. It was also the Communists who had spearheaded the resistance, most obviously the Albanian and Yugoslav Partisans, but also the Slovaks of the 1944 Uprising.

Needless to say, the Communist programme and Soviet power meant very different things to different peoples and places. To the Czechs, who had been abandoned by the western powers at Munich and had a large established Communist Party, the Soviet Union was a true liberator who had initiated the highly popular expulsion of the Sudeten Germans for good measure. In Albania and Yugoslavia, the Communists had overcome both internal and external opposition to become the national party, and both initially assumed that the Soviet Union was their natural ally. In Bulgaria, the Communists were aided by the people's close bonds of sympathy with the Russians and might well have won free and open elections. In Hungary, on the other hand, which had been Germany's most consistent ally, as in the Soviet Zone of Germany itself, the Communists, although they had deep traditional roots, could only exercise influence under the umbrella of their nation's recent enemy.

In both Poland and Romania, attitudes were more ambiguous. The Romanians had allied themselves with the Germans but had then had to surrender as much territory to Hungary as to the Soviet Union. Specifically Communist support was very low, but the promise of land reform was attractive to a disadvantaged peasantry. Poland was torn. Inclined to see the Germans and the Russians as equal enemies, she still had to recognise that the Soviet Union had accepted an independent Poland as an integral part of the post-war settlement, albeit one with radically changed boundaries, whereas Nazi Germany had sought to starve it out of existence. The Polish Communists were at least Poles. Suspicions were none the less strong that the Soviet Union had deliberately withheld support from the Warsaw Uprising to enable the Germans to eliminate many of Poland's non-Communist leaders.

True or false, it is necessary to repeat that the Communists everywhere were determined revolutionaries aiming to exercise power, who saw the Soviet victory over Nazi Germany as evidence that their hour had come. The churches, the

establishment and the middle classes, which had indeed all too often temporised with the fascists and the Nazis, were to be swept aside and the interests of the masses made paramount. The objective of democracy was to mobilise the masses not to marginalise them through the fragmentation of parliamentary systems which served only the interests of a narrow political class. It was a conviction which lacked humility but could be burningly sincere. Its single-mindedness, though, and its sheer radicalism meant that ends were frequently seen as justifying means. The interests of the Party as the vanguard of the revolution were above the law and, if need be, above common humanity. Recourse to terror was never very far away, even if it was actually unnecessary. Neither were deceit and guile, particularly perhaps in the Balkans where they were a traditional means of accommodating superior force. Neither was opportunism. The Czech Communists, for example, were to promise that entry into Party membership would be taken as payment in full for collaboration with the Nazis. East Germany was to establish a specific political party under the umbrella of the SED to represent the interests of former nominal Nazis and medium- and higher-ranking military personnel. It should, perhaps, be added that the western Allies were no less opportunistic and that denazification was to be much more thorough in what became the Soviet bloc.

The establishment of Communist power was, however, complicated from the beginning by the interaction of three major factors. The first was the Soviet Union's perception of its own interests. The Soviet Union had been forced since the early 1920s to pursue a policy of 'socialism in one country', and the ideal of exporting revolution associated with Lenin and Trotsky had been inverted under Stalin to the ideal of preserving the Soviet Union as the world's pioneering Communist state. The perceived interests of the Soviet state were to be promoted much as those of any other state. The 1939 non-aggression pact with Germany and the subsequent alliance with the west had had no regard to ideological considerations, and Communists elsewhere had been required to switch their loyalties with bewildering rapidity. Similarly, the Soviet Union had backed cooperation with non-Communist elements in national resistance movements throughout the War whenever it had believed that a more broadly based group would be more effective. It had repeatedly denied supplies to Tito, for example, urging him to make common cause with other groups, and his constant refusal to do so was to contribute to the rupture of 1948.

The second factor was the tension between the different strands in the Communist movement itself. The popular image of a monolithic Communist movement is increasingly seen as a myth which owed more to western fears and Communist propaganda than to reality. The repeated charges of national deviationism and Titoism levelled against different Communist leaders were often false in their detail, but they reflected the widespread reality of differing national and personal approaches. Władysław Gomułka, secretary-general of the Polish Communist Party until 1948, as just one prominent example, disagreed with the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform, opposed the collectivisation of

Polish agriculture and opposed the then Soviet promotion of a united Germany in view of the potential threat to Poland. He even foreshadowed the later reforms of the Prague Spring and western Eurocommunism by dispensing with the Leninist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The sheer virulence of the charges against Tito and any possible sympathisers was as much an admission of actual weakness as a proof of the urge to dominate, insofar as the two were not opposite sides of the same coin. It may have been further aided by the curious fact that the Russian ability at the personal level to live in relative harmony with different races and cultures, first in the Russian Empire and then in the Soviet Union, has never appeared to be exportable. The Russians were never to seem able to make themselves much liked either in their own bloc or outside it. In any event, Communist leaders across central and eastern Europe were regularly to take initiatives of which the Soviet Union disapproved. The January 1948 Dimitrov proposal of an eastern European federation was to be perhaps the most blatant example during the period of consolidation, but many more were to follow in later decades.

The third and probably the most important, and certainly the most contentious, of the complicating factors was the need for the Communists to work through coalitions with other parties. It is an historical fact that by 1952 and in many cases appreciably earlier, the Communists had everywhere absorbed, eliminated or marginalised all their coalition partners. Some argue that this was intended from the very beginning. Others are much more doubtful, noting the sheer untidiness of the process and its inherent contradictions. Hungary, for example, as a defeated Axis power, could have been given a Soviet military government in 1945 rather than allowed to elect freely a parliament dominated by a Smallholders Party with influential right-wing and even far right-wing elements. The Soviet Union may at that time simply have put more importance on maintaining a collaborative relationship with the western Allies than on achieving a Communist Hungary. It never even tried to draw Finland into its orbit. There is evidence, particularly perhaps from Romania, that it was the national Communist parties who were making the running on their own initiative. It was not necessarily only Tito and Hoxha whom Stalin found difficult to control.

This is not to suggest that the Soviet Union did not exercise powerful influence. It forcefully encouraged the fusion of Communist and Social Democratic Parties starting with the East German in 1946, although it was a pattern which also enjoyed support from a large number of Social Democratic Party members. Both Otto Grotewohl and Jozef Cyrankiewicz, the long-serving prime ministers of East Germany and Poland, came from the Social Democratic wing of their respective united parties. The Soviet Union also enjoyed prestige as the home of successful Communist revolution and as the conqueror of Germany alike.

The concept of the single list of candidates, with the prearrangement by the parties of their respective numbers of representatives, has similarly been seen as a ruse to achieve Communist domination 'by the back door'. Such interpretations, however, have tended to reflect American and British traditions

and their suspicion of coalitions and referenda as such. Government by party machine is much more the norm in mainland Europe, and indeed the four leading Swiss parties at the federal level have been sharing power on an agreed, virtually permanent, formula basis ever since 1959.

There seems little room for doubt that calculations were drastically altered by the breakdown in relations between the western Allies and the Soviet Union over the future of Germany, which can perhaps be pinpointed to the abortive foreign ministers meeting of March–April 1947 in Moscow. The Soviet Union no longer had anything to gain by being conciliatory to the west, and the central and eastern European Communist parties were its natural allies until the dramatic shock of Tito's independent line in the spring of 1948. The accretion of Communist power was now to be as unstoppable as the insistence on orthodoxy. Any possibility of compromise disappeared. The pace of revolution accelerated, and the level of opposition rose likewise.

Revolutions, like wars, are an angry and ugly process in which injustice and suffering are endemic, whether one ultimately identifies with their objectives or not. Communist revolutions were no exception, but they underlined the nature of Lenin's legacy. The concept of the primacy of a tightly organised party made the Communists effective and successful in a way which had eluded the liberal revolutionaries of 1848 and 1919, but at the price of the subjection of the law and of human rights to the interests of the Party. It was a baleful legacy which they would never be able to discard.

The Communist Party purges of 1948–53 had several different strands of inspiration. On the one hand, they were reminiscent of the purges of the Soviet Party in the 1930s which, as well as being a means of eliminating political rivals, were also almost an institutionalised means of stimulating ever greater commitment and effort by Party members. It was a rather literal case of the survival of the fittest and the exclusion of dead wood, or, to adapt Voltaire, of shooting one to encourage the rest. It was also a way of meeting the permanent Russian challenge of imposing the will of the centre on what is essentially a continent.

They also had the purpose, shared by the purges of central and eastern Europe, of imposing strict Party discipline. The execution of the Communist revolutionary programme demanded Party cadres able and willing to cajole and persuade and, if necessary, to overcome hostility and opposition, but also to administer in an approved manner the myriad new organisations spawned by the revolution. With the outbreak of the Cold War and Tito's declaration of independence, it also became more necessary than ever to ensure that Party members were loyal. As is so often the case in communities under stress, loyalty was interpreted as orthodoxy. Although often hijacked for strictly personal motives, the purges were in essence the simple exclusion of dissent for reasons akin to those of the religious persecutions of earlier centuries.

On the other hand, the purges were also driven by the need to reduce the proportion of Party members attracted by purely mercenary motives. Once the

Communists were in power, many people joined the Party to be in the swing of things or even, as the English would say, 'to keep up with the Joneses'. Unchecked, it could have proved as harmful to the Party's effectiveness as heresy; in the longer term probably more so.

The show trials of the period are in contrast amongst the most difficult phenomena to understand fully in the whole period since 1919. Communist leaders of many years' standing were accused by colleagues of offences of which they were almost always totally innocent and of which their accusers knew they were innocent. The 1938 Soviet show trials were clearly a precedent, and many accusers no doubt felt that Stalin's paranoia had been so fed by the Cold War and Tito's independent line that 'traitors' would have to be identified and sacrificed. It was clearly preferable to be an accuser than to be accused, and charges could mask a naked struggle for power akin to that of a medieval monarchy. It was also, no doubt, an opportunity for the unscrupulous to settle some old scores. The results could be arbitrary. The losing faction in Romania of Georgescu, Vasile Luca and Ana Pauker was believed to be specifically pro-Soviet. Anti-Semitism played a role, particularly after Israel had allied herself with America, but again with inconsistent effect. In Hungary, the Jewish Rákosi triumphed over the non-Jewish Rajk; in Czechoslovakia, it was the Jewish Slánský who succumbed.

Other factors, though, must have been at work. As clandestine revolutionaries pursuing intrigue for decades, many no doubt saw themselves as victims of intrigue in their turn. There was distrust, not confined to Stalin, between those Communists who had spent the War in Moscow and those involved in the national resistance movements or held in prison. The western intelligence services certainly sought to promote such distrust for their own ends. Some, like Gomulka in Poland who was lucky to escape with imprisonment and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej in Romania, were basically orthodox but nationally minded Communists. Others had perhaps been exposed to, and then themselves perpetrated, so much terror that it had lost its meaning. Revolutions often consume those who make them, with the French revolution as the classic example, and Rajk and Slánský can be seen as a latter-day Danton and Robespierre.

Perhaps the strangest aspect, though, of the trials was an apparent readiness of at least some of the defendants to accept their guilt in a manner which could not be totally ascribed to 'brainwashing' or torture. Slánský's last words were: 'I got what I deserved'. Perhaps faith in the scientific truth of Communism, in the role of the Party, and in the future of the Soviet Union as the world's pioneering Communist state was so deep that the defendants felt that none of them could err. If that is so, it would reflect the strand of Byzantine tradition absorbed by Leninism, whereby the emperor was absolute at one and the same time in both the secular and spiritual fields. In the west, it would perhaps be most reminiscent of Tudor England where the king's rule became similarly absolute in spiritual and temporal matters alike.

It is also worthy of note that the phenomenon of the show trial was not universal across the Communist world, and that its national incidence was unpredictable, apart from the obvious exception of Yugoslavia whose Titoism was part of the motivation. No true show trials, for example, were held in East Germany or Poland, although there were certainly purges of the Party membership.

1.8

TITOISM

Titoism is an informal, but inescapable, name for the interrelated initiatives taken by Yugoslavia under Tito's leadership after the break with Stalin in 1948. It is no discredit to those initiatives to emphasise that they were responses to unforeseen circumstances. Prior to the break, Tito's Yugoslavia was amongst the most rigorously orthodox of all the Communist states.

Although it was Tito's nationalist approach to foreign policy which prompted the rupture with the Soviet Union, his final response of constructive non-alignment was the last of his initiatives to coalesce. Ideologically unsympathetic to western capitalism but mindful also of the fragility of the 1955 reconciliation with Khrushchev's Soviet Union, he pursued negotiations with Egypt's Colonel Nasser and India's prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru in June 1956 with a view to developing links between those states which were not directly involved in the confrontation between east and west. It was a daring tactic at the time because Nasser was being depicted by Britain and France as a dangerous dictator for his role in the Suez Canal dispute. Nevertheless, Tito's initiative culminated in the first meeting of representatives of the non-aligned states in Belgrade in 1961.

The movement increased the confidence and standing of its members and greatly enlarged Yugoslavia's international profile and own self-image. Its focus on 'active non-alignment' was a welcome and perhaps necessary relief from the sterility of east-west ideological confrontation. Nevertheless, its level of achievement in generating alternatives to, or adaptations of, capitalism and Communism was much more questionable, and the attempt largely ceased with the demise of European Communism in 1990. The historical evidence since, however, suggests that such endeavours are as necessary as ever, but the disintegration of Yugoslavia has effectively ruled out the chances of its contributing to the debate.

Tito's earlier and more radical initiative was his dismantling of the framework of central planning and nationalisation, which had extended to the whole economy except for small handicraft enterprises, in favour of worker control. Legislation introduced in 1950 transferred ownership to the workers in each enterprise and enabled them to appoint their own management boards, subject only to the constraints of centrally determined overall plans. It was a daring initiative which liberated Yugoslav Communism from the rigidity of the Soviet model, and it achieved a remarkable degree of success. That is not to conclude that it was perfect. There was always potential tension between the perceptions of

worker owners and their chosen managers, and between the interests of individual enterprises and of the determined plan. Nevertheless, all economic systems have their internal tensions, and the system might have surmounted the enormous challenges presented to economies everywhere by the great increase in the price of oil imposed by OPEC in the 1970s had it not been for inherent political weaknesses related to the third element in Titoism, the personality of Tito himself.

Tito was by common consent a remarkable man who imposed his will and sense of purpose on a grouping of people of uncommon determination and pride but with little else in common except for language and southern Slav ethnicity. The substantial minorities did not even share that. Neither his predecessors nor his successors could make the Yugoslav concept work, and some did not even really want to. His political 'system', for the lack of a better word, rested on a balance of power between the nationalities and traditions, including the Albanian minority in Kosovo and the Hungarian minority in the Vojvodina, all of whom enjoyed considerable autonomy, with the unifying element being provided by the Communist Party (the Yugoslav League of Communists) and ultimately himself as both Party and national president. The real problems arose as the traditional prescriptions of the Yugoslav League of Communists increasingly lost credibility during the 1960s, leaving Tito as the sole vital unifying force – and Tito needless to say was mortal. Perhaps he could have countered Croat–Serb rivalry by moving the federal capital from Belgrade to a new neutral site (as was done with Washington and Canberra), or even to Sarajevo. Perhaps he was wrong to resist Party decentralisation, when faced with the logical consequence of worker self-management. Democratic centralism was probably outmoded. Rather than allowing growing autonomy in other fields, but denying Party decentralisation, he should perhaps have done the reverse and retained the loyalty of liberal sentiment in Croatia and permitted a climate in republics like Slovenia in which political pluralism could evolve. Nevertheless, it is perhaps clearer now than it was then that even residual Communism provided an essential common framework for the whole of society, without which the most basic relationships would falter. The tragedy is that the fundamentals of his system offered far more hope to the peoples of Yugoslavia than the alternatives, but that a combination of greed, selfishness and short-termism allowed it and the whole nation to be destroyed. His own people and the wider world are the losers.

1.9

POLITICS SINCE 1990

It was almost a truism of the period 1989–90 that Communism was discredited for at least a generation, and that the Communist successor parties, however reformed or renamed, could only look forward to a marginal existence. Like some of the other presumptions of the time, however, it proved to be a half truth at best. By the autumn of 1993, parties rooted in the Communist past had returned to power in Poland of all places in free and open elections. The reformed Hungarian Party, now the Socialist Party, soon similarly returned to government. These democratic renewals were to be paralleled by the ability of the renamed Albanian, Bulgarian and Romanian Parties to retain much of their earlier influence and to alternate in government through somewhat less open means.

There were various reasons for this unexpected development. Perhaps the most important was the bureaucratic nature of established Communist systems. Their cadres were administrators as much as politicians and perhaps more so. The penetration of the Communist Party through national life had as its corollary the absence of alternative expertise in running a country. Experienced meant Communist. No less significant, perhaps, was the extent to which the mass of Communists in the eastern bloc were moving away in the 1970s and 1980s from the Leninist democratic centralism of their leaders towards something closer to the western Eurocommunism of the time. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party was only setting the ball rolling when it turned itself into a social-democratic party on western lines in 1989.

Another factor was the widespread failure of right-wing groups to coalesce as a coherent moderate grouping along the lines of German or Italian Christian Democracy in the immediate post-war years. Right-wing too often meant particularist.

The reformed Communists to be returned to power were, however, no longer Marxists, let alone Leninists. Whether by choice or necessity, they were managerial pragmatists supporting such previously unthinkable policies as free markets, privatisation and entry into the EU and NATO. They were not infrequently to find themselves 'to the right' of more protectionist, nationally minded parties. The change in outlook may actually have occurred much earlier. Aleksander Kwaśniewski, then president of Poland and a junior member of Poland's last Communist government, maintained in 1995: 'From an ideological point of view I was never a Communist. In Poland I've seen very few Communists, especially since the 1970s. I met a lot of technocrats, opportunists,

reformers, liberals.’ (Source: Higley *et al.*, quoted by Bastian). The Hungarian Communist Party, or Socialist Workers’ Party to give it its proper title, initiated pluralistic reform at its Party Congress in June 1988 where it became to all intents and purposes a mainstream social democratic party. It was the reformed Communists, who had eschewed Lenin and as much of Marx as western social-democrats had, rather than the more nationalist right, who were seen as the politicians most likely to negotiate successful entry into the European Union.

The real exception is Germany’s Party of Democratic Socialism (*Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus* now ‘the Left’ (*die Linke*)) which draws virtually all its support from what was East Germany. Unlike its fellow parties, it remains Marxist in its analysis and to some extent in its prescriptions, but it also enjoys substantial and seemingly growing electoral support.

The formalities of democracy appear to have taken root to a degree thought unlikely by many observers in 1990 who appear, with the wisdom of hindsight, to have been unduly influenced by the lurch into authoritarianism of the interwar years. In its way, it is perhaps a backhanded compliment to Communist rule, which everywhere put a high value on modern concepts of education.

Beneath the veneer of observing the necessary formalities of democracy, however, political realities are raw. Even in the most stable states, opposition parties are widely perceived as seeking to undermine the legitimacy of the majority government. In Hungary in 2002, the publication of the Socialist prime minister’s earlier role in the national counter-intelligence service by the conservative newspaper *Magyar Nemzet* endangered his position and caused the leader of the minority Free Democrats to assert: ‘We are in the middle of a very dirty political game.’ Similar tensions came to the surface on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian uprising. ‘Dirty tricks’ campaigns have been found in Poland likewise. The Polish prime minister, Josef Oleksy, a former Communist, was forced to resign in 1996, following allegations that he had passed information to a personal friend who was a colonel in the KGB. He was subsequently cleared of any wrongdoing by a military prosecutor.

It was in Romania in 2007, however, that political abuse plumbed the depths when the potentially impeached President Bănescu was miscellaneously accused of having been handed the answers to his naval exam in the 1970s by a secret policeman and of being a drunk ‘who mistakes the whisky bottle for the TV remote control’. His style of response was that parliament was a ‘physical wreck shortly before clinical death’.

Political and social tolerance is often fragile, particularly in Poland, where deeply conservative, and some would say reactionary, interpretations of Roman Catholicism are fanning hostility to abortion, homosexuality and, not least, Jews. Internal critics were fearing in 2006 that Poland was fast becoming the least tolerant country in the EU. The ultra-conservative League of Polish Families, a key coalition partner in the Kaczyński government, had been responsible for such suggestions as posting the Ten Commandments on public buildings, placing cameras at the entrances to brothels and banning gay schoolteachers. This is

only reflecting the belief of 89 per cent of the Polish public that homosexuality is abnormal, and the number of bishops who are urging a more inward-looking nationalist agenda. The Polish church has made only a modest response to the request of the Vatican itself that it discipline *Radio Maryja*, a popular broadcaster in rural Poland and responsible for harshly worded commentary on the EU, freemasons, Germans, homosexuals and Jews amongst its programme of hymns and prayers. Ferenc Gyurcsány, the Hungarian prime minister, who has, of course, his own political agenda, places the issue of tolerance in a wider central and eastern European context, alleging that from Poland to the Balkans ‘the fundamental question has not been decided yet – of a progressive modernisation policy or the isolation of radical nationalism. This is the debate that we see happening in all of these countries. Their internal division lines are different. There is a deep cultural and societal division’.

As in all countries, history can be manipulated for political ends. The Socialists maintained, for example, that the opening of Budapest’s Terror House museum, successively headquarters of the Hungarian Nazi Arrow Cross and then of the Communist political police, by the right-wing government in spring 2002 was a deliberate attempt to influence the bitterest of Hungary’s general elections then in progress. The Socialists also noted that the museum paid little attention to the authoritarian regime of Admiral Horthy, 1920–44. It is all too easy for one official version of history to be substituted for another.

Negative practices, which are, of course, far from unknown in western Europe and North America, are potentially much more dangerous in central and eastern Europe because liberal democracy remains almost everywhere a recent innovation, and historic wounds are far more open.

Stability is repeatedly threatened by scandal. The Lithuanian parliament debated in February 2004 whether to impeach the president on the grounds that his office had links to Russian organised crime. The Latvian government of Einaris Repše resigned the same month following allegations against him of corruption. Moreover, accusations of corruption, crime and impropriety are almost the norm. Opponents of Ukraine’s pro-Russian Party of the Regions maintain that it is just a front for businessmen with Russian interests and for criminals in eastern Ukraine.

Poland saw similar tensions in September 2006 when a secretly filmed videotape showed Adam Lipinski, a close associate of the prime minister, offering Renata Beger, a deputy of the Self-Defence Party, financial assistance in paying off her debts to her party. The opposition demanded the immediate resignation of the prime minister, Jaroslaw Kaczyński, and the dissolution of parliament on the grounds that the combatting of corruption in Poland was the prime minister’s declared key policy. Such calls were to no avail, partly because new elections would simply have repeated the stalemate whereby the opposition centre-right Civic Platform (PO) had the most seats but not enough to form a government and had no obvious coalition partner. The dismissal of Andzej Lepper, the leader of the Self-Defence Party, in July 2007 following allegations of corruption, has only added to Poland’s problems.

It has often only been possible to form governments by coalitions of disparate and sometimes quite opposing parties, which have extended to the far-right and ultra-nationalist. Slovakia in 2006 and Poland in 2005 are amongst the more recent cases in point.

It must also be said that there is a streak of intolerance running through the veins of some mainstream politicians, and not just those on the fringes. Indeed, there is often no clear distinction between the two. Slovakia's Vladimir Mečiar and Poland's Kaczyński twins, then (September 2007) president and prime minister, are amongst the more obvious. Such politicians are also strongly nationalistic, although not normally in an expansionist or irredentist sense. The Kaczyński twins are also antipathetic to foreigners in general and seemingly hostile in the old Polish tradition to Germans and Russians in particular, to a degree bordering on paranoia. Jaroslaw Kaczyński has publicly alleged, presumably seriously, that 'the opposition front has been put together by the German security services'.

More widely, governments have lacked stability because the mass political parties needed to support them have failed to evolve. Latvia and Lithuania both had at least ten governments between 1993 and 2004, Estonia had seven and Poland six. The predominant pattern in such countries was the emergence rather of short-lived campaigning parties focused on a limited range of issues. The ballot paper for the Ukrainian parliamentary elections of 2006 had on it no fewer than 45 parties. Moreover, the larger parties which did exercise power were themselves frequently unstable associations of very diverse groups.

These problems must, however, be kept in perspective. French political parties typically have a very low membership base, and Italy had eight governments in the period in question. The most recent Italian governments of Silvio Berlusconi and Romano Prodi have been noted for the diversity of the interests represented under the leader's umbrella. Even in traditionally two-party Britain, the range of views encompassed by each of the two main parties is remarkably wide.

Nevertheless, in a range of countries, particularly in the Balkans, 'democracy' has teetered on the edge of farce, or perhaps more properly black humour, a particularly dangerous combination if confidence in democracy is to be either established or sustained. The Ukrainian pro-Russian Party of the Regions of Viktor Yanukovich owed its success in the parliamentary elections of 2006 to its retention of Davis Manafort, a leading US political consultancy and lobbying company. The 'Orange Revolution' was turned into a 'Blue Revolution' with the assistance of a long-established Republican adviser, who had helped to manage campaigns for Presidents Reagan and George W Bush, and his colleague, who had organised President Reagan's funeral. In the same vein, Viktor Yanukovich retained the prominent London public relations company, Project Associates, to make his case in Europe in April 2007. One of the Associates is Steven Norris, a former vice-chairman of the British Conservative Party. The geopolitical 'war' between east and west over Ukraine, beloved of journalists, can appear to be being fought by consultants as much as by national parties and politicians.

Similarly ironic was the code of practice adopted by the Bosnian parliament in September 2007, which introduced fines equivalent to half of the monthly salary for MPs using mobile phones or reading newspapers during sessions and for being rude to fellow MPs. Respect for state institutions, one must assume, was limited. Romania in May 2007, however, lurched into what was unquestionably pure farce, when the prime minister criticised President Băseșcu on a television chat show only for the first public caller once the phone lines had been opened to be the irate President himself.

Even the comparatively sedate Czech Republic is not exempt. Government was in paralysis throughout the summer of 2006 after the wife of the prime minister, Mirek Topolánek, uncovered his affair with the deputy parliamentary speaker and took her revenge by joining the right-wing opposition to his minority government.

Nevertheless, none of these are as dangerous as the wholesale corruption of the system by the buying of politicians and parties by the oligarchs, which is all too evident in parts of the Balkans. At its worst, the politician becomes a puppet whose strings are being pulled by unseen hands unidentifiable by an electorate which believes it can make a choice. In very many countries, however, it is far from clear who is really pulling the strings, and the possession of wealth is no guide to party loyalty. It was Rinat Akhmetov, a steel and coal tycoon believed to be Ukraine's richest man, who was responsible for hiring the leading US political consultancy and lobbying company to advise Ukraine's Party of the Regions prior to the parliamentary elections of 2006. On the other hand, Yuliya Tymoshenko, prime minister January–September 2005, made a fortune in the 1990s, becoming president of United Energy Systems of Ukraine, one of the country's largest importers of natural gas, and it was she who, with Petro Poroshenko, the 'chocolate king', co-financed the 'Orange Revolution'.

II

HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY OF KEY EVENTS

2.1

KEY EVENTS BEFORE VERSAILLES

1917

- 13 Jun.** A central Ukrainian *Rada* (council or soviet) proclaims an 'autonomous Ukrainian republic' though 'without separating from Russia and without breaking away from the Russian state'.
- 20 Jul.** The Corfu Declaration determines the broad framework for establishing a unified southern Slav (Yugoslav) state, when the First World War has been won.
- 20 Nov.** The Ukrainian *Rada* proclaims a Ukrainian People's Republic, united with Russia. Relations between Russia and Ukraine are to collapse however under the pressure of the Russian revolutionary wars.
- 26 Nov.** Bolshevik Russia unilaterally ends hostilities at Lenin's direction, and signs a formal armistice with Germany a month later. The Bolsheviks win 72 per cent of the vote in the elections in Latvia during November for a Constituent Assembly, and Soviet power is proclaimed in both Estonia and Latvia in December.

1918

- 24 Jan.** A Bessarabian council declares the region independent of Russia. It votes to unite with Romania in the December.
- Feb.** The Germans occupy the whole of Latvia.
- 16 Feb.** A national council, *Taryba*, under German auspices, proclaims the independence of Lithuania.
- 3 Mar.** Victorious Germany and defeated Russia sign the Peace of Brest Litovsk on German terms. Russia cedes its claim to Estonia and Latvia.
- 7 May** Victorious Germany and defeated Romania sign the Peace of Bucharest on German terms.
- 24 May** The Slovak National Party adopts an anti-Hungarian position.
- 30 Jun.** Professor Masaryk, acting for the Czechs, signs the Pittsburgh Agreement in America, whereby he promises Slovak Americans, acting for the European Slovaks, a Slovak Diet, autonomous administration and law courts, and the use of Slovak as the official

- language of administration and education in the Slovak lands. The promises are never to be honoured.
- 29 Sep.** Bulgaria signs an armistice with the British and the French in Thessaloniki. She is the first of the Central Powers to surrender.
- 3–4 Oct.** Prince Maximilian of Baden, the new German Chancellor, requests President Wilson of America to arrange an immediate armistice and a start to peace negotiations on the basis of the President's Fourteen Points (see section VII, Glossary).
- 12 Oct.** The Transylvanian Romanian National Party, meeting at Oradea Mare (Hungarian *Nagyvárad*), declares the right of self-determination for Romanians in Hungary.
- 26 Oct.** Professor Masaryk and Gregory Žatkovič, a Ruthene American, sign the Philadelphia Agreement whereby Ruthenia is promised autonomy within the new Czechoslovakia. The promise is never to be honoured.
- 27 Oct.** A Bukovinian National Council is established in Chernivtsi and appeals to Romania for the liberation of the province from Austria.
- 28 Oct.** The Czechoslovak National Council (*Národní Výbor*) assumes the government of the Czechoslovak territories (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia), previously exercised by Austria–Hungary.
- 29 Oct.** The *Sabor*, the Croatian Parliament, declares the dissolution of the union with Hungary, and the establishment of a 'State of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs'.
- 29 Oct.** Slovak political leaders declare in Turčiansky Svätý Martin that there is one single Czechoslovak nation and that the land of the Slovaks shall form part of a common state.
- 30 Oct.** Turkey signs the Armistice of Mudros.
- 31 Oct.** Revolution breaks out in Hungary with the goal of establishing an independent republic.
- 3 Nov.** Austria–Hungary signs an armistice with the Allies, excluding the Serbs, in Padova. The Serbs occupy Austrian Bosnia and Hungarian Vojvodina in the ensuing 10 days.
- 9 Nov.** The independence of Poland is proclaimed in Warsaw.
- 9 Nov.** The declaration of a Bavarian Republic by Kurt Eisner 2 days earlier leads to the resignation of Prince Maximilian as German Chancellor and the abdication of Kaiser Wilhelm II as German emperor. He flees to the neutral Netherlands.
- The cession of the Chancellorship to Friedrich Ebert, the leader of the Social Democrats, is challenged by the soldiers' and workers' councils, the Independent Socialists and the *Spartakusbund* (Spartacus Union). The latter is to become the *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* (KPD) (German Communist Party) in January 1919. Ebert decides to ally himself with the Supreme Army Command against the far left.
- 10 Nov.** Romania re-enters the War on the Allied side.

HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY OF KEY EVENTS

- 11 Nov.** Germany and the Allies sign an armistice at Rethondes, France, bringing to an end fighting on the Western Front.
- 12 Nov.** Austria is proclaimed a republic. Government is assumed by a National Assembly and interim cabinet.
- 13 Nov.** Bolshevik Russia invites all the countries of eastern Europe to join a Union of Soviet Republics.
- 13 Nov.** The Austro-Hungarian emperor, Karl, abdicates as King of Hungary.
- 14 Nov.** The National Assembly in Prague formally declares Czechoslovakia a republic, with Professor Tomáš Masaryk as its first president.
- 14 Nov.** General Piłsudski, having returned to Poland, assumes supreme power, and convokes the Constituent Assembly, which confirms him in office.
- 16 Nov.** An independent Hungarian People's Republic is proclaimed in Budapest. Count Mihály Karolyi is provisional president.
- 26 Nov.** A Montenegrin national assembly under Serb influence deposes King Nicholas and merges Montenegro with Serbia.
- 28 Nov.** A Bukovinian Congress votes for union with Romania. The union is formalised by decree on 19 December.
- 29 Nov.** An Estonian Soviet Republic is proclaimed at Narva, and is recognised by Russia on 8 December 1918.
- 1 Dec.** The Triunine Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is proclaimed by the prince regent, later King Alexander. His father, Peter I of Serbia, is declared the first monarch of the new kingdom.
- 1 Dec.** Representatives of the Transylvanian Romanians meeting at Alba Iulia (Hungarian *Gyulafehérvár*) proclaim the Union of Transylvania and Romania, and the union of all Romanians in one state.
- 22 Dec.** The Latvian Soviet Republic proclaimed in November, and a provisional Lithuanian government, are recognised by Russia.

1919

- Jan.** Soviet forces occupy Lithuania.
- 10 Jan.** The German Army assisted by *Freikorps* (counter-revolutionary volunteers) launches the campaign against Communism by attacking the Spartacist headquarters in Spandau, a suburb of Berlin.
- 15 Jan.** Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the leaders of the Communist revolutionaries in Berlin, are captured and brutally murdered by the *Freikorps*. A fellow captive, Wilhelm Pieck, survives to become East Germany's first president in 1949.
- 17 Jan.** Ignacy Paderewski forms a Polish government of experts. He serves as his own foreign minister.
- 14 Feb.** The first phase of the war between Soviet Russia and Poland over their joint border and spheres of influence opens with an unplanned confrontation at Bereza Kartuska in Belarus. Polish war aims include

the independence of the non-Russian parts of the former Russian Empire.

The Poles take Vilnius in the April and Minsk in the August.

- 10 Mar.** A constitution of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic is officially adopted by the third All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets. It follows the Russian precedent.
 - 20 Mar.** Béla Kun becomes leader of a new Communist–Social Democrat coalition government in Hungary. Count Karolyi resigns as provisional president 2 days later.
 - Apr.** Polish forces expel the Soviet Army from Lithuania. The Lithuanian government is reformed and a democratic republic declared.
 - 1 May** The violent suppression of revolution in Bavaria by the German Army and *Freikorps* units marks the end of the immediate post-war challenge to the Ebert government from the far-left.
 - 8 May** A Ruthene National Council proclaims the union of Ruthenia with Czechoslovakia.
 - May–Dec.** Soviet power is again overthrown in Latvia, by a joint British naval and German military force. A liberal democratic republic is proclaimed.
- Soviet power is overthrown likewise in Estonia in May with British military assistance, and a liberal democratic republic proclaimed.
- 28 Jun.** The Treaty of Versailles is signed in the Hall of Mirrors of the former royal palace of Versailles just outside Paris, between Germany and the victorious Allies. The Peace is imposed on the Germans who maintain that it does not respect the spirit of President Wilson’s Fourteen Points (see section VII, Glossary).

The principal Allied signatories, Georges Clemenceau of France, David Lloyd George of Great Britain and President Woodrow Wilson of America, have made all the key decisions, with their co-signatory, Vittorio Orlando of Italy, and the other Allied powers playing only a minor role.

The Treaty re-establishes an independent Poland in accordance with President Wilson’s Thirteenth Point, and declares Danzig a free city. The independence of Lithuania is recognised.

The Allies maintain that Germany carries sole moral guilt for the War and that she must pay reparations accordingly. They are to be set in 1921 at \$33,000,000,000.

2.2

KEY EVENTS FROM VERSAILLES TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

1919

- 1 Aug.** The Hungarian Communist regime of Béla Kun collapses following the breakdown of food distribution and military mutiny. The Hungarian opposition has been aided by the Romanian Army, which occupies Budapest from August to mid-September. Béla Kun flees the country and his flight is followed by a White Terror of torture and murder.
- 7 Aug.** A 'national' government is re-established in Hungary with the assistance of the Romanian Army.
- 10 Sep.** The Treaty of Saint Germain is signed at Saint-Germain-en-Laye near Paris between Austria and the victorious Allies. It recognises the independence of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later renamed Yugoslavia. Austria cedes to Poland eastern Galicia, to Romania Bukovina, and to Italy Trentino, the south Tirol, Trieste and Istria. Recognition is given to the union of Bessarabia with Romania, but this is never accepted by the Soviet Union. The Covenant of the League of Nations is an integral part of the Treaty, and any union of Austria with Germany is forbidden without the express consent of the League Council. The Austro-Hungarian navy is distributed amongst the Allies.
- Plebiscites under the Treaty in due course award southern Carinthia to Austria and the town of Sopron to Hungary.
- Austria is placed under a duty to pay reparations, although none are ever to be paid.
- 12 Sep.** The Italian poet, Gabriele d'Annunzio, seizes the port of Fiume, now Rijeka, the status of which was then undetermined. It had been under Hungarian administration until the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.
- 27 Nov.** Paderewski resigns as Polish prime minister.

- 27 Nov.** The Treaty of Neuilly is signed just outside Paris between the Allies and Bulgaria. Bulgaria is obliged to cede land and some 300,000 people to Yugoslavia and to Greece, losing in the process its outlet to the Aegean Sea. An alternative outlet is promised, but the promise is never to be honoured. Bulgaria is also required to pay reparations, but they are later reduced by 75 per cent.
- 2 Dec.** Petlyura, one of the three leaders of Ukrainian autonomy in 1917, signs an agreement with the Polish government in Warsaw, whereby he renounces the Ukrainian claim to east Galicia in return for ruling Ukraine as a satellite of a Polish Empire.
- 8 Dec.** The Supreme Council of the Allied Powers proposes the Curzon Line as Poland's temporary eastern frontier (see section VII, Glossary).

1920

- 10 Jan.** The Treaty of Versailles comes into force.
- 2 Feb.** A peace treaty is signed between Soviet Russia and the new Estonian government.
- 29 Feb.** Czechoslovakia declares the national territory to be a single and indivisible unity. Only Carpathian Ruthenia is promised autonomy.
- 10 Mar.** Soviet Russia launches a major counter-attack against the invading Poles, but with limited initial success.
- 4 Jun.** The Treaty of Trianon is signed in the Trianon Palace at Versailles between Hungary and the victorious Allies. Hungary loses some two-thirds of its former population and territory: Slovakia, sub-Carpathian Ruthenia and the Bratislava region are ceded to Czechoslovakia; Croatia-Slavonia and some of the Banat (the Vojvodina) are ceded to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; and most of the Banat and all Transylvania are ceded to Romania. Italy gains Fiume, and most of the Burgenland in western Hungary passes to Austria. The Covenant of the League of Nations is an integral part of the Treaty.
- 4 Jul.** The Soviet Russian Army breaks through the Polish lines on the Berezina, and sweeps into Poland in pursuit of the defeated Whites. It mistakenly expects to be welcomed as a liberator. The Conference of Allied Powers at Spa, Belgium, recommends that the Curzon Line be the armistice line between Poland and Soviet Russia.
- 12 Jul.** A peace treaty is signed between Soviet Russia and the new Lithuanian government.
- 16 Jul.** The Treaty of St Germain comes into force.
- 9 Aug.** The Treaty of Neuilly comes into force.
- 10 Aug.** The Soviet Russian Army crosses the Vistula west of Warsaw.

- 11 Aug.** A peace treaty is signed between Soviet Russia and the new Latvian government.
- 18 Aug.** General Piłsudski and the French General Weygand devise a successful counter-attack. The Polish forces encircle the Russians and take 100,000 prisoners.
- 8 Sep.** Gabriele d'Annunzio proclaims the independence of Fiume under his government which he christens the 'Reggenza del Carnaro'.
- 9 Oct.** Vilnius is forcibly seized for Poland by General Zeligowski, although it is recognised as Lithuanian by the League of Nations. It is to be absorbed by Poland in 1923.
- 12 Oct.** Poland and Russia sign an armistice which takes effect 6 days later. Piłsudski is to denounce it as 'an act of cowardice'.
- 12 Nov.** Italy and Yugoslavia sign the Treaty of Rapallo determining their common frontier. The Istrian peninsula, the city of Zara (now Zadar) and the four islands of Cherso, Lagosta, Lussin and Pelagosa are awarded to Italy, and Fiume is declared a Free State. The remainder of the eastern Adriatic coast as far as the Albanian border is awarded to Yugoslavia, on the understanding that Italian minorities there will be respected.
(Special note: This first Treaty of Rapallo should not be confused with the better-known Treaty of Rapallo between Germany and Russia signed on 16 April 1922.)
- 15 Nov.** The Freedom of the City of Danzig is formally proclaimed. The Danzig–Polish Treaty making Danzig and Poland a single customs zone comes into force the same day. Only 6 per cent of Danzig's population is Polish.

1921

- 10 Feb.** France concludes a political alliance with Poland, including a secret military convention whereby France guarantees Poland against aggression.
- 1 Mar.** Montenegro joins the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes unreservedly on the death of the Montenegrin monarch, Nicholas.
- 18 Mar.** Poland and Bolshevik Russia sign the Treaty of Riga on Polish terms. The Treaty sets the Polish–Russian frontier some 150 miles east of the Curzon Line. The Polish government had rejected pleas for self-determination for the Lithuanians, White Russians and Ukrainians in the area acquired, as well as a proposed plebiscite in East Galicia.

The new frontier is subsequently ratified by the Allies, although probably less than a quarter of the area's population is Polish.

- Poland, nevertheless, fails to secure the independence of its ally, Ukraine.
- 24 Apr.** The electorate of Fiume approves the Italian prime minister's plan for a free state of Fiume-Rijeka and for an Italo-Fiuman-‘Yugoslav’ consortium to run the port. The plan comes to nought with the rise of Mussolini to power in Italy.
- 28 Aug.** Soviet authority is finally fully established in Ukraine with the withdrawal to Romania of the forces of the anarchist, Nestor Makho.
- 24 Oct.** A further Danzig–Polish Treaty provides for joint economic administration.
- 9 Nov.** A declaration of the Conference of Ambassadors states that if the territorial or economic integrity or independence of Albania is threatened, Britain, France, Italy and Japan will recommend the League of Nations to intervene, with such intervention being executed by Italy.

1922

- 31 Aug.** The Little Entente of Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia is formally concluded in Mariánské Lázně. (See section 3.6.1 for fuller particulars.)

1923

- 8–9 Jun.** The government of Alexandur Stamboliyski is overthrown by a military coup in Bulgaria. Thousands die in the ensuing disorder. (See section 3.1 for fuller particulars.)
- 24 Jul.** Greece, Romania and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes are co-signatories with the Allies of the Treaty of Lausanne with Turkey, which marks the final conclusion of the First World War.
- 17 Sep.** Mussolini incorporates Fiume into Italy despite the protests of Yugoslavia and the Fiuman government. Mussolini had been claiming the city ever since his accession to power.

1924

- 25 Jan.** France concludes a Treaty of Friendship with Czechoslovakia.

1926

- 12 May** Marshal Piłsudski leads a march on Warsaw by the military. The government resigns 2 days later.
- Dec.** The democratic republic of Lithuania is overthrown in a coup.

1928

- 5 Jun.** Mussolini, in a dramatic speech to the Italian Senate, urges revision of the post-war treaties, notably Trianon. His speech is greeted with wild enthusiasm in Hungary, and it marks the real opening of the abyss between Italy and the Little Entente.
- 20 Jun.** A Montenegrin member of the Yugoslav *Skupština* murders several Croat members during a parliamentary session, and unites the Croats against the Serbs.
King Alexander offers the Croats independence, but the offer is rejected. The Croats fear Italian or Hungarian intervention and want full federalism. (See section 3.1 for fuller particulars.)
- 1 Sep.** Ahmed Zogu's assumption of the title 'King Zog I of the Albanians' is resented in Yugoslavia because of the implied interest in the large Albanian minority there.

1929

- 6 Jan.** King Alexander of Yugoslavia establishes a royal dictatorship. (See section 3.1 for fuller particulars.)
- 3 Oct.** The Triunine Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

1930

- 6 Jun.** Prince Carol returns to Romania and is proclaimed King Carol 2 days later. He had been exiled in 1926.

1932

- 4 Oct.** The new Hungarian prime minister General von Gömbös announces that his priorities will be a revision of the Treaty of Trianon and the introduction of secret ballots.
- 16 Oct.** Some 200,000 Slovaks demonstrate in favour of autonomy. (See section 3.1 for fuller particulars.)

1933

- 15 Feb.** Mussolini maintains that French reports of a German–Hungarian–Italian treaty of alliance are 'a complete invention'.
- 17 Feb.** Some 60,000 rifles, 200 machine guns and aircraft from Italy are intercepted by Austrian workers at Hirtenberg on the border of Austria and Hungary. Italy rebuts accusations of arms smuggling into Hungary.

- 16 Mar.** Chancellor Dollfuss of Austria introduces rule by decree. (See section 3.1 for fuller particulars.)
- 19 Aug.** Italy guarantees Austrian independence at Riccione in return for the abolition of all political parties and constitutional reform on fascist lines.
- 21 Oct.** Marshal Piłsudski orders a report on the state of German rearmament. Poland apparently spreads rumours that it has proposed to France a preventive war against Germany.
- 29 Dec.** The Romanian prime minister, Ion G. Duca, is assassinated at Sinaia. The assassin and his two accomplices are members of the dissolved Iron Guard, but deny acting under orders.

1934

- 24 Jan.** Marshal Piłsudski accepts Hitler's suggestion of a 10-year German–Polish non-aggression agreement, but declines later suggestions of a joint alliance against the Soviet Union. The agreement is signed on 26 January, and it marks the beginning of an actively aggressive policy by Poland towards Czechoslovakia.
- 12–18 Feb.** Civil war breaks out in Austria between the supporters of the Chancellor, Dr Dollfuss and the Socialists. Some 62 people are killed in fighting in Graz, Linz, Steyr and Vienna. The Clericals, who want an independent Austria, anticipate that by eliminating the Social Democrats, they will secure Mussolini's support against Hitler. The Socialists declare a General Strike and the government martial law. The war ends after a few days with the victory of the government and the suppression of all forms of opposition. (See also section 3.1.)
- 12 Mar.** An attempted Nazi putsch in Estonia is completely crushed. Martial law is declared and papers hostile to the government suspended.
- 16 May** Latvia declares a state of emergency, allegedly to prevent a coup d'état. Constitutional changes are to be devised to vest greater powers in a directly elected president. Kārlis Ulmanis is acclaimed Leader of the Nation.
- 7 Jun.** Professor Woldemaras, the former Lithuanian minister-president in exile, launches an unsuccessful coup d'état. President Smetana refuses to negotiate, and Professor Woldemaras is sentenced to 12 years' penal servitude on 18 June.
- 9 Jun.** The German Nazi Party promotes a campaign of terror across Austria designed to destroy the country's tourist trade.
- 13 Jun.** The Director of Security for the Austrian province of Vorarlberg seals the frontier with Germany.
- 21 Jun.** The French foreign minister, M. Barthou, advises King Carol on a visit to Romania that France will withdraw its diplomatic and

- financial support if he suppresses democracy and aligns Romania with the fascist states. (See section 3.6.1 for fuller particulars.)
- 25 Jul.** Dr Dollfuss, Austrian Chancellor and dictator, is assassinated by the Austrian Nazis during an attack on the Chancellery in Vienna. The rebellion is rapidly suppressed, but any plan of Austro-German union is deferred following Mussolini's mobilisation of troops on the Brenner Pass frontier. (See also section 3.1.)
- 3 Oct.** President Päts declares the Estonian parliament dissolved.
- 9 Oct.** King Alexander of Yugoslavia is assassinated in Marseilles by *Ustaša* agents (see section VII, Glossary). The French foreign minister, M. Barthou, is killed also.

1935

- 14 Apr.** Britain, France and Italy show willingness at the Stresa Conference to discuss lifting the military constraints imposed on Bulgaria by the Treaties of Neuilly and Lausanne.
- 19 May** The Czechoslovak elections see the rise of a new ethnic German political party, *Die Sudetendeutsche Partei*, under the leadership of Konrad Henlein. It is the second largest political party and, although it proclaims its loyalty to democracy and the Czechoslovak republic, it increasingly promotes Nazi views.

1936

- 26 Feb.** Poland arrests in Katowice 75 members of the recently banned *National Sozialische Deutsche Arbeiterbewegung*, which allegedly seeks with German support to separate Upper Silesia from Poland.
- 2 Oct.** Austria introduces conscription for the first time since the War.

1937

- 1–2 Apr.** Romania and Yugoslavia refuse a Czechoslovak request that the Little Entente pledge full military aid to any member which is threatened by aggression. (See section 3.6.1 for fuller particulars.)

1938

- 12 Feb.** The Austrian Chancellor, Dr von Schuschnigg, is pressurised by Hitler into an agreement whereby the Austrian Nazis enjoy freedom of manoeuvre. He repudiates the agreement in early March and announces that a plebiscite on union with Germany (*Anschluss*) will be held on 13 March.

- 11 Mar.** Dr Seyss-Inquart returns from Berlin with an ultimatum demanding the postponement of the plebiscite and an end to the Chancellor's negotiations with former Social Democrats. Dr von Schuschnigg agrees to postponement but not to any other demand, whereupon a second German ultimatum is issued which the Chancellor has until 7.30 pm to accept or the German Army will invade. The second ultimatum demands his immediate resignation, the appointment of Dr Seyss-Inquart as his successor, a two-thirds Nazi majority in the new cabinet, recognition of the Nazi Party throughout Austria, and the entry of the 30,000-strong Nazi 'Austrian Legion' into Vienna to keep order.
- At 7.30 pm, Dr von Schuschnigg broadcasts that the government will not shed blood, but is yielding to brute force. The Chancellor and all his cabinet except Dr Seyss-Inquart resign. Thousands of Austrian Nazis take over the public buildings in Vienna and other Austrian towns and cities. At 9.30 pm, Dr Seyss-Inquart telegrams to the German government for help in preventing bloodshed, and at 10.00 pm, German troops enter Austria through Salzburg, Kufstein and Mittenwald. At 10.30 pm, the appointment by President Miklas of Dr Seyss-Inquart as Chancellor is announced on the radio.
- 12 Mar.** German troops continue their occupation of Austria including the cities of Graz, Linz and Innsbruck. They receive a rapturous reception from large sections of the population. Hitler arrives in Linz, and in his welcome Chancellor Seyss-Inquart declares the formal annulment of Article 88 of the Treaty of St Germain which had banned any union between Austria and Germany without the League Council's specific consent.
- 13 Mar.** President Miklas resigns at the Chancellor's request. At 7.30 pm, the new Austrian government dissolves the Austrian state and declares Austria to be an integral part of Germany. The union, *Anschluss*, makes Germany the largest state in Europe in area and population, apart from the Soviet Union, and larger in area than the Germany of 1914.
- 13 Mar.** The Primate of Austria, Cardinal Archbishop Innitzer of Vienna, exhorts Roman Catholics 'to thank God for the bloodless course of the revolution ... and to carry out willingly all orders of the authorities'.
- 10 Apr.** A directed plebiscite approves the *Anschluss* by 99.7 per cent.
- 24 Apr.** Konrad Henlein, leader of the Sudeten German Home Front, demands autonomy for the Sudetenland within Czechoslovakia.
- 12 Sep.** Hitler makes an uncompromising demand for the cession of the Sudeten areas of Czechoslovakia to Germany, and follows it up with an ultimatum, threatening to seize them by force on 1 October.

- 18 Sep.** The Czechoslovak prime minister, Dr Hodža, rejects suggestions from abroad of either a plebiscite or any alternative means of securing the secession of the German-speaking Sudetenland from Czechoslovak territory. (See Sudetenland, section 4.1, for fuller particulars.)
- 19 Sep.** The British and French present a joint plan to the Czechoslovak government featuring the cession of the Sudetenland, the neutralisation of the rest of the national territory and the joint guarantee of its independence.
- 20 Sep.** Hungary and Poland demand that the south Slovak and Teschen areas of Czechoslovakia inhabited by their respective minorities be ceded in the manner demanded by Germany of the Sudeten areas. (See Teschen in section VII, Glossary.)
- 21 Sep.** Following strong pressure on President Beneš from Britain and France, the Czechoslovak government submits and unreservedly accepts their joint plan.
- 21 Sep.** Poland denounces its 1925 treaty with Czechoslovakia over its minority in Teschen.
- 21 Sep.** The Soviet foreign minister, Maxim Litvinov, reiterates that the Soviet Union will assist Czechoslovakia against German aggression, provided France does likewise.
- 22 Sep.** The Czechoslovak government is ferociously attacked in the German media, which alleges that it is ‘completely Bolshevised’. The Sudeten German legion (*Freikorps*) increasingly attacks Czechoslovak frontier installations and seizes some smaller towns including Cheb. Dr Hodža and his cabinet resign.
- 23 Sep.** The Soviet Union warns Poland that any Polish invasion of Czechoslovak territory will lead to immediate Soviet cancellation of the 1932 Polish–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact. Poland responds that ‘the measures which have been taken for the defence of the Polish State are an internal question’.
- 29 Sep.** Czechoslovakia is dismembered by Britain, France, Germany and Italy at the Munich conference, in accordance with the British–French joint plan. Chamberlain, Daladier, Hitler and Mussolini meet all together for the first and last time, but neither America nor the Soviet Union is a party to the proceedings. On his return to London, Chamberlain waves the piece of paper with Hitler’s signature and declares: ‘It is peace for our time.’
Monsignor Tiso becomes prime minister of Slovakia in the new federal Czechoslovakia.
- 30 Sep.** Poland demands that Czechoslovakia accept its demands for the evacuation of Teschen by noon on the following day, or its army will occupy the district.

- 1 Oct.** Czechoslovakia cedes Teschen to Poland. (See Teschen in section VII, Glossary.)
- 1 Oct.** The first German troops enter the Sudetenland.
- 10 Oct.** Germany completes its occupation of the Sudetenland.
- 2–3 Nov.** Czechoslovakia cedes the strip of southern Slovakia primarily inhabited by ethnic Hungarians to Hungary (see Vienna Award (First) in section VII, Glossary).
- 20 Nov.** The new Czechoslovak–German frontier is officially fixed.

1939

- 10 Mar.** The Czechoslovak government decides to liquidate Slovak separatism, fearing a *coup d'état* on 15 March. Martial law is proclaimed in Bratislava and other large Slovak towns, and the semi-fascist Slovak 'Hlinka guard' is disarmed. Msgr Tiso, the Slovak prime minister, and all but two members of his cabinet are dismissed and the members soon arrested, as are many leaders of the Hlinka guard.
- 11–12 Mar.** Violence erupts in Bratislava, and Msgr Tiso asks Hitler for German assistance.
Members of the Sudeten minority in the Czech provinces riot.
- 13 Mar.** Msgr Tiso meets Hitler in Berlin.
- 14 Mar.** The Slovak diet in Bratislava unanimously declares Slovak independence. Msgr Tiso is appointed prime minister.
Hungary demands the withdrawal of all Czechoslovak troops from Ruthenia, the Czechoslovak government accepts the ultimatum, and Hungary incorporates it in its territory. President Hacha and his foreign minister leave for Berlin at the German government's invitation. German troops cross the border before the Czechs have arrived.
- 15 Mar.** President Hacha and Dr Chvalkovsky meet Hitler, von Ribbentrop and Goering in the Chancellery just after 1.00 am. At 3.55 am, following a German threat to release 800 bombers on Prague at 4.00 am, the Czech leaders abandon resistance and agree to place the Czech people under German protection. At 5.00 am, Dr Goebbels proclaims that Czechoslovakia has ceased to exist. At 6.00 am, German troops start to occupy the Czech provinces of Bohemia and Moravia, and by 9.00 am, they are in Prague. At 7.15 pm, Hitler proclaims in Prague the incorporation of Bohemia and Moravia in the Greater German Reich.
- 16 Mar.** Slovakia becomes a German protectorate at the request of Msgr Tiso, telegraphed to Hitler the previous day. His action may have been designed to forestall annexation by Hungary.

- German troops occupy Bratislava and western Slovakia. Unfettered Slovak independence has lasted 2 days.
- 23 Mar.** Germany occupies the German populated enclave of Memel (Klaipeda) in Lithuania and demands Danzig and the corridor from Poland.
- 31 Mar.** Britain guarantees Poland against aggression.
- 7 Apr.** Mussolini declares Albania an Italian protectorate with Victor Emmanuel III of Italy its king. King Zog I goes into exile.
- 11 Apr.** The annexation of Ruthenia by Hungary in the March generates serious tension with Romania. The state of tension is heightened by German demands on Romania during trade negotiations.
- 13 Apr.** Britain and France assure the Romanian (and Greek) governments of all the assistance in their power in the event of any action threatening their independence.
- 23 Aug.** Germany and the Soviet Union sign a neutrality (non-aggression) pact. Military conversations between Britain, France and the Soviet Union earlier in the month had come to nothing in the absence of Polish cooperation.
- The secret protocol of the German–Soviet pact assigns Estonia and Latvia to the Soviet sphere of influence.
- 31 Aug.** The German government broadcasts a 16-point plan for a settlement with Poland. It includes the unconditional return of Danzig.
- 1 Sep.** Germany invades Poland.
- 3 Sep.** Britain and France declare war on Germany, thus opening the Second World War. Italy declares its non-belligerence. America and the Soviet Union remain neutral.

2.3

KEY EVENTS DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

(Note: This section is not a military history of the Second World War in central and eastern Europe. Interested readers are referred to the numerous specialised books available.)

1939

- 17 Sep.** The Soviet Army enters eastern Poland.
- 21 Sep.** Germany and the Soviet Union declare that Poland has ceased to exist.
- 28 Sep.** A German–Soviet Treaty is signed in Moscow by their respective foreign ministers, Joachim von Ribbentrop and Vyacheslav Molotov, dividing Poland up between the two states. The new partition line coincides with the Curzon Line except in the north where it gives the whole province of Bialystok to the Soviet Union and in the Przemyśl region to the south where it is again more favourable to the Soviet Union.
The secret protocol of the Treaty assigns most of Lithuania to the Soviet sphere of influence.
- 30 Sep.** Polish resistance to the Germans ceases, except in a small pocket north of Gdynia.
- 8 Oct.** Germany formally annexes western Poland and establishes the two new provinces of West Prussia and Posen. Germany’s new frontier is appreciably further to the east than that of 1914.
- 10 Oct.** The Soviet Union restores Vilnius to Lithuania.
- 1 Nov.** The Soviet Union formally annexes the western Ukraine, until now the larger part of eastern Poland.
- 2 Nov.** The Soviet Union formally annexes western White Russia (Byelorussia), the remaining part of eastern Poland.

1940

- 5 Mar.** A Soviet Politburo resolution, made public by the Russian president Boris Yeltsin in October 1992, orders the execution of

- some 26,000 Poles, including those to be revealed by the Nazis in the Katyn Forest in 1943.
- 10 Jun.** Italy enters the Second World War on the German side.
- 16 Jun.** An ultimatum leads to the formation in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania of governments acceptable to the Soviet Union.
- 24 Jun.** Slovakia enters the war on the German side.
- 26 Jun.** The Soviet Union demands that Romania cede Bessarabia and the northern part of Bukovina. Romania complies, and the Soviet Army enters the region 2 days later.
- 1 Jul.** The Romanian prime minister, Gheorghe Tatărescu, announces the formal renunciation of the Franco-British guarantee of April 1939 to Romania. Future Romanian policy will be aligned with ‘the new orientation in Europe’.
- 21 Jul.** The Estonian parliament and a Latvian People’s Diet proclaim the establishment of the Estonian and Latvian Soviet Socialist Republics and apply for membership of the Soviet Union. The applications from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are accepted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, 3–6 August.
- Aug.** The Soviet Union creates the constituent Moldavian SSR out of central Bessarabia and a strip of the Ukrainian SSR east of the River Dniestr.
- 16 Aug.** Hungarian and Romanian delegations meet at the port of Turnu Severin to discuss Hungarian territorial claims on Romania. The negotiations are broken off without agreement on 24 August.
- 27 Aug.** The Hungarian and Romanian prime and foreign ministers are summoned to Vienna for German and Italian mediation.
- 30 Aug.** Hungary and Romania accept the ‘Vienna Award’ whereby the Axis powers transfer more than half of Transylvania to Hungary. (See section VII, Glossary, for fuller particulars.)
- 31 Aug.** Romania agrees under the Treaty of Craiova to cede Southern Dobruja to Bulgaria, thus restoring the 1912 frontier. The province is populated mainly by ethnic Bulgarians.
- 5 Sep.** Romania declares the fascist General Antonescu ‘Leader (*Conducator*) of the State’. (See section 3.3 for fuller particulars.)
- 15 Sep.** Romania is declared a ‘Legionary State’ with the Iron Guard as the only recognised party. (See section 3.3 for fuller particulars.)
- 7 Oct.** German troops are deployed in Romania.
- 20 Nov.** Hungary signs the Axis Pact. (See section 3.6.2 for fuller particulars.)
- 23 Nov.** Romania and Slovakia sign the Axis Pact. (See section 3.6.2 for fuller particulars.)
- 1 Dec.** General Antonescu pledges to try to reunite Transylvania with Romania.

1941

- 1 Mar.** Bulgaria signs the Axis Pact. German troops enter the country on 3 March and occupy Black Sea ports. (See also section 3.6.2.)
- 25 Mar.** Yugoslavia signs the Axis Pact. Protests erupt across the country, and the government is overthrown during the next 48 hours. (See section 3.6.2 for fuller particulars.)
- 6 Apr.** Germany attacks Yugoslavia with Hungarian assistance.
- 10 Apr.** Germany establishes a nominally independent Croat state under Dr Ante Pavelić (q.v.), who enters Zagreb in triumph on 15 April.
- 11 Apr.** Hungary invades, and in due course occupies, the Yugoslav Vojvodina which had been part of Hungary before the First World War.
- 16 Apr.** King Peter leaves Yugoslavia, and the High Command capitulates the next day. The Germans occupy Serbia.
- 28 Apr.** Bulgarian troops occupy Yugoslav Macedonia, Greek Macedonia and eastern Thrace and the Florina and Kastoria districts of Greece.
- Apr.–May** Albania, now an Italian protectorate, occupies the Kosovo region of Serbia.
- 3 May** Italy annexes the greater part of Slovenia, leaving a strip around the town of Maribor to be annexed by Germany.
- 21 May** Italy annexes Dalmatia, including the ports of Kotor, Šibenik and Split, and occupies Montenegro.
- 22 Jun.** Germany attacks the Soviet Union without warning or declaration of war.
- 24 Jun.** Slovakia declares war on the Soviet Union.
- 27 Jun.** Hungary declares war on the Soviet Union.
- 12 Jul.** Italy declares Montenegro an Italian principality. The declaration promotes a national uprising.
- 19 Sep.** Tito and Colonel Draža Mihajlović, the leader of the Četnik resistance movement, meet for the first time in the village of Struganik. Although the meeting is amicable, their aims are totally opposed. Tito seeks a new Yugoslavia created through the revolutionary struggle of the whole people. Mihajlović seeks to preserve the old Serbian order including the monarchy, the Orthodox church, the Army and established society. He enjoys the support of the royal government-in-exile in London.
- 26 Oct.** Tito and Colonel Mihajlović meet again in the village of Brajci but fail to reach any firm agreement.
- 1 Nov.** A major clash between the Četniks and the Partisans between Užice and Požega marks the beginning of a civil war between them which will run in parallel with the war of resistance.

HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY OF KEY EVENTS

Faced with a major German onslaught, Tito largely withdraws from Serbia and withdraws into the Sandžak on the boundary with eastern Bosnia. Colonel Mihajlović allows Četniks to cooperate with the forces of General Nedić, the Serbian collaborationist leader, and is increasingly drawn into cooperation with the Germans.

- 7 Dec.** The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor brings America into the Second World War. Germany and Italy declare war on her.
- 12 Dec.** Slovakia declares war on America and Britain, and Bulgaria and Croatia follow suit the next day.

1942

- 19 Mar.** A broadcast by the Romanian foreign minister, Michel Antonescu, re-opening the Transylvanian question, generates enthusiastic demonstrations of support across the country.
- 2 Jun.** America declares war on Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania.
- 18 Sep.** A 'National Front' of Albanian Communists and Nationalists is established at Peza near Elbasan to fight for Albanian liberation from the Italians.
- 26 Nov.** Tito opens the first meeting of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Committee of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) at Bihac, on the borders of Bosnia and Croatia. Dr Goebbels, the German minister of propaganda, writes in his private diary that 'the Partisans have made a football of the Croat government'.

1943

- 2 Feb.** The total defeat inflicted on the Germans by the Soviet Army in the Battle of Stalingrad (now Volgograd) marks the decisive turning point on the eastern front in the Second World War.
- Apr.** The Germans announce the discovery of the graves in the Katyn Forest of some 14,000 Polish soldiers interned by the Soviet Union after its occupation of eastern Poland. The Polish government-in-exile in London asks the International Red Cross to investigate, whereupon the Soviet government breaks off relations with the Polish government-in-exile, maintaining that it has adopted a hostile position.
- 28 Apr.** The Warsaw Ghetto is finally 'liquidated' by the Germans after 9 days of fierce fighting. The population of the Ghetto had already been reduced from 350,000 to 120,000 by deportation, shootings and mass slaughter in annihilation camps between July and September 1942. The 14,000 survivors are deported to eastern Poland.

The Jews had been armed and assisted by non-Jewish Polish Socialists.

- 25 Jul.** Mussolini is overthrown, and Italy effectively leaves the War.
- Jul.** Bulgaria obtains its first extension of its occupation zone in Greece, running from the Vardar to the Struma.
- 31 Oct.** The Allies issue the Moscow Declaration resolving to re-establish a free and independent Austria. They agree that Austria was the first victim of Adolf Hitler and that individual Austrians could not therefore be held to account for their Nazi links.
- 14 Nov.** The Americans bomb Sofia for the first time.
- 30 Nov.** Under Tito's leadership, the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Committee of Yugoslavia turns itself at Jajce into a Yugoslav National Committee of Liberation with the powers of a provisional government. (See section 3.3 for fuller particulars.)
- 28 Nov.–1 Dec.** President Roosevelt of America and the British prime minister, Winston Churchill, agree at the Tehran Conference with Marshal Stalin of the Soviet Union that the Curzon Line will delimit the new Polish–Soviet frontier.
- 31 Dec.** The Polish Workers' Party under Władysław Gomułka forms the National Home Council (*Krajowa Rada Narodowa*) at Stalin's behest.

1944

- 29 Feb.** It is confirmed that Bulgarian troops have some few weeks earlier replaced the Germans as the occupying forces in the Greek provinces of Edessa, Florina and Kastoria.
- 20 Mar.** The Soviet Army enters Bessarabia and Bukovina.
- 20–21 Mar.** Responding to the advance of the Soviet Army into Romania, the German Army moves into Hungary in force and takes control of all strategic points.
- 16 Jun.** A provisional agreement is reached on the Yugoslav island of Vis between Marshal Tito and Dr Šubašić representing the royal Yugoslav government-in-exile, whereby the Royal Government promises to support the Partisans in future, and both parties agree that the question of the monarchy will be decided by the Yugoslav people after the War. Colonel Mihajlović, nominally minister of war in the royal government, is dismissed.
- 21 Jul.** A Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN), 'the Lublin Committee', is established as an executive arm of the National Home Council formed the preceding December.
- 25 Jul.** Stanisław Mikołajczyk, prime minister of the Polish government-in-exile, informs the delegate-general of the

- Polish government in occupied Poland that he has full powers to order an uprising in Warsaw.
- 1 Aug.** The ‘Home Army’ of the Polish resistance launches the Warsaw rising against the Germans. The Soviet Union is unable, or unwilling, to intervene, and the uprising is finally crushed.
- 12 Aug.** Marshal Tito meets the British prime minister, Winston Churchill, in Naples. The British government had previously brought pressure to bear on the royal government-in-exile to come to terms with Tito. Churchill acknowledges that Tito and his followers will play the preponderant role in post-war Yugoslavia.
- 23 Aug.** King Michael of Romania accepts an armistice with the Allies, and hostilities against the Soviet Union formally cease at 4 am the next morning.
- Under the terms of the armistice, the joint frontier established by the Soviet–Romanian agreement of 28 June 1940 is to be restored and the Vienna Award (see section VII, Glossary) declared invalid.
- 25 Aug.** Following German attacks on her, Romania declares war on Germany.
- 26 Aug.** Bulgaria withdraws from the War, and confirms that she has asked America and Britain for armistice terms. Germany is requested to remove her troops, who will otherwise be disarmed.
- Bulgaria declares her neutrality in the German–Soviet war.
- 29 Aug.** The Soviet Union denies that it has recognised or approved Bulgarian neutrality, which it declares to be ‘entirely insufficient in the circumstances of the existing situation’. It calls on Bulgaria to declare war on Germany.
- 31 Aug.** The Soviet Army enters Bucharest.
- 5 Sep.** The Soviet Union declares war on Bulgaria, claiming that her new neutrality is sheltering the German retreat. Bulgaria asks for an armistice.
- 7 Sep.** The Soviet Army enters Bulgaria, and the capital, Sofia, 2 days later. Bulgaria declares war on Germany.
- 9 Sep.** The Fatherland Front (*Otechestven Front*) seizes power in Bulgaria. It comprises Communist, Agrarian, Social Democrat and *Zveno* members. (See also section 3.3 and *Zveno* in section VII, Glossary.)
- 21 Sep.** Tito flies to Moscow to meet Stalin in the name of the Yugoslav National Committee of Liberation. Tito is assertive, and rather than putting his Partisans under the control of the Soviet commander, Marshal Tolbukhin, as Stalin had presumed, he only allows the Soviet Army to enter Yugoslavia on the clear understanding that it will withdraw as soon as the Germans

are defeated. There is no question of the Partisans being placed under anyone's control but his own. Stalin does not demur, but the meeting is strained.

- 2 Oct.** The Polish 'Home Army' finally surrenders in Warsaw. The Germans evacuate the whole city and implement Hitler's order that it be 'razed without trace'. When the Soviet Army enters the city on 17 January 1945, 93 per cent of its buildings are destroyed or damaged beyond repair.
- 9–18 Oct.** Marshal Stalin and Winston Churchill, British prime minister, come to an informal agreement at the Moscow Conference on their respective percentage degrees of influence in the Balkan states. Britain is to be 90 per cent predominant in Greece, and the Soviet Union 90 per cent predominant in Romania and 75 per cent in Bulgaria. Hungary and Yugoslavia are to be divided 50–50.
- In practice, neither is to exercise influence in Yugoslavia, which remains determinedly independent. Otherwise the agreement is to reflect reality until 1990.
- 15 Oct.** Admiral Horthy proclaims, as head of state, that Hungary will approach the Allies for an armistice. He maintains that 'Hungary was forced into the war against the Allies through German pressure ... We were not guided by any ambition to increase our power and had no intention of snatching a square metre of territory from anyone.' Budapest Radio announces later the same day that the Regent's proclamation does not mean that Hungarian troops have ceased, or will cease, fighting.
- 16 Oct.** Budapest Radio broadcasts a new proclamation, allegedly by Admiral Horthy, withdrawing that of the day before. He resigns 10 minutes later, and is accused by the German government of 'cowardly treason'. He is flown to Germany, allegedly 'for his own protection', and is replaced by a Regency Council established by Major Ferenc Szalassi, the leader of the Hungarian Nazi Arrow Cross, who declares himself prime minister.
- 20 Oct.** The Partisans supported by the Soviet Army enter Belgrade after a week's defence which has cost 16,000 German lives. The Soviet Army enters Debrecen, Hungary's second largest city.
- 28 Oct.** The Bulgarian armistice delegation, led by Professor Stainov, foreign minister, signs an armistice agreement in Moscow with representatives of all the countries with which Bulgaria is at war.
- Nov.** Yugoslavia takes the initiative in proposing unification with Bulgaria on a federal basis, with a joint federal government, assembly and customs union.

- 28 Nov.** The Albanian provisional government moves to Tiranë. The government had been formed in the October, when Colonel Enver Hoxha had been appointed president.
The Albanian forces of Colonel Hoxha are the only national forces in central and eastern Europe to have liberated their country purely by their own efforts.
- 23 Dec.** A Hungarian government of liberation is established in Debrecen. General Béla Miklosz is prime minister.
- 1945**
- 1 Jan.** The Soviet Union recognises the Lublin ‘Committee of National Liberation’ as the provisional Polish government. The Americans and the British refuse to follow suit.
- 17 Jan.** The Soviet Army enters Warsaw.
- 20 Jan.** Hungary signs an armistice with the Allies. The armistice negates the two Vienna Awards, and restores the frontiers of 1 January 1938.
- 4–12 Feb.** President Roosevelt of America, prime minister Winston Churchill of Britain and Marshal Stalin of the Soviet Union meet in Yalta, Crimea, Soviet Union. They come to an outline agreement on the post-war map of Europe, which includes the westward movement by some 150–200 miles of Poland’s eastern and western boundaries at Germany’s expense and the division of East Prussia between Poland and the Soviet Union.
- 13 Feb.** The Soviet Army enters Budapest after a 7-week battle.
- 9 Mar.** Stalin agrees that the new Romanian government may take over the administration of northern Transylvania (*Ardeal*) on the understanding that it will protect the right of all nationalities there. The administration had been suspended by Soviet Marshal Malinovsky in October 1944 because of excesses against the Hungarian population committed by the Romanian National Peasant Party militia.
- 27–28 Mar.** Sixteen prominent Polish political leaders, including General Leopold Okulicki, the last commander of the Polish ‘Home Army’, are arrested on a visit to General Ivanov of the Soviet High Command. They include nearly all the surviving leaders of the Polish underground resistance movement. They are accused under the leadership of General Okulicki of preparing diversionary tactics in the rear of the Soviet Army and thereby causing the deaths of more than 100 officers and men.
- 15 Apr.** The Soviet Army enters Vienna.
- 15 Apr.** Marshal Tito makes an official claim in Moscow for the cession by Italy of Trieste and the Istrian peninsula (*Venezia Giulia*).

KEY EVENTS DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Cession had been supported by the former Yugoslav royal government-in-exile in London but is opposed by all sections of Italian opinion except the Communists.

22–24 Apr.

Talks between American, British and Soviet representatives in Washington remain deadlocked on the question of Poland. The Americans and the British refuse to recognise the current Warsaw government and dispute the Soviet argument that the Yalta compromise agreement had given the Lublin administration the right to approve or disapprove of Polish leaders put forward by the Americans or British as fit to be consulted on the formation of a new Polish government.

30 Apr.

The Soviet Army enters Berlin, and Hitler commits suicide.

1 May

The Americans and British, and the Yugoslav Partisans, arrive in the Italian city of Trieste and contest control with the danger of an armed clash.

The annexation of the city had been one of Tito's war aims.

7 May

The Soviet Army enters Prague.

8 May

VE Day. Germany surrenders formally in Berlin.

2.4

KEY EVENTS BETWEEN THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE DEATH OF STALIN

1945

- 14 May** Austria, united with Germany since the *Anschluss* of 1938, is given a separate government by the occupying Allies.
- 16 May** The Czechoslovak government returns to Prague, following the entry of the Soviet Army into the capital. It is the only central or eastern European exile government to be permitted to return after the War.
- 21 May** An autonomous Ruthenian government is formed, comprising Russians, Ukrainians and Jews. Ivan Turjanica is prime minister.
- 21 May** Marshal Tito agrees to an American–British military government in Trieste.
- 5 Jun.** The Allied Representatives (Eisenhower for America, Montgomery for Britain, de Lattre de Tassigny for France and Zhukov for the Soviet Union) declare in Berlin that:
1. Germany, within her frontiers as they were on 31 December 1937, will, for the purposes of occupation, be divided into four zones, one to be allotted to each Power as follows: An Eastern zone to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics...
 2. The area of Greater Berlin will be occupied by forces of each of the Four Powers. An inter-Allied governing authority [in Russian, *komendatura*] ... will be established to direct jointly its administration.
- 9 Jun.** Yugoslavia and the western Allies reach a provisional agreement on Trieste.
- 19 Jun.** Polish troops enter Teschen, but the Czechoslovak and Polish governments remain unable to agree on its future. (See section VII, Glossary.)

- 21 Jun.** American forces withdraw from Czechoslovakia, and from parts of eastern Germany in favour of Soviet forces, following delimitation of the Soviet Zone. They order many key German personnel to accompany them.
- 21 Jun.** The leaders of the ‘home government’ of the Polish resistance are imprisoned in Warsaw for their ‘anti-Soviet activities’.
- 28 Jun.** A new Polish government is established in Moscow, which includes some members of the former government-in-exile in London. It is recognised by America and Britain on 5 July.
- 29 Jun.** Dr Zdenek Fierlinger, the Czechoslovak prime minister, and Vyacheslav Molotov, the Soviet foreign minister, sign a treaty in Moscow in the presence of Stalin transferring Ruthenia to the Ukrainian SSR.
- 1 Jul.** The British withdraw from Magdeburg and from parts of Mecklenburg, including Wismar and Schwerin, now in the Soviet Zone of Germany.
- 4 Jul.** Austria, within its 1937 frontiers, is divided for the purposes of occupation into four zones. The Soviet Zone comprises the province of Lower Austria, excluding the city of Vienna, that part of the province of Upper Austria on the left bank of the Danube, and the province of Burgenland. The American Zone comprises the province of Salzburg and that part of Upper Austria on the right bank of the Danube. The French Zone comprises the provinces of Tirol and Vorarlberg and the British Zone the provinces of Carinthia and Styria. Vienna is divided into four sectors likewise.
- 17 Jul.** The Big Three Summit between President Truman of America, the British prime minister, Winston Churchill (replaced by Clement Attlee following his appointment as prime minister on 26 July) and Marshal Stalin opens at the Cecilienhof, Potsdam, just outside Berlin.
- 19 Jul.** Marshal Tolbukhin personally invests King Michael of Romania with the highest Soviet decoration, the Order of Victory, in Bucharest, to convey Soviet appreciation of the Romanian Army’s contribution to the final defeat of Germany and Hungary.
- 2 Aug.** The Potsdam Conference ends with agreement on the decartelisation, demilitarisation, denazification and democratisation of Germany. The arms industry and the monopolies are to be dismantled and an economy devoted to peaceful purposes built up. Support is pledged for the German people in establishing a unitary, democratic state and a living standard at the level of Europe excluding Great

Britain and the Soviet Union. The Oder–Neisse line is accepted pending a peace settlement as Germany’s boundary with Poland, and the northern part of East Prussia including Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) is to be transferred to the Soviet Union. Germans living in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary are to be transferred to Germany in an orderly manner. Germany is placed under an obligation to pay reparations, and to be treated as an economic whole.

- 4 Sep.** The German Red Cross estimates the overall number of German refugees coming into the Soviet Zone of Germany from the east at some 13 million, a figure in line with Allied estimates of 12–14 million. Of these perhaps 2 million are from prewar Poland, including hundreds of thousands of *Volksdeutsche* resettled there by Hitler from as far as Estonia and Romania; 3 million from the Sudetenland; 4.5 million from Silesia, now Poland; 2 million from East Prussia, now divided between Poland and the Soviet Union; and 1 million from East Pomerania, now Poland.
- 11 Sep.–2 Oct.** The London Conference of foreign ministers of the Allies, established at Potsdam to draft peace treaties with the former enemy states, collapses in disagreement.
- 20–25 Oct.** Constantin Brătianu and Dr Iuliu Maniu, the leaders of the Romanian National Liberal and National Peasant Parties, accuse the Romanian coalition government of dictatorship and terror. (See section 3.5.1 for fuller particulars.)
- 4 Nov.** The first post-war Hungarian general election is won by the Smallholders Party with an overall majority. (See section 3.5.1 for fuller particulars.)
- 8 Nov.** Serious riots occur in Bucharest on the King’s birthday between some 40,000–50,000 monarchists and Communist supporters. Official reports are to say that 11 people have been killed and 85 wounded.
- 18 Nov.** The unofficial Bulgarian opposition, headed by Nikola Petkov, boycotts the Bulgarian general elections on the grounds that no free elections are possible while the ministries of the interior and justice are Communist-controlled. (See section 3.5.1 for fuller particulars.)
- 29 Nov.** The Yugoslav constituent assembly proclaims a federative republic at a joint session of the *Skupština* and the House of Nationalities. The six republics are Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia.
- 15 Dec.** The Polish government announces the arrest of ‘the underground staff in Poland of General Anders’ as well as

of Colonel Rzepecki, the leader of that section of the former Home Army which had refused to cooperate with the new regime and had remained underground.

24 Dec. The Hungarian government issues a decree, pursuant to the decisions of the Potsdam Conference, expelling all Hungary's German-speaking inhabitants, estimated at some 500,000 people. They are allowed to take with them only food and clothing.

1946

11 Jan. The Albanian constituent assembly proclaims Albania a republic, and forbids the former King Zog to return. He had been formally deposed on 2 January.

1 Feb. The National Assembly proclaims Hungary a republic.

27 Feb. Czechoslovakia and Hungary agree on an exchange of their Slovak and Magyar populations. The exchange is due to be completed by the middle of September 1949.

5 Mar. Winston Churchill, the leader of the British Opposition, maintains in a speech at Fulton, Missouri, America, that an 'iron curtain' has fallen across eastern Europe. Marshal Stalin criticises his speech on 13 March.

3 May General Lucius Clay suspends reparations from the American Zone of Germany and charges both France and the Soviet Union with being responsible for the failure of the Allies to agree over Germany.

22 May The British government protests sharply against the recent firing by Albanian coastal guns at the British battle cruisers, 'Orion' and 'Superb', in the Corfu Channel. The Albanian government expresses regret but maintains that the nationality of the vessels had not been ascertained. This is deemed unsatisfactory by the British as the Channel is an international waterway.

30 Jun. The Soviet authorities prevent further movement out of their zone of Germany to the three other zones.

10–15 Jul. The prosecution at the trial of Colonel Mihajlović in Belgrade makes a number of attacks on the American and British governments.

9 Aug. An unarmed American transport aircraft, which had allegedly strayed across the Yugoslav frontier in a storm, is forced down by Yugoslav fighters. A second American aircraft is shot down 10 days later with the loss of all on board. The exchange of angry protests is, however, followed by an expression of Yugoslav regret and an offer of compensation.

- 6 Sep.** James Byrnes, American secretary of state, presages in Stuttgart a more sympathetic stance by America towards Germany. He promises that American forces will remain until a lasting peace has been achieved. His speech is strongly attacked in Poland and France.
- 8 Sep.** A Bulgarian plebiscite abolishes the monarchy, with 92 per cent of the electorate favouring a republic. The Republic of Bulgaria is proclaimed on 15 September.
- 21 Oct.** Some thousands of East German managerial and technical staff and their families are moved with their industrial plant to the Soviet Union under Operation Ossavakim.
- 22 Oct.** 44 British sailors are killed when two destroyers, HMS Saumarez and HMS Volage, strike Albanian mines in the Corfu Channel. Albania protests to Britain and the United Nations on 30 October at the ships' infringement of Albanian territorial waters.
- 27 Oct.** The Independent Agrarian leader, Nikola Petkov, maintains that the Bulgarian election campaign has been conducted in an atmosphere of terror.
Britain considers that the elections have not been free and democratic. (See section 3.5.1 for fuller particulars.)
- 4 Nov.** The Romanian government rejects American and British charges, supported by Constantin Brătianu and Dr Maniu, that the forthcoming elections will be unfree and unfair because of manipulation of the electoral lists and persecution of the opposition.
- 12 Nov.** Albania protests to Britain and the United Nations at the British minesweeping of the Corfu Channel. Britain maintains that by international usage, all ships have the right of innocent passage through the territorial waters of another state and in particular through a channel forming part of an international sea highway.
- 26 Nov.** The American government declines to recognise the validity of the Romanian elections held on 19 November and won by the government bloc, the National Democratic Front. The British concur on 2 December.
- 5 Dec.** The Romanian National Peasant Party boycotts the new parliament, as it regards the November elections as null and void. (See section 3.5.1 for fuller particulars.)
- 10 Dec.** The Albanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav representatives deny Greek claims at a meeting of the UN Security Council that their governments are supporting guerillas seeking to incorporate Greek Macedonia in the Yugoslav Federative Republic of Macedonia. The Security Council votes on

20 December to despatch a commission authorised to conduct investigations in any part of the four nation states involved.

28 Dec. Milovan Djilas declares at the ratification ceremony in Belgrade of the Treaty for Close Economic Cooperation between Albania and Yugoslavia that the Treaty would not mean an ‘economic enslavement of Albania, as would be the case with a similar treaty between Britain and a weaker country’ and that Albania would flourish, ‘whether London liked it or not.’

31 Dec. It is officially announced in Budapest that a significant number of Army officers and right-wing members of the Smallholders Party have been arrested over the previous fortnight, following the discovery of an alleged conspiracy against the state. It is maintained that the conspiracy had been initiated in the autumn of 1945. (See section 3.5.1 for fuller particulars.)

1947

By Jan. About 11.6 million German refugees from the east have arrived in the four zones of Germany, 4.3 million in the Soviet Zone, the largest proportion, where they make up a quarter of the population. The largest proportion is in Mecklenburg, where they represent 43 per cent of the population.

14 Jan. Yugoslavia submits a memorandum to the foreign ministers’ deputies, meeting in London to prepare the Austrian and German peace treaties, asking that a strip of Carinthia and a small area of Styria, with a total population of some 190,000 and including the towns of Klagenfurt and Villach, be transferred from Austria to Yugoslavia. It maintains that they are historically Slav areas which had been forcibly Germanised.

19 Jan. The government bloc wins 394 of the 444 seats in the *Sejm* in the Polish general elections originally envisaged at Yalta. The four participating parties had previously agreed on the allocation of seats between them.

138 people are killed in terrorist attacks during the elections. (See section 3.5.1 for fuller particulars.)

10 Feb. Peace treaties are signed by the Allies in Paris with Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania (and Finland and Italy), but not with Germany.

The treaty with Bulgaria restores the frontiers of 1 January 1941, and that with Italy awards Istria and Rijeka (Fiume) to Yugoslavia. The treaty with Hungary transfers the small

number of communes comprising the ‘Bratislava bridgehead’ to Czechoslovakia.

The treaty with Hungary had been preceded by an agreement with Yugoslavia that up to 40,000 Hungarians living in Yugoslavia, principally in the Vojvodina, could move to Hungary if a similar number of Yugoslavs in Hungary chose to return to Yugoslavia. The exchange would be carried out over 3 years

11 Feb. Britain grants the Bulgarian government *de jure* recognition, but maintains that the methods used to consolidate the government’s position and the conduct of the recent elections have not ‘been in keeping with the spirit and intentions of the Yalta Declaration’.

22 Feb. The Polish *Sejm* approves a major amnesty. Some 25,000 political and other prisoners are freed, and a further 23,000 have their terms of imprisonment reduced by a third or a half. The amnesty does not, however, extend to members of German or Ukrainian terrorist organisations or to wartime collaborators.

27 Feb. The trial of 13 leading members of the counter-revolutionary plot opens before the Hungarian People’s Court in Budapest. Colonel-General Lajós Dalnoki-Veres, Major-General Andras and György Donat plead ‘not guilty’ but acknowledge a number of the charges against them. They are sentenced to death on 16 April, but the sentences on Colonel-General Dalnoki-Veres and Major-General Andras are later commuted to terms of imprisonment. The other defendants receive prison sentences ranging from 1 year to life. Western journalists consider the trial to have been correctly conducted.

Kolomon Salata, a further leader of the conspiracy and a former Smallholders deputy, had fled.

10 Mar.–24 Apr. The American, British, French and Soviet foreign ministers, meeting in Moscow, again fail to agree on a German peace treaty.

Vyacheslav Molotov seeks reparations of US\$10 billion at 1938 prices, recognition of the Oder–Neisse line as the German–Polish border, and a provisional all-German government based on the mass organisations as well as the political parties.

9 Apr. The dispute between Albania and Britain over the Corfu Channel is referred by the UN Security Council to the International Court of Justice.

23 May The UN Inquiry Commission in Geneva adopts by majority vote an American report on the situation in Greece and

her neighbours, which indicts Yugoslavia in particular, and Bulgaria and Albania to a lesser extent, for supporting the guerilla forces against the Greek government. The Soviet Union and Poland vote against, and France abstains.

- 7 Jun.** The official Hungarian News Agency publishes the alleged confession of Béla Kovacs, the former Secretary-General of the Smallholders Party. It declares that the leaders of the Smallholders Party had in March 1946 planned to establish an illegal armed party organisation in western Hungary to help overthrow the government, had approved of the Party's contacts with Hungarian 'military emigrants' in the British Zone of Austria and had discussed the possibility of setting up a Hungarian counter-government-in-exile.
- 12 Jul.** Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, (Finland), Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia do not attend the European Economic Conference in Paris on implementing the Marshall Plan. Czechoslovakia had reversed an earlier decision to keep the option open, following a visit by its prime and foreign ministers, Klement Gottwald and Jan Masaryk, to Moscow on 7 July.
- The Plan had been designed with political conditions which it was known the Soviet Union would reject.
- 15 Jul.** Leaders of the Romanian National Peasant Party, including Dr Maniu, are arrested. Dr Maniu is accused of directing a plot to overthrow the regime. (See also section 3.5.1.)
- 16 Aug.** Nikola Petkov, leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, is condemned to death on charges of conspiring to overthrow the government by armed force. (See section 3.5.1 for fuller particulars.)
- 28 Sep.** Sixteen Albanians are sentenced to death in Tiranë for allegedly being in the pay of the Americans to work for the overthrow of the Hoxha government.
- 6 Nov.** Austria, Hungary (and Italy) are admitted to membership of UNESCO.
- 11 Nov.** Dr Iuliu Maniu, leader of the dissolved Romanian National Peasant Party, and Ion Mihalache, the Party's vice-president, are sentenced to solitary confinement for life by a military court in Bucharest. They had been found guilty of high treason, instigation to armed rebellion, seeking to flee the country, plotting with foreign governments to overthrow the regime and aiming to establish a government abroad.
- 27 Nov.** Marshal Tito declares on a state visit to Bulgaria that: 'We shall establish cooperation so general and so close that the

question of federation will be a mere formality'. (See also section 3.6.3.)

4 Dec. Bulgaria is proclaimed a People's Republic.

30 Dec. Romania becomes a republic on the abdication of King Michael. (See also section 3.5.1.)

1948

17 Jan. The Bulgarian prime minister, Georgi Dimitrov, speaks in a press interview of the possibility of an eventual federation of the eastern European nations allied to the Soviet Union. Such a federation might include Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia and even Greece. 'If possible', it would seek trade relations with America, Britain and France 'on the principle of complete equality'.

The statement is believed to have infuriated Stalin.

Jan. The Yugoslav leaders, Milovan Djilas and Koca Popović, are summoned to Moscow, and advised by Stalin that Yugoslavia is 'free to swallow Albania whenever she chooses'.

28 Jan. The Soviet newspaper *Pravda* strongly opposes the Dimitrov statement of 17 January. It maintains that: 'What [these countries] do need is the consolidation and protection of their independence and sovereignty through the mobilisation and organisation of domestic popular democratic forces, as has been correctly stated in the declaration of the Cominform.'

10 Feb. Delegations from Bulgaria, led by prime minister Georgi Dimitrov, and Yugoslavia, led by Edvard Kardelj, meet Stalin and Vyacheslav Molotov, the Soviet foreign minister, in the Kremlin. Stalin is scowling and surly.

Molotov maintains that serious differences had arisen between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union, on the other, which were 'inadmissible both from a Party and a state point of view'. What the Soviet Union now wants is the creation of three federations: Hungary and Romania; Czechoslovakia and Poland; and Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. 'The time is ripe. Bulgaria and Yugoslavia must unite immediately. Then they must annex Albania.'

The Yugoslav representatives reluctantly sign a demanded agreement on mutual consultation with the Kremlin on all foreign policy issues, but agree between themselves that they must resist any immediate federation with Bulgaria, which they interpret as a Soviet manoeuvre to control Yugoslavia.

- 25 Feb.** The Communists assume power in Czechoslovakia in coalition with the Social Democrats. (See section 3.5.1 for fuller particulars.)
- 26 Feb.** The Americans issue a joint statement on behalf of the American, British and French governments condemning the new Czechoslovak government as a disguised dictatorship and accusing the Communists of seizing power through ‘a crisis artificially and deliberately instigated’.
- Many ordinary people in western Europe, perhaps for the first and last time, seriously fear the outbreak of a Third World War.
- 1 Mar.** Tito summons the Yugoslav Communist Party Central Committee to his villa at Dedinje. The Committee agree that the Soviet demand for immediate federation with Bulgaria must be rejected, as they regard Bulgaria as totally subservient to the Soviet Union.
- 18 Mar.** The Soviet Union withdraws its military advisers from Yugoslavia, alleging that they are ‘surrounded by hostility’. Civilian advisers are withdrawn likewise almost immediately.
- 20 Mar.** Tito sends a note to Molotov, maintaining that he and his colleagues had been ‘surprised and hurt’ by the Soviet approach and asking to be ‘told straight out’ what the problem was.
- 27 Mar.** Stalin and Molotov respond to Tito’s note. They maintain that the Yugoslav Party leaders are hostile to the Soviet Union, ideologically unsound and out of touch with their own members. They are compared with Trotsky and Bukharin, and are accused of retaining an English spy in their midst.
- 12 Apr.** Tito convenes a further meeting of the Yugoslav Central Committee. He claims: ‘This is not a matter of theoretical discussion or ideological errors. The issue at stake is the relationship between one state and another.’ The Committee agree, except for Streten Žujović, who is expelled. The Yugoslavs respond to the Soviet Union in uncompromising terms.
- 13 Apr.** Romania adopts a new constitution and is declared a People’s Republic.
- 4 May** Stalin and Molotov send a further note of 24 pages reiterating the earlier charges, and adding that the Yugoslav leaders are ‘boundlessly arrogant’, undemocratic and ridiculously conceited over their alleged wartime achievements.
- 9 May** The Yugoslav Central Committee rejects the Soviet contention that the Cominform is the appropriate body to deal with the dispute, as the Yugoslavs consider it to be biased

against them. Streten Žujović and Andrija Hebrang, former president of the State Planning Committee, who are known to have close contacts with Moscow, are charged with high treason.

- 9 May** Czechoslovakia is declared a ‘Democratic People’s Republic’. (See also section 3.5.1.)
- 19 May** The Yugoslav leaders decline to attend a meeting of the Cominform (see section 3.5.1), convoked by the Soviet Union.
- 18–26 Jun.** The *Reichsmark* (RM) is replaced in the Soviet Zone of Germany by the *Mark der deutschen Notenbank* (MDN) in response to the introduction of the *Deutsche Mark* (DM) in the western zones. The Soviet Union cites the western reform as justification for the ensuing Berlin blockade.
- 24 Jun.** The Soviet Union blockades all land routes across its zone of Germany into West Berlin.
- 28 Jun.** Meeting in Bucharest, the Cominform discusses developments in the absence of any Yugoslav representatives. It decides to expel Yugoslavia and denounces Tito and his colleagues, who it asserts are ideologically deviant and hostile to the Soviet Union. They are alleged to show ‘boundless ambition, arrogance and conceit’ and to be running a ‘Turkish and terroristic’ regime. The members of the Yugoslav Party are directly invited to depose their leaders.
- 29 Jun.** The headquarters of the Cominform moves to Bucharest. The Yugoslav Central Committee reject the Cominform’s charges and call for a united Party.
- 30 Jun.** Albania breaks off economic relations with Yugoslavia and allies itself with the Soviet Union. Albania virulently attacks the Yugoslav leaders the following day.
- 21 Jul.** The Fifth Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party gives Tito its full support.
- 15 Aug.** The UN Inquiry Commission again finds that Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have been helping Greek Communist guerilla forces.
- 31 Dec.** The Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc initiate a full trade embargo on Yugoslavia.

1949

- 25 Jan.** The Soviet Union, together with Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania, establishes COMECON as a new commercial and economic organisation to coordinate economic development and mutual trade.

- 8 Feb.** Cardinal Mindszenty, Primate of Hungary, is sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of high treason, conspiracy against the state and illegal currency dealings. (See section 3.5.3 for fuller particulars.)
- 9 Apr.** The International Court of Justice in The Hague finds Albania responsible under international law for the damage and loss of life suffered when the two British destroyers were mined in the Corfu Channel in 1946.
- 12 May** The Berlin blockade is raised.
- 18 Aug.** Hungary is declared a People's Republic. (See section 3.5.1 for further particulars.)
- 8 Sep.** America agrees to make its first loan to Marshal Tito's Yugoslavia.
- 15 Sep.** The Yugoslav government describes the indictment of László Rajk in Hungary, with its charges against Yugoslavia, as 'the most shameless and baseless document in the history of the international working-class movement'. (See also section 3.5.2.)
- 24 Sep.** Marshal Tito personally presents the Hungarian minister in Belgrade with a note describing the Rajk trial as a 'judicial farce whose lies and falsifications have already rebounded on their authors' and as a 'disgusting attack on the honour, independence and sovereign rights of Yugoslavia'.
- 28 Sep.** The Soviet Union formally denounces the 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance it had signed with Yugoslavia on 11 April 1945. Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania denounce their Treaties with Yugoslavia similarly.
- 7 Oct.** The German Democratic Republic (East Germany) is proclaimed in East Berlin, replacing the Soviet Zone. Unlike West Germany, it has the power to conduct its own foreign relations. The high commissioners of the western Allies, however, argue that it is the artificial creation of a 'popular assembly' which has no mandate for the purpose. On that basis, they refuse to recognise it, and other non-Communist countries follow suit.
- 8 Oct.** László Rajk, formerly Hungarian foreign minister and interior minister, and member of the Politburo of the Hungarian Communist Party, is sentenced to death at the end of a 'show trial' in Budapest. (See section 3.5.2 for fuller particulars.)
- 26 Oct.** A broadcast by Moscow Radio describes Marshal Tito as a traitor, bandit, scoundrel, greedy ape, insolent dwarf and chattering parrot.

- 7 Nov.** Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky, a senior Soviet general but Polish by birth, is appointed a Marshal of Poland and commander-in-chief of the Polish Army. He assumes Polish nationality and the post of minister of national defence the following day.
- 14 Dec.** Traicho Kostov, formerly deputy prime minister and secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, is sentenced to death at the end of a ‘show trial’ in Sofia. (See section 3.5.2 for fuller particulars.)
- 15 Dec.** The International Court of Justice in The Hague awards Britain £843,947, the full amount claimed from Albania for the Corfu Channel incidents.

1950

- 1 Apr.** Romania follows the Soviet precedent of March 1947 by banning Romanian citizens from marrying foreigners without special government approval.
- May** The British and American secret services, MI6 and the CIA, start a covert training programme for Albanian emigres which is to last until the end of 1952. The programme is abortive because the Albanian Communist government is alerted in advance by Kim Philby, the British spy in MI6 working for the Soviet Union.
- 23 May** The creation of the East German *Bereitschaften*, a militarised police force of some 50,000 men, is the subject of protest to the Soviet Union by the western Allies. They maintain that it is contrary to the Potsdam declaration outlawing German military organisations.
- 12 Jul.** Czechoslovakia and East Germany sign an agreement for mutual assistance against the Colorado beetle. Both countries had accused America of dropping large numbers of the beetle, which destroys potato crops, since 22 May. America describes the charges as ‘patently absurd’.
- 10 Aug.** Bulgaria begins the deportation to Turkey of 250,000 Muslims of Turkish origin and advises Turkey that their allegedly voluntary repatriation is due to be completed within three months. It cites a Bulgarian–Turkish agreement of 1925 providing that ‘no obstacle shall be placed in the way of voluntary emigration of Turks from Bulgaria and of Bulgarians from Turkey’. Turkey protests that the emigrants are not being allowed to take the value of their property with them.

- 1 Oct.** East Germany becomes a member of COMECON. (See also section 3.6.3.)
- 21–22 Oct.** The Prague meeting of Cominform and East German foreign ministers condemns the stance on Germany of the conference of the western Allies on Germany in New York on 19 September (communiqué). In particular, it criticises the intention to terminate the state of war while retaining the Occupation Statute, the review of the agreement on prohibited and limited industries and the re-establishment of German armed forces. The meeting proposes a unified, demilitarised Germany and the creation of an All-German Constituent Council on a parity basis.
- 25 Nov.** The first of the Greek children taken to Yugoslavia by the Greek Communists during the Greek Civil War are repatriated.
- 30 Nov.** Pursuant to the Cominform meeting of 21–22 October, Otto Grotewohl, the East German prime minister, writes to Chancellor Adenauer of West Germany proposing conversations between their two governments on the establishment of an All-German Constituent Council.

1951

- 15 Jan.** The West German Chancellor replies indirectly to Otto Grotewohl in a statement which argues that any all-German assembly must be freely elected on the basis of freely constituted political groupings. The Chancellor also requires the prior disbandment of the *Volkspolizei* (People's Police).
- 21 May** The Hungarian government starts the mass deportation from Budapest of what it describes as 'undesirable elements'. On 7 August, the Party newspaper, *Szabad Nep*, maintains that 4,081 members of the 'former ruling class' have been removed using a 1939 law of the Horthy regime on the banishment from the capital of those who are 'a danger to public safety and order'. Western sources put the number of deportees at more than 24,000 from a much wider social spectrum.
- 2–4 Jul.** William N. Oatis, the American head of the Associated Press Office in Prague, is tried with three Czechoslovak nationals for espionage. He is sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, rather than to death, in recognition of his confession of guilt. The Americans describe the proceedings as a 'mock trial'.

HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY OF KEY EVENTS

13 Sep. The western Allies, led by America, ban Czechoslovak air flights over West Germany. The ban is interpreted as a response to the Oatis trial.

1952

10 Mar. The Soviet Union in the 'Stalin note' proposes a peace treaty to create a neutral, democratic and united Germany with its own defence forces. The western Allies respond cautiously on 25 March, and again on 13 May to a further note of 9 April.

21 May The national committee of the East German National Front approves the establishment of military forces (*Streitkräfte*). Many former frontier and transport police are organised as the People's Police in Barracks (KVP).

The Americans had first seriously proposed West German rearmament in September 1950.

27 May East Germany responds to the signing of the Treaties of Bonn and Paris (restoring sovereignty to West Germany and proposing the inclusion of West German forces in a European Defence Community) by erecting a literal 'Iron Curtain' of barbed wire, minefields and watchtowers and by creating a security zone 3 miles deep the length of its frontier with West Germany. The security zone also extends along the Baltic coast.

27 Nov. Rudolf Slánský, formerly Secretary-General of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, is sentenced to death at the end of a 'show trial' in Prague. (See section 3.5.2 for fuller particulars.)

1953

5 Mar. Stalin dies in Moscow.

2.5

KEY EVENTS DURING THE COMMUNIST PERIOD 1953–89

1953

- 10 Mar.** America maintains that two Czechoslovak fighters have attacked two American fighters over the American Zone of Germany and shot down one of them. Czechoslovakia maintains they had penetrated 25 miles inside its airspace and refused orders to land.
- 16–21 Mar.** Tito pays an official visit to Great Britain, his first such foreign visit since 1948.
- 16 Jun.** 300 building workers on Stalinallee (now Karl-Marx-Allee) initiate a demonstration through East Berlin in favour of lower work norms. They are joined by thousands of fellow workers, but fail to be received at either official trade union or government level.
- 17 Jun.** Between 300,000 and 372,000 workers, or some 5 per cent of the workforce, strike at more than 270 sites across East Germany. Some West Berliners participate in the demonstrations in East Berlin. The Soviet army and the 'People's Police in Barracks' suppress the demonstrations, killing 21 and injuring many more. An academic assessment of 1957 was to find that more than 1,000 East Germans had subsequently been imprisoned and seven sentenced to death.
- The demonstrations nevertheless succeed in their economic if not their political objectives.
- 22 Jun.** East Germany responds to the demonstrations by withdrawing the new work norms introduced in April. It also increases pensions by 15–20 per cent, restores workers' cheap fares, diverts East Mark (MDN) 70 million from heavy industry to social housing and ceases to deduct sickness leave from paid holidays.

1954

- 25 Mar.** The Soviet Union recognises East Germany as a sovereign and independent state conducting its own internal and external affairs, but the former Soviet occupation forces remain in East Germany.

The western Allies decline to recognise or deal with East Germany.

8 Jun. East Germany announces that its former Christian Democrat foreign minister, Georg Dertinger, has been sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment with hard labour for espionage on behalf of America and Britain. He is to be released in May 1964.

5 Oct. An agreement is reached in London between Yugoslavia, Italy, America and Britain whereby Zone B of the Trieste Territory is transferred to Yugoslav civil administration. It had been under Yugoslav military administration since 1945.

1955

14 May Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union sign the Warsaw Pact. (See section 3.6.3 for fuller particulars.)

15 May The foreign ministers of America, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and Austria sign the Austrian State Treaty in Vienna. The Treaty re-establishes an independent Austria with the frontiers of 1 January 1938 but imposes an obligation of permanent neutrality.

25 May Tito receives the Soviet leaders Nikita Khrushchev and Marshal Bulganin, in Belgrade. Khrushchev makes a lengthy apology for the Soviet Union's earlier attitude, and says: 'We sincerely regret what happened'.

The visit ends just over a week later with a Joint Declaration of Friendship and Cooperation, and emphasises that the internal and ideological affairs of each state are that state's own business.

1956

28 Jun. Workers in Poznań riot against the Polish government.

6 Oct. The reburial of László Rajk, executed in September 1949 (see section 3.5.2), stimulates anti-government sentiment in Hungary.

19–20 Oct. Władysław Gomulka returns to power as First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party. He enjoys almost total popular support.

Persecution of the Roman Catholic Church is to cease, and agricultural collectivisation to be abandoned.

His return, together with other changes in the Politburo, provokes Nikita Khrushchev to fly to Warsaw. He rages: 'I'll show you the road to socialism ... if you don't do what you're told, we'll wipe you out by force'. The Poles, however, stand firm, and Gomulka declares: 'Every country has the right to be independent'.

- 23 Oct.** Revolution breaks out in Hungary.
- 1 Nov.** The Hungarian government of Imre Nagy seeks to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact and asks the UN for assistance. The Soviet Army enters Hungary. (See Nagy in section 6.4.)
- 3 Nov.** János Kádár, Communist Party leader since 25 October, forms a counter-government and asks for Soviet assistance.
- 4 Nov.** The Soviet Army attacks Budapest, and heavy street fighting ensues with considerable loss of life and major physical damage. Thousands of refugees flee to the west through the frontier with Austria at Hegyeshalom. (See Kádár in section 6.4.)

1957

- 2 Oct.** The ‘Rapacki Plan’, named after its originator, the Polish foreign minister, is submitted to the UN General Assembly. The plan envisages a nuclear armaments-free zone in central Europe including the whole of Germany.

1958

- 10–12 Apr.** The foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Poland denounce a West German parliamentary resolution arguing that West Germany must be equipped with the most modern weapons, in practice nuclear weapons. They repeat their support for the Rapacki Plan. It is, however, formally rejected by America on 3 May.

1961

- 13 Aug.** The crisis in Berlin over the Soviet Union’s intention of signing a separate peace treaty with East Germany reaches its climax. East German forces start to seal off East from West Berlin, and the Berlin Wall is erected within days.
- 1–6 Nov.** President Tito hosts the first conference of the Nonaligned Movement in Belgrade. The Movement is to exercise substantial influence over the following decades.
- 7 Nov.** Enver Hoxha, the First Secretary of the Albanian Party of Labour, accuses Nikita Khrushchev of abandoning Marxism–Leninism so as to open the way for ‘revisionism’.
- Albania develops closer links with China.
- 15–17 Nov.** The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party orders the demolition of the Stalin monument in Prague. The memorial was 90 foot high and weighed 18,000 tons, and was the largest such memorial outside the Soviet Union.

- 3 Dec.** The Soviet Union terminates diplomatic relations with Albania. It maintains that the position of its diplomats had been rendered 'insupportable'.
- 31 Dec.** Ulbricht (q.v.) admits in the Soviet newspaper, *Pravda*, that the movement of East German workers to West Germany since 1949 has lost East Germany East Mark (MDN) 30 billion, equivalent to 40 per cent of national income over the same period.

1963

- 7 Apr.** Yugoslavia proclaims a new constitution and changes the official name of the country to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (*Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavije*).

1965

- 21 Aug.** Romania changes the official name of the state from the Romanian People's Republic to the Socialist State of Romania (*Republica Socialistă România*).

Article 3 of the new constitution declares that the leading political force of the whole of society is the Romanian Communist Party.

The constitution is to be modified in March 1974.

1968

- 20 Aug.** The armies of Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Union invade Czechoslovakia to suppress 'the Prague Spring'. About 100 people are killed during the invasion. (See section 3.5.4 for fuller particulars.)
- 26 Aug.** The enforced Moscow Agreement binds the Czechoslovak government to a policy of 'normalisation', by which is meant the revocation of most reforms, and to the stationing of Soviet troops.
- 12 Sep.** Albania leaves the Warsaw Pact.
- 16 Oct.** The August Moscow Agreement is confirmed by the Czechoslovak–Soviet 'Status of Forces Agreement'.

1969

- 1 Jan.** Czechoslovakia is declared a federal socialist republic comprising two nations with equal rights and inalienable sovereignty.
- 17 Jan.** Jan Palach, a Czechoslovak student, burns himself alive in Wenceslas Square, Prague, in a protest against repression.

- Oct.** Bulgaria and Turkey sign an agreement to facilitate the emigration of Bulgarian Turks. Fifty thousand leave over the next 10 years.
- 28 Oct.** The new West German Social Democrat Chancellor, Willy Brandt, reiterates the West German position on the unity of the German people with the same right to self-determination as any other people, but reverses established policy by recognising the existence of two German states. Nevertheless, ‘they are not foreign countries to each other; their relations with each other can only be of a special nature’. Recognition of East Germany by West Germany under international law remains out of the question. He offers East Germany negotiations at government level without discrimination on either side.

1970

- 19 Mar.** The East German prime minister, Willi Stoph, meets West German Chancellor Willy Brandt in Erfurt, East Germany, in the first top-level government meeting between the two states since their foundation.
- 21 May** Stoph and Brandt meet again in Kassel, West Germany.
- 12 Aug.** The Treaty of Moscow between West Germany and the Soviet Union respects the Oder–Neisse line as the frontier between East Germany and Poland.
- 7 Dec.** Chancellor Brandt of West Germany and Jozef Cyrankiewicz, the Polish prime minister, sign the Treaty of Warsaw normalising relations between the two countries and recognising the Oder–Neisse line as Poland’s Western Frontier.

Chancellor Brandt makes a major impact on opinion throughout central and eastern Europe by falling to his knees at the Warsaw ghetto memorial in a gesture of atonement.

- 20 Dec.** Władysław Gomułka is ousted as First Secretary of the Polish United Workers’ Party following workers’ riots in Gdąnsk, Gdynia and Szczecin. He is succeeded by Edward Gierek.

1971

- 30 Jun.** Amendments to the Yugoslav constitution establish a Presidency of eight members, one from each republic and autonomous province. After the death of President Tito in May 1980, its members are to take it in turns according to a fixed order of succession to become President of the Presidency of the Republic for a period of 12 months each.
- 23 Nov.** Students at the University of Zagreb begin a strike in support of the leadership of the League of Communists of Croatia against

the criticisms made by President Tito. Their strike is joined by students in Split and lasts until 8 December. A sense of political crisis persists.

1972

- 8 May** The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia unanimously approves the expulsion from the League of four prominent leaders, who had resigned in December 1971, for permitting ‘the infiltration of nationalist forces into the party’.
- 8 May** President Tito warns against the persistence in Serbia of tendencies towards ‘unitarist forces [and] greater Serbian hegemony and chauvinism [which] should never be underestimated’.
- 26 Jun.** A group of armed Croat emigrés enters Yugoslavia from Austria. Yugoslavia announces on 24 July that 17 of the 19 ‘*Ustaša fascists*’ have been liquidated by the security forces.
- 16 Aug.** Yugoslavia formally protests to Australia at the ‘intensification of the anti-Yugoslav activities of terrorist *Ustašan* organisations’ in Australia and demands that the Australian government curb terrorist training in Australia as well as other anti-Yugoslav acts by Croat dissidents there.
- 11 Oct.** Three leaders of the Croat nationalist *Matica Hrvatska* movement, including Franjo Tujman, are sentenced to terms of 4, 2, and 2 years’ imprisonment for propagating ‘separatist and nationalist’ ideas.
- A number of similar trials with similar sentences are held during 1972–3.
- 7–8 Dec.** The NATO ministerial council decides to establish relations with East Germany.
- 15 Dec.** Romania becomes a member of both the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.
- 21 Dec.** East Germany and West Germany sign the ‘Basic Treaty’ on mutual relations, whereby East Germany receives recognition from West Germany of its separate identity and equality but not of its identity as a foreign state under international law.

1973

- 17 Mar.** Three members of the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood, all naturalised Australians, are executed in Yugoslavia for their entry from Austria in June 1972 with the intention of overthrowing the regime ‘by violence, murder and terrorism’. Australia formally protests.

- 7 Apr.** The Australian federal attorney-general announces on Australian television that he has evidence that Croat terrorists from Australia were planning an invasion of Yugoslavia in 1973.
- 26–30 Jun.** President Ceaușescu of Romania pays an official visit to West Germany. The two sides sign a joint solemn declaration of ‘... the equality of rights of all states, irrespective of their size, their state of development, [and] their political, economic and social systems’.
- 11 Dec.** Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany and Lubomir Strougal, the Czechoslovak prime minister, sign the Treaty on Bilateral Relations between West Germany and Czechoslovakia in Prague. It recognises that the provisions of the 1938 Munich Agreement which led to the transfer of the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia to Germany were ‘null and void’.

1974

- 5 Feb.** Pope Paul VI removes Cardinal Jozef Mindszenty from his post as Archbishop of Esztergom and Primate of Hungary ‘in view of the pastoral problems’ of the archdiocese. The Cardinal had been allowed to leave Hungary in 1971. He declares on 7 February that he had not resigned as Primate voluntarily.

1975

- 10 Nov.** A final accord on the future status of Trieste is signed by the Yugoslav and Italian governments at Osimo.

1977

- 7 Jul.** An editorial in the Albanian official party newspaper *Zeri i Popullit* indirectly criticises the basic orientation of Chinese policy.
- 18 Oct.** Sentences of imprisonment are imposed on members of the Czechoslovak ‘Charter 77’ dissident group, including Václav Havel.

1978

- 7 Jan.** It is announced in Bucharest during an official visit by Chancellor Schmidt of West Germany that over the following 5 years, Romania will allow some 11,000 ethnic Germans to leave Romania annually.
- 7 Jul.** China advises Albania that it is to terminate all economic aid and cooperation projects as soon as possible. China is reacting to Albanian anti-Chinese pronouncements over the previous 12 months.

- 11 Sep.** The exiled Bulgarian writer, Georgi Markov, is assassinated in London, allegedly by a poisoned dart from an umbrella. The Bulgarian security service is widely believed to be responsible.
- 16 Oct.** Cardinal Karol Wojtyła, Archbishop of Kraków, Poland, is elected Pope. He takes the style of John Paul II.

1979

- 2 Jun.** Pope John Paul II makes his first Papal visit to his Polish homeland. It is also his first Papal visit to a Communist country.

1980

- 1 Jul.** An increase in meat prices in Poland provokes a wave of strikes which become increasingly political.
- 14 Aug.** Workers at the Lenin shipyard in Gdąnsk demand an independent trade union, and workers in Gdąnsk, Gdynia and Sopot elect a joint strike committee under the leadership of Lech Wałęsa.
- 31 Aug.** The Polish government and Lech Wałęsa sign the 'Gdąnsk Agreements' allowing the formation of free trade unions.
- 22 Sep.** The Polish free trade unions form a national confederation, *Solidarność* (Solidarity). It is granted legal status on 24 October.

1981

- 9 Feb.** General Wojciech Jaruzelski becomes Polish prime minister against a background of continuing unrest.
- 27 Mar.** Poland remains restless, and the Soviet Army conducts manoeuvres on its eastern frontier.
- 5 May** The ethnic-Albanian leader of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in Kosovo, Mahmut Bakali, resigns on 3 April in response to serious rioting in the province since March.
It is alleged by many in politics and the press that the rioting is in part attributable to the deliberate attempt of outside forces (implicitly Albanian) to destabilise Yugoslavia.
- 13 May** Mehmet Ali Ağca, a Turk, shoots and seriously wounds Pope John Paul II in St Peter's Square in Rome. Three Bulgarians and three other Turks, all alleged to be fellow conspirators, are later acquitted. The Pope's support for the Roman Catholic Church and for Solidarity in Poland is a possible motive.
- 24 May** Two bombs slightly damage the Yugoslav embassy in Tiranë on the late Marshal Tito's official birthday. The Albanian government suggests that the bombs must have been placed from inside the building.

- 8 Oct.** Solidarity's first national council, opened on 4 September, closes with the adoption of a radical programme of action. Lech Wałęsa is re-elected chairman.
- 18 Oct.** General Jaruzelski becomes head of the Polish Communist Party as well as prime minister.
- 4 Nov.** Hungary formally applies for membership of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.
Poland follows suit on 10 November.
- 13 Dec.** The Polish government declares martial law and establishes a 20-member Military Council of National Salvation (WRON). Solidarity is proscribed and its leaders detained.
The principal motivation is to forestall a Soviet invasion.

1982

- 7 Apr.** Albania and Yugoslavia agree to build a 54-mile rail link between Shkodër (Albania) and Titograd (Yugoslavia). It is due to be completed in January 1984 and will be Albania's first international rail link.
- 8 Oct.** All registered Polish trade unions are legally dissolved, including Solidarity.

1983

- 21 Jul.** Martial law is lifted in Poland.

1984

- 19 Oct.** The kidnapping and subsequent murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko, probably by elements in the Polish security service, renews anti-government sentiment.

1985

- 8–22 Jun.** Hungary re-introduces multi-candidate elections.

1987

- Apr.** The first major Serb protest in Kosovo at alleged persecution by the Albanian majority. The reputation of Slobodan Milošević rises in Serbia as he defends protesters from being attacked by the predominantly ethnic-Albanian Kosovo police.

15 Nov. A large anti-government demonstration involving up to 20,000 people erupts in Braşov, Romania's second city. Lesser demonstrations follow in Braile, Sibiu and Timişoara. The protests are against wage cuts, food shortages, obligatory Sunday working and further power cuts.

1988

27 Jun. Some 50,000 people demonstrate in Budapest against the proposed destruction of 8,000 villages in Romania, many of which are home to Romania's large Hungarian minority.

15 Aug. Strikes break out again in Poland.

31 Aug. Lech Wałęsa and the Polish minister of the interior agree to open negotiations between *Solidarność* (still formally illegal) and the Polish government.

10 Nov. Hungary permits the formation of alternative political parties. They are legalised on 11 January 1989.

20 Nov. East Germany bans the Soviet magazine *Sputnik*, alleging that it distorts history.

21 Nov. Five Soviet films are similarly excluded from a Soviet film festival in East Berlin.

1989

23 Mar. Following further conflicts between ethnic Albanians and Serbs, the Kosovo provincial Assembly endorses changes to the Serbian constitution giving the central Serbian authorities control over the internal affairs of Kosovo (and the Vojvodina).

The vote sets off a wave of demonstrations across Kosovo.

5 Apr. The negotiations between the Polish government and *Solidarność* culminate in agreement on the formation of independent trade unions, economic reform and elections for the *Sejm*.

25 Apr. The Soviet Army starts to leave Hungary.

2 May Miklós Németh, the Hungarian prime minister, orders the dismantling of the twin barbed wire fences along the frontier with Austria.

20 May The Bulgarian government initiates a policy of suppressing the identity of its Turkish minority. Many Turks leave.

4–18 Jun. *Solidarność* is highly successful in the Polish elections.

7–8 Jul. The Bucharest Summit of Warsaw Pact members fails to agree over reform.

16 Aug. Imre Nagy is reburied with state honours in Hungary.

- 24 Aug.** Tadeusz Mazowiecki becomes Poland's first non-Communist-minded prime minister since the War.
- 10 Sep.** Hungary's declaration that thousands of East Germans 'on holiday' there may cross the border into Austria initiates a wave of East German emigration to the West.
- 1 Oct.** Some 10,000 East Germans are permitted to leave the West German embassies in Warsaw and Prague and travel to the West.
- 6–7 Oct.** Gorbachev visits East Germany on its 40th anniversary as a state and criticises the government's hostility to reform. He emphasises that 'matters affecting East Germany are decided not in Moscow but in Berlin'. Demonstrations continue in favour of the democratisation of public life, and 500–700 marchers are arrested in East Berlin. Almost all are released within a week.
- 23 Oct.** The weekly march in Leipzig is attended by demonstrators, estimated at anything between 100,000 and 300,000 in number. They call for the removal of the Berlin Wall and for free elections.
- 23 Oct.** The previous People's Republic is proclaimed the Hungarian Republic.
- 8–10 Nov.** The East German Politburo resigns in its entirety.
- 9 Nov.** The border between East and West Germany, including the Berlin Wall, is opened.
- 17 Nov.** Miloš Jakeš resigns as General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, as does the Politburo in its entirety, following the violent suppression of a public demonstration.
- 24–30 Nov.** Mass street demonstrations are organised in Prague.
- 17 Dec.** Nicolae Ceaușescu orders his security forces to fire on anti-government demonstrators in Timișoara.
- 19–20 Dec.** Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Hans Modrow, East German prime minister, agree in Dresden to conclude a 'joint treaty on cooperation and good neighbourliness' between West and East Germany by spring 1990.
- 22 Dec.** The Romanian Army defects to the anti-government demonstrators. Nicolae Ceaușescu and his wife flee but are captured by the military. The National Salvation Front (*Frontul Salvării Naționale*) assumes power.
- 25 Dec.** Nicolae Ceaușescu and his wife, Elena, are tried and convicted by an improvised military tribunal on charges including mass murder and are promptly shot. They are the only overthrown Communist leaders of the Soviet bloc to come to a violent end.

2.6

KEY EVENTS SINCE THE FALL OF COMMUNISM

Central and eastern Europe excluding Yugoslavia

1990

- 15 Jan.** Bulgaria terminates the formal leading role in society of the Bulgarian Communist Party.
- 23 Jan.** The Soviet Union agrees to withdraw its troops from Hungary.
- 6 Feb.** Chancellor Kohl declares that he is ready to negotiate with East Germany on economic and monetary union immediately.
- 11 Feb.** Following discussions with Chancellor Kohl, President Gorbachev states that the Soviet Union has no objection in principle to German unification. He adds, however, that unification should not disturb the present strategic balance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and should contribute to a new European security system.
- 25 Feb.** The Soviet Union agrees to withdraw its troops from Czechoslovakia.
- 11 Mar.** The new Lithuanian Supreme Soviet declares Lithuanian independence. The declaration is, however, annulled by the Soviet Union.
- 17 Mar.** Warsaw Pact foreign ministers meet in Prague. The Soviet Union alone wants German neutrality. Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland want to restrain Germany from becoming a great power acting on its own.
- 20 Mar.** The Romanian town of Tirgu Mures is the scene of rioting between ethnic Hungarians and Romanians which leaves three dead. Some 2,000 Romanian nationalists had attacked a peaceful demonstration by some 5,000 ethnic Hungarians, with scythes, axes and clubs.
- 28 Mar.** Hungary holds its first liberal democratic general election since 1945.

KEY EVENTS SINCE THE FALL OF COMMUNISM

- 4 May** Latvia issues a Declaration of the Renewal of the Independence of Latvia and re-establishes the 1922 constitution. The declaration is, however, annulled by the Soviet Union. Popular unrest ensues.
- 12 Sep.** The Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany (effectively the German Peace Treaty) is signed in Moscow by East and West Germany and the four war-time Allies, America, Britain, France and the Soviet Union. It gives the united Germany full sovereignty over its internal and external affairs.
- 3 Oct.** East and West Germany are united as a federal state in accordance with the legal declaration of 23 August.
- 14 Nov.** Germany and Poland sign a treaty pursuant to the 12 September Treaty on the Final Settlement confirming the Oder–Neisse line as their joint border and renouncing any German claims to territory lost as a result of the Second World War.
- 15 Nov.** The previous People's Republic is proclaimed the Republic of Bulgaria.
- 11 Dec.** The Albanian government reopens Albania to the world. It bows to popular pressure and permits the formation of opposition parties.
- 12 Dec.** The respective competencies of the Czech and Slovak Republics within the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic are legally defined. Most functions are discharged by the Republics, but constitutional and foreign affairs, defence and major economic issues, and ethnic and religious affairs are devolved to the Federal Assembly.
- 22 Dec.** The Albanian government orders the removal of Stalin's statue from the main square of Tiranë.

1991

- 13 Jan.** Following months of popular unrest during which the Soviet Army had occupied key buildings in Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital, the Soviet Army fires on demonstrators.
17 people in all are killed throughout the period of unrest.
- 25 Feb.** The members of the Warsaw Pact dissolve their military links.
- 29 Apr.** The Socialist People's Republic of Albania is renamed the Republic of Albania under a new interim constitution.

- 21 May** The Czechoslovak Federal assembly approves legislation on the restitution of confiscated land. It excludes owners who had been ‘transferred abroad’ in 1945 and had not declared themselves Czechoslovak citizens (i.e. the Sudetens). (See Sudetenland, section 4.2, for fuller particulars.)
- 21 Aug.** Latvia declares the re-establishment of its independence, following a popular referendum. The Russian-speaking population, nearly a third of the whole, is not granted automatic citizenship.
- 6 Sep.** Estonia had declared its independence the day before. The Soviet Union recognises the independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. A referendum in Estonia had resulted in a vote by 77.8 per cent of the population for independence, and one in Lithuania by 90.5 per cent for independence.
- 5 Dec.** Estonia had declared itself sovereign in November 1988, followed by Latvia in July 1989. The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet declares Ukrainian independence.
- 8 Dec.** Ukraine concludes the Minsk Agreement with Russia and Belarus, establishing a Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). (See also section VII, Glossary.)
- 8 Dec.** Romania adopts a new liberal democratic constitution. Executive power is in the hands of a directly elected president who appoints a prime minister and cabinet answerable to the legislature.
- 21 Dec.** Moldova (with seven other former Soviet republics) joins the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). (See also section VII, Glossary.)
- 1992**
- 22 Mar.** The Democratic Party of Sali Berisha wins a clear majority in the Albanian national elections. The former Communist Albanian Party of Labour, renamed the Socialist Party, wins about a quarter of the 140 parliamentary seats.
- 21 Jul.** A Russo-Moldovan agreement grants special status to Transnistria and a guarantee of self-determination if Moldova united with Romania. The Russian-speaking population living east of the River Dniestr (Nistru) had declared a Dniestr Republic in September 1991.

KEY EVENTS SINCE THE FALL OF COMMUNISM

- 12 Sep.** Albania's former president, Ramiz Alia, is placed under house arrest on charges of misusing state funds and abuse of power.
- 23 Sep.** Ahmed Dogan, the leader of Bulgaria's predominantly ethnic Turkish MRF, describes the right-wing government's policies as 'blue fascism' and withdraws its parliamentary support.
- 8 Dec.** Poland's interim 'small constitution' comes into force. It introduces a mixed presidential–parliamentary form of government with a directly elected president.
- 31 Dec.** The voluntary dissolution of the Czechoslovak state comes into force at midnight, and the two new independent states of the Czech Republic and Slovakia succeed it.

1993

- 7 Jan.** The Polish *Sejm* passes a compromise bill restricting the availability of abortion. It becomes law on 15 February.
- 30 Jul.** Fatos Nano, Albanian prime minister in 1991 and leader of the Socialist, formerly Communist, Party, is arrested on charges of mishandling foreign aid. Twenty thousand of his supporters demonstrate in Tiranë in protest. He is sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment on 3 April 1994.
- 4 Sep.** The semi-state reburial of the ashes of Admiral Miklos Horthy, Hungarian regent 1920–44, in the family vault in Kenderes, Hungary, is attended by a crowd of 30–50,000, but engenders protests from democratic and Jewish groups.
- 17 Sep.** The last Russian troops leave Poland on the 54th anniversary of the Soviet entry. General Władysław Sikorski, leader of the Polish government-in-exile in Paris and London 1940–3, is reburied in a state funeral in Kraków. It had been his final wish to be buried in a Poland free of foreign domination.

1994

- 29 Apr.** The Czech Republic passes legislation allowing limited restitution of property to Jews dispossessed during the War.
- 4 May** 800,000 people participate in a general strike in Bulgaria in a protest against low wages and high prices.

1 Aug. Georgi Atanasov, Bulgaria's Communist prime minister, 1986–90, and imprisoned for corruption in 1992, is pardoned on humanitarian grounds.

1995

5 Feb. Four Austrian gypsies are killed by a bomb near Oberwart in the Burgenland.

19 Mar. The Hungarian and Slovak prime ministers, Gyula Horn and Vladimir Mečiar, sign a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in Paris in the presence of the French prime minister, Edouard Balladur.

4,000 people demonstrate in Budapest against the Treaty, which they maintain is a betrayal of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia.

31 Aug. Michael Kovac, the son of the Slovak president, is kidnapped and taken to the Austrian border town of Hainburg, where he is arrested. Suspicions were voiced, but never proved, that Vladimir Mečiar had instigated the kidnapping. Mečiar had earlier called for the president's resignation.

18 Oct. The Czech Republic's Chamber of Deputies again votes to extend the screening or 'lustration' law which bans former secret police agents and senior Communist officials from holding public office. President Havel had sought unsuccessfully to veto the extension.

15 Nov. The Slovak National Council (parliament) approves a law reasserting that Slovak is the nation's only official language.

15–16 Dec. Albania arrests 14 prominent members of the former Communist regime on charges of genocide and organising political deportations.

24 Dec. 81 per cent of the votes cast in a referendum in Transnistria favour a new constitution declaring independence.

1996

28 Mar. Formal court proceedings open against General Wojciech Jaruzelski and 11 others in connection with the killing of 44 demonstrators by security forces when he was Polish defence minister.

29 Mar. President Yeltsin of Russia speculates that the accord between Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan

- may mark the beginning of a ‘new community open to other states ... perhaps for example, Bulgaria.’ His remarks stimulate intense controversy in Bulgaria.
- 24 May** An Albanian court sentences three former Communist officials to death for crimes against humanity.
- 26 May–16 Jun.** The Albanian general elections are won by the ruling Democratic Party amongst widespread charges of electoral malpractice.
- 17 Jun.** The Moldovan government grants Transnistria the status of ‘a state-territorial formation in the form of a republic within Moldova’s internationally recognised border’.
- 28 Jun.** Ukraine adopts a new constitution, defining it as a sovereign, democratic, unitary state, governed by the rule of law and guaranteeing civil rights. Ukrainian is the only official language, although 33 per cent of the population is Russian-speaking.
- 1997*
- 10 Jan.** The governing Bulgarian Socialist Party votes against debating the opposition’s ‘Declaration for Bulgaria’s Salvation’. The opposition initiates a parliamentary boycott, and protesters break into the National Assembly. Some 200 demonstrators are injured outside during a night of demonstrations.
- 23 Jan.** The Albanian People’s Assembly bans pyramid schemes with a penalty of up to 20 years’ imprisonment for operators. Most such schemes had, however, already collapsed. (See section VII, Glossary.)
- 26 Jan.** The Albanian president is given special powers to deal with the public disorder generated by the collapse of pyramid schemes.
- 5 Feb.** A further Albanian pyramid scheme, Gjallica, based in the city of Vlorë, collapses with debts of some US\$145 million. Government authority in Vlorë collapses also, and is only maintained in Tiranë through recourse to violence.
- 10 Feb.** Two people are killed, and 25 are seriously injured when police fire on demonstrators in Vlorë. Most of the police, however, abandon the city.
- Mass arrests follow in the ensuing days.
- 1 Mar.** The Albanian People’s Assembly declares a national state of emergency in the light of armed rebellion across the

- south of the country. President Berisha dismisses the prime minister, Alexander Meksi.
- 6 Mar.** The remaining 3,800 employees of the Gdąnsk shipyard, the 1980 birthplace of *Solidarność*, demonstrate against its announced closure. It had been technically bankrupt since 1996, but is part salvaged on 20 March to become a subsidiary of Szczecin.
- 9 Mar.** Following mediation by the EU and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), President Berisha agrees to form a broadly based Albanian government of national reconciliation.
- 12 Mar.** Tiranë slides into anarchy, and more than 20 people are killed in the ensuing days. A measure of order is restored by 19 May, but some 10,000 Albanian refugees flee to Italy.
- 15 Mar.** President Berisha pardons Fatos Nano, Albanian prime minister in 1991, for the offences of which he had been found guilty in 1994.
- 29 Mar.** The UN Security Council votes in favour of an OSCE proposal that individual states be permitted to assist the Albanian government in restoring order.
- 8 Apr.** The Slovak government issues a statement accusing President Havel of the Czech Republic of ‘insults and lack of esteem’ for the Slovak prime minister, Vladimír Mečiar, and demands an apology. President Havel had talked of the prime minister’s ‘customary paranoia’.
- 11 Apr.** Advance units of the Italian-led Multinational Protection Force for Albania secure Tiranë Airport.
- 13 Apr.** The exiled Albanian pretender, Leka Zogu, returns to Tiranë and calls for a referendum on the restoration of the monarchy.
- 25–27 Apr.** President Arpad Göncz pays the first-ever visit to Romania by a Hungarian head of state. Some 1,000 people demonstrate in protest in the Romanian city of Cluj, the capital of Transylvania.
- 27 Apr.** President Havel describes the relations between the Czech Republic and Slovakia as ‘polite but very cold’.
- 4 Jun.** Pope John Paul II on an 11-day visit to Poland declares in Kalisz that Poland should outlaw abortion and that any nation which permits it deserves to be described as a barbarian civilisation.
- 18 Jul.** The Albanian Socialist Party, the reformed Communist Party, returns to power with the formal announcement of the results of the tumultuous general election held in

- June–July. It has won 101 of the 155 seats in the People’s Assembly. The state of emergency is lifted on 24 July.
- 11 Aug.** The last members of the Multinational Protection Force leave Albania, and the operation ends formally on 14 August. Much of Albania nevertheless remains lawless.
- 14 Oct.** Albania drops the charges of genocide against Ramiz Alia, its last Communist president.
- 17 Dec.** The Polish *Sejm* votes to accept a ruling by the Constitutional Tribunal to rescind the legislation of 1996 legalising abortion on social or economic grounds. The SLD announces that it will oppose the decision, which effectively restores the restrictive legislation of 1993.
- 1998**
- 5 Feb.** Polish and Jewish leaders sign an agreement on the development and preservation of the former Auschwitz (Oswiecim) and Birkenau concentration camps. The agreement provides for the re-siting of all Christian symbols, including the 1979 Cross marking the visit of Pope John Paul II, several hundred yards away from the Auschwitz camp together with a relocated Carmelite convent. (See also section 3.2.)
- Mar.** Clashes occur in Riga following a march by Latvian SS veterans, many in their old uniforms.
- 22 Mar.** Cardinal Jozef Glemp, Roman Catholic Primate of Poland, announces that the Roman Catholic Church will not allow the removal of the Cross marking the Pope’s 1979 visit to Oswiecim.
- 22 Aug.** Six leading members of the opposition Democratic Party of Albania are arrested and charged with crimes against humanity during the previous year’s civil disorder.
- 12 Sep.** Azem Hajdari, a prominent member of the opposition Democratic Party of Albania, is assassinated in Tiranë. The ensuing rioting in the capital threatens to reduce the country to chaos.
- 14 Sep.** Supporters of the Albanian opposition mount an unsuccessful coup.
- 3 Oct.** The Pope overrides the objections of Jewish groups and beatifies Cardinal Stepinać, wartime Roman Catholic Primate of Croatia. He had been found guilty in 1946 of collaboration with the Germans, the Italians and the *Ustaša*.

- 8 Oct.** The opposition maintains its boycott of the Albanian assembly.
- 21 Oct.** Bulgaria closes its criminal enquiry into the 1978 assassination of Markov in London. The assassination had been widely alleged to be at the behest of the Bulgarian secret service.
- 1999*
- 4 Jan.** A coal miners' strike in the Jiu Valley leads to Romania's worst civil disorder since 1991.
- 11 Jan.** The Czech government announces that it will veto the erection of a fence in the town of Usti nad Labem, deemed to be an attempt to create a gypsy ghetto.
The Romany Rainbow organisation agrees, however, to such a fence on 15 April.
- 22 Jan.** President Constantinescu threatens to introduce a state of emergency if the coal miners' dispute is not resolved.
- 5 Feb.** Leka Zogu, the son of the late ex-King Zog of Albania, is arrested in South Africa for the illegal possession of munitions. They had allegedly been assembled in 1979 for a proposed attack on the Communist government and might have been kept for the abortive 1997 royalist coup.
- 15 Feb.** The Romanian miners' leader, Miron Cosma, is sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment by the Supreme Court for 'undermining state authority' in the September 1991 riots. He leads a protest march of 4,000 Jiu Valley miners the next day but is arrested on 17 February. The protest is directed at IMF-supported plans for the restructuring of the mining industry.
- 5 Mar.** The chairman of the Slovak National Party, Jan Slota, calls at a rally in Kysucke Nove Mesto for Budapest to be flattened if Hungarian language and culture make any further progress in Slovakia.
- 12 Mar.** The Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland are formally admitted to NATO. (See section 3.6.4 for fuller particulars.)
- Early Jun.** President Constantinescu of Romania immediately rejects a call by a group of Romanian and ethnic Hungarian intellectuals for autonomy and self-government for Transylvania and the Banat region. He maintains that he will never accept proposals compromising the 'sovereignty, unity, or indivisibility of Romanian territory'.

28 Aug. The mausoleum in Sofia, which until 1990 had contained the embalmed body of Bulgaria's first Communist leader, Georgi Dimitrov, is demolished. The Bulgarian Socialist Party (the reformed Communist Party) maintains that the decision is political.

2000

3 Feb. The former Romanian prime minister, Radu Vasile, establishes the new far-right Romanian People's Party. Its manifesto claims that the Party is based on 'the central role of the nation and the Church, authoritarianism and rejection of multiculturalism' and it continues that 'suspicion of foreigners should be thought of as a natural instinct'.

4 Feb. The far-right Freedom Party (*Freiheit Partei Österreichs*) becomes a member of Austria's new federal government coalition. Its charismatic leader, Jörg Haider, had earlier expressed sympathy for Hitler, and was a highly controversial figure inside the country.

The EU suspends bilateral political relations with Austria.

6 Mar. Václav Havel, the Czech president, urges Madeleine Albright, the US Secretary of State, to stand for the Czech presidency when he stands down in 2003. Madeleine Albright is Czech by birth and fluent in the language, but only lived in the former Czechoslovakia as a small child.

6 Nov. The resignation of a third minister from the Austrian far-right populist Freedom Party of Jörg Haider puts in question the future of the ruling Austrian federal government, the future of the Party and the future of Jörg Haider himself.

2001

4 Jan. Poland expresses its concern at the confirmed stationing of Russian tactical nuclear missiles in the Kaliningrad enclave since mid-2000.

17 Jun. The National Movement Simeon II, established by the former king 2 months previously, wins some 45 per cent of the vote in the Bulgarian national elections.

24 Jul. Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the former King Simeon II, is sworn in as Bulgaria's prime minister.

16 Oct. The trial opens of General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the former Polish president

2002

19 Jun. Hungary's Socialist prime minister, Peter Medgyessy, admits under pressure that he had been a lieutenant in the Hungarian counter-espionage service in the Communist period. The Free Democrats continue to support the government, as junior coalition partners, on the understanding that the records of intelligence, counter-intelligence and military intelligence services during the Communist regime would be made accessible if those concerned were still public figures.

21 Nov. The NATO summit in Prague, attended by America's President Bush, invites Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia to join the Organisation. The British foreign secretary, Jack Straw, claims: 'This is the last day of the Soviet empire.'

2004

Feb. The European Peoples Party (the right-wing grouping in the European Parliament) passes a resolution demanding that any former Communists working for the EU publicly declare all their previous political and professional activities, and that any former Communists involved in the enforcement agencies be banned outright.

The proposal is criticised by the other groups who note the absurdities which could be generated when the then prime ministers of Lithuania and Poland were ex-Communists.

4 Apr. Vladimir Mečiar, the former ultra-nationalist prime minister of Slovakia, wins the first round of Slovakia's presidential elections with 32.7 per cent of the vote. He and Ivan Gašparovič enter the second round on 17 April, when Gašparovič wins.

5 Apr. The Lithuanian parliament (*Seimas*) opens a debate on whether to impeach President Rolandas Paksas on the grounds that he is a threat to national security. He is alleged to have been close to a Russian businessman, Yuri Borisov, with links to Russian intelligence and organised crime, who had contributed to his election campaign and been granted Lithuanian citizenship by

presidential decree. He had been appointed an adviser 10 days previously, only to be accused of blackmail and placed under house arrest the next day. Mr Paksas, a former stunt pilot, remains popular with the poor, the old and the unemployed. He claims that he is the victim of a conspiracy by the political elite, but he is nevertheless impeached.

- 1 May** The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia become members of the European Union (EU). (See section 3.6.4 for fuller particulars.)
- 31 Oct.** The first round of the Ukrainian presidential elections is narrowly won by the reformist candidate Viktor Yushchenko. Western observers claim, however, that the election is flawed.
- Viktor Yushchenko had become ill during the campaign, following a meal with the head of a Russian intelligence agency, which led to facial disfigurement and allegations of poisoning.
- 21 Nov.** The second round of the Ukrainian presidential elections is narrowly won by the pro-Russian candidate Viktor Yanukovych. Observers again claim that the election is flawed, and thousands of protestors demonstrate in the capital, launching the so-called ‘Orange Revolution’.
- 27 Nov.** The Ukrainian *Verkhovna Rada* (parliament) declares the preceding presidential polls invalid. The parliament on 1 December also dismisses the government of Viktor Yanukovych in a vote of no-confidence.
- 3 Dec.** The Ukrainian Supreme Court annuls the second round of the presidential elections held on 21 November.
- 8 Dec.** The Ukrainian crisis is resolved by a deal whereby parliament changes the electoral law so as to prevent the vote rigging alleged by the opposition leader, Viktor Yushchenko, to have occurred during the poll on 21 November, but the powers of the presidency are diluted.
- The opposition announces that it will lift its blockade of government buildings.
- 9 Dec.** The European Commission announces with regard to the Ukraine: ‘Membership [of the EU] is not on the agenda’, but proposes a partnership plan for greater cooperation with the country.
- 9 Dec.** Carl Christian von Habsburg-Lothringen, the great-grandson of the last Austro-Hungarian emperor, Karl,

fails in his attempt before an Austrian arbitration panel to claim compensation on behalf of 16 members of his family, as victims of Nazism. The family had sought to reclaim estates, several castles and some apartments in Vienna.

13 Dec. Romania appears to break with the former Communists, in power for 11 of the years since the 1989 revolution, by unexpectedly electing Traian Băsescu, the reformist mayor of Bucharest, as its next president.

26 Dec. Viktor Yushchenko, the reformist, pro-western candidate, wins new presidential elections with 54.1 per cent of the vote as against 45.9 per cent for Viktor Yanukovych.

2005

Jan. President Yushchenko appoints Yuliya Tymoshenko as Ukrainian prime minister.

The EU grants Ukraine ‘market economy status’ rather than the promise of membership sought by Viktor Yushchenko.

26 Jun. The Bulgarian Socialist Party, the successor to the former Communist Party, defeats the Liberals (NDSW) led by the former king Simeon Saxe-Coburg, with 31 per cent of the vote, in Bulgaria’s general election.

8 Sep. President Yushchenko dismisses Yuliya Tymoshenko as Ukrainian prime minister. She had been feuding with his aides.

2006

1 Jan. Russia suspends its gas exports to Ukraine in a pricing dispute, which is widely interpreted as a response to Ukraine’s Orange Revolution. It also bans Ukrainian meat and dairy imports during the month.

Late Jan./Early Feb. President Putin alleges that Ukraine had received \$3–5 billion in subsidies from Russia in 2005 as against \$174 million in aid from the United States.

27 Mar. The pro-Russian Party of the Regions of Viktor Yanukovych wins the largest share of the vote (27.1 per cent) in Ukraine’s parliamentary elections. The Party of the Regions had replaced its earlier Russian advisers with Davis Manafort, a leading US political consultancy and lobbying company. Observers attribute

the decline in President Yushchenko's support to political infighting and allegations of corruption.

Viktor Yanukovich alleges that he now supports EU membership but remains strongly opposed to membership of NATO.

He wants Russian to be made an official language and the creation of an economic bloc with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan.

17 Jun. Elections result in the formation of a Slovak coalition government under Robert Fico, a left-wing social democrat, including members of former President Mečiar's populist HZDS and Jan Slota's nationalist SNS.

21 Jun. The feuding leaders of Ukraine's Orange Revolution, President Yushchenko and former prime minister Yuliya Tymoshenko, agree to try to form a new coalition government. Yuliya Tymoshenko and the whole administration had been dismissed by the president in September 2005 following accusations of corruption and incompetence.

19 Jul. The 'terrible twins', Jaroslaw and Lech Kaczyński, take power in Poland with the appointment of Jaroslaw as prime minister. Lech had been president since 2005.

17 Sep. Transnistria holds a referendum asking:

1. Do you support the course toward independence of the 'Transnistrian Moldovan Republic' and its future free accession to the Russian Federation; and
2. Do you consider it possible for the 'Transnistrian Moldovan Republic' to give up its independence and then join the Republic of Moldova?

Some 97 per cent of the population supports the first option. The EU, however, refuses to recognise either the referendum or the outcome. Russian troops have been based in Transnistria since the Soviet period.

18 Sep. A leaked address by the Hungarian prime minister, Ferenc Gyurcsány, to his Socialist members of parliament, in which he admitted to lying 'morning, evening and night' to win the April 2006 elections, provokes several nights of rioting in Budapest. Up to 200 people are injured on the first night. The television station is stormed by demonstrators led by members of the far-right, including supporters of the ultra-nationalist Jobbik party.

- Although daily demonstrations follow, the numbers (up to 15,000) are insufficient to realise the demonstrators' goal of a 'White Revolution'.
- 23 Oct.** Hungary marks the 50th anniversary of the 1956 uprising in a climate of bitter political division. The right-wing Fidesz opposition boycotts the celebrations, and Gábor Demszky, the mayor of Budapest, accuses Viktor Orbán, the leader of Fidesz, of wanting to 'heighten tension'.
- Street fighting in Budapest injures 40 people, and far-right extremists are amongst the demonstrators.
- 2007**
- 1 Jan.** Bulgaria and Romania become members of the European Union (EU). Restrictions are placed, however, on the free immigration of workers in many member states for a transitional period.
- 7 Jan.** Archbishop Stanisław Wielgus bows to political pressure and announces his resignation 30 minutes before the inaugural Mass in Warsaw Cathedral, when he would have been sworn in as Metropolitan Archbishop of Warsaw. He had admitted to being an informer from 1973 for the Polish secret police, but no individuals had suffered as a result. Until 2 days before, he had enjoyed the support of Pope Benedict XVI, but his resignation is welcomed by President Kaczyński.
- 2 Apr.** President Yushchenko of the Ukraine orders the dissolution of the *Verkhovna Rada* (parliament) and new elections, alleging that the prime minister has been acting unconstitutionally in recruiting opposition deputies, as against party blocs, to his side. The government refuses to accept the order, and some 10,000 supporters of the pro-Russian prime minister, Viktor Yanukovich, demonstrate in Kyiv over the following days.
- 12 Apr.** Monica Macovei, Romania's energetic anti-corruption minister of justice, is ousted from the government.
- 17 Apr.** The Ukrainian Constitutional Court, at the request of the prime minister, Viktor Yanukovich, begins its hearings into whether President Yushchenko's order to dissolve parliament and call new elections for 27 May was illegal. The president of the court, Ivan Dombrovsky, had tendered his resignation, but it had been refused by the other judges.

Following several weeks of political conflict, an agreement is reached whereby elections will be held on 30 September.

19 Apr.

Bronislaw Geremek, once an adviser to Lech Wałęsa and a founder of *Solidarność*, is dismissed by the Polish authorities from his post as a member of the European Parliament. He had refused to comply as a matter of principle with a new Polish lustration law (see section VII, Glossary) introduced on 15 March, on the grounds that it violated moral principles and threatened freedom of expression, media independence and university autonomy.

The Conference of the European Parliament's political groups offer him support and solidarity the next day.

19 Apr.

The Romanian parliament, by 322 to 108, votes to impeach President Băseșcu, alleging that he has exceeded his powers by interfering in daily politics, undermining the government and influencing the public against state institutions. The suspended head of state is ejected from the presidential palace.

He maintains that parliament has been trying to influence prosecutors investigating the police files on leading politicians.

The public referendum on whether to advance with the impeachment proceedings is due to be held on 19 May.

27 Apr.

The removal by the Estonian government of the monument to the unknown soldier (the Bronze Soldier), erected by the Soviet Union in 1947, from central Tallinn to a military cemetery generates rioting by the ethnic-Russian community, the worst since independence. One Russian is killed and 150 people are injured. Relations with Russia plummet, and the Estonian embassy in Moscow is violently blockaded by Russian nationalist youth groups.

8 May

The Estonian president and prime minister pay their respects to the unknown soldier in Tallinn's military cemetery. It is the first time that Estonia has formally honoured the Soviet Army during its national day devoted to commemorating the victims of the Second World War.

15 May

The EU–Russia summit, due to open in Samara, Russia, on 17 May and designed to improve mutual relations and regional security, looks likely to be largely abortive. Poland vetoes any negotiations on a new partnership treaty between the EU and Russia, reflecting its anger over the

- 18-month Russian ban on its meat exports, allegedly on health grounds. Lithuania is concerned over the security of its oil imports, and Estonia wants EU backing following the ethnic-Russian rioting over the move of the Soviet memorial to the unknown soldier in Tallinn.
- 17 May** The Estonian foreign minister, Urmas Paet, alleges that Russia is waging cyber war against Estonia in retaliation for its removal of the Soviet monument to the unknown soldier from central Tallinn.
- 4 Jul.** President Putin of Russia threatens to deploy missiles aimed at western Europe in the Russian enclave of Kaliningrad in response to American proposals to situate anti-ballistic defence systems in the Czech Republic and Poland.
- 31 Sep.** The Party of the Regions of Viktor Yanukovich comes first in Ukraine's parliamentary elections with 35.5 per cent of the vote. His rival, Yuliya Tymoshenko, however, becomes prime minister on December 18 with the bare number of parliamentary votes required.

2.7

THE DISINTEGRATION OF YUGOSLAVIA AND ITS AFTERMATH

1989

- 28 Jun.** Slobodan Milošević addresses a million Serbs at a nationalist rally at the Kosovo Polje battlefield on the 600th anniversary of the final defeat of medieval Serbia by the Turks.
He is to be elected president of Serbia in Serbia's first multi-party election since before the Second World War.

1990

- 2 Jul.** The Slovene Assembly adopts a 'declaration of sovereignty'.
2 Jul. 114 of the 130 ethnic-Albanian members of the Kosovo provincial Assembly vote for full republican status for Kosovo. The Serbian National Assembly declares the vote invalid and unanimously votes to dissolve the Kosovo Assembly. Direct Serbian rule is imposed.
23 Dec. Slovenia holds a referendum on independence, and 88.5 per cent of the votes cast are in favour.

1991

- 25 Jun.** Slovenia declares its independence from Yugoslavia. A brief outbreak of fighting with the Yugoslav National Army is concluded by a ceasefire in the July.
25 Jun. Croatia declares its independence from Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav National Army enters the republic, and heavy fighting breaks out between Croats and ethnic Serbs.
8 Sep. Macedonia proclaims its sovereignty.
25 Sep. The UN Security Council imposes a mandatory arms embargo on the whole of Yugoslavia.
8 Oct. Croatian and Slovenian independence becomes effective.

- 15 Oct.** The National Assembly of Bosnia–Herzegovina adopts a Memorandum on Sovereignty. The Serb deputies abstain.
- 8 Nov.** Trade sanctions are applied on Yugoslavia but are confined to Serbia after 2 weeks.
- 19 Dec.** Rebel Serbs declare independence in the Krajina and Slavonia regions of Croatia.
- 1992**
- 15 Jan.** The EU recognises Croatia and Slovenia as independent states, on German insistence.
- 29 Feb.–1 Mar.** Bosnia–Herzegovina holds a referendum on independence. About 99.78 per cent of the votes cast are in favour, but the Serbs have largely boycotted the referendum.
- 27 Mar.** Bosnia’s Serbs proclaim a separate republic of their own, *Republika Srpska*, within Bosnia–Herzegovina.
- 5 Apr.** Bosnia–Herzegovina proclaims its independence from Yugoslavia.
- 7 Apr.** The EU and America recognise the independence of Bosnia–Herzegovina. War breaks out between its government and the Serb minority, which forms more than 30 per cent of the new state’s population. The capital, Sarajevo, is besieged by local Serbs.
- 27 Apr.** The two remaining republics (Montenegro and Serbia) of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia proclaim the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with a new constitution.
- 24 May** Ibrahim Rugova is pronounced president of the ‘Republic of Kosovo’ proclaimed by the Serbian province’s ethnic Albanians. It achieves recognition from Albania alone, which declares that it will be forced to intervene if the Serbs resort to ‘ethnic cleansing’.
- 30 May** Comprehensive United Nations sanctions and an EU trade embargo are imposed on Yugoslavia for its role in the continuing civil war in Bosnia–Herzegovina.
- 29 Jun.** The UN Security Council unanimously votes for the deployment of UN forces in Bosnia–Herzegovina to secure the functioning of Sarajevo airport and to protect humanitarian aid missions.
- 3 Jul.** Bosnian Croat nationalists proclaim the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna.
- 2 Aug.** The nationalist HDZ wins independent Croatia’s first general election.

- 6 Aug.** Russia, followed by Albania, Bulgaria and Turkey, recognises Macedonian independence. Greece, which is trying to hinder Europe's recognition of Macedonia, protests.
- 13 Aug.** The UN Security Council authorises the use of force if necessary to ensure the delivery of humanitarian aid to civilians under siege in Bosnia–Herzegovina.
- 20 Aug.** Macedonia requires all former Yugoslav citizens who have lived there for less than 20 years to leave the country.
- 5 Oct.** President Tudjman of Croatia and President Dobrica Cosić of Yugoslavia agree to an 'orderly' transfer of populations if Bosnia should be partitioned into ethnic sectors.
- 20 Nov.** Macedonia declares its independence from Yugoslavia.

1993

- 14 Jan.** Attempts in Geneva to achieve peace in Bosnia fail, and war breaks out between the Muslims and the local Croats, who had previously been allied against the Serbs.
- Jan.** The Croatian Army opens an offensive to reclaim part of the Serbian Krajina.
- 7 Apr.** Macedonia is admitted to the UN under the name of Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

1994

- 5 Feb.** At least 68 people are killed by an unidentified mortar bomb in the marketplace of Sarajevo. The Bosnian Serbs deny any responsibility.
- 10 Feb.** NATO imposes a 20-kilometre heavy-weapons exclusion zone around Sarajevo and threatens air strikes on any such weapons remaining after 20 February.
NATO attacks Bosnian Serb forces at Gorazde.
- 16 Feb.** Greece imposes a trade ban on Macedonia, reflecting its anger at the use of the name Macedonia for a nation outside Greece.
- 23 Feb.** A ceasefire is declared between the Bosnian Croats and Bosnian government forces.
- 28 Feb.** NATO shoots down four Serb bombers for attacking a Bosnian government munitions factory at Novi Travnik in defiance of the no-fly zone imposed over Bosnia–Herzegovina.

- 18 Mar.** The Washington agreement reached between the Bosnian government and the Croats envisages a Federation of Bosnian Muslims and Croats, associated in a long-term confederation with Croatia. The Serbs veto participation in the confederation.
- 22 Apr.** Bosnian Serb forces capture the eastern enclave of Gorazde, a UN-protected 'safe area', after a massive assault. Civilian losses are heavy.
- 26 Apr.** A Contact Group is formed of diplomats from America, Britain, France, Germany and Russia, to work for a ceasefire in Bosnia–Herzegovina.
- 30 May** Croatia introduces a new currency, the *kuna*, which also circulates in the Croat areas of Bosnia–Herzegovina. Wartime Croatia under Dr Pavelić and the *Ustaša* (see section VII, Glossary) used a currency of the same name, and Gypsies, Jews and Serbs protest.
- 9 Jun.** A ceasefire agreement is signed in Bosnia–Herzegovina between the Croats, the Muslims and the Serbs, but it unravels within days.
- 6 Jul.** The Contact Group puts forward peace proposals with a map allocating the Bosnian government 51 per cent of Bosnia–Herzegovina and the Bosnian Serbs 49 per cent. The government accepts the map, but the Bosnian Serbs reject it.
- 5 Aug.** Yugoslavia imposes an economic blockade on the Bosnian Serbs for rejecting the peace proposals put forward by the Contact Group.
- 21 Aug.** Bosnian government troops capture the north-western enclave of Bihac, a UN-declared 'safe area', and expel the rebel Muslim leader, Fikret Abdić.
- 11 Nov.** America announces that its forces will no longer enforce the international arms embargo against Bosnia–Herzegovina.
- 18 Nov.** Bosnian Serb aircraft bomb Bihac with napalm.
- 21 Nov.** NATO attacks Croatian territory for the first time by bombing the Udbina airfield in the Krajina, with the objective of discouraging Serb aircraft from bombing Bihac.
- 31 Dec.** A 4-month Bosnian ceasefire, negotiated by former President Carter of America, is signed and comes into force the next day. It is to be ignored, however, by both the Croatian Serbs and the rebel Muslim forces of Fikret Abdić.

1995

- 12 Jan.** The Croatian president, Franjo Tudjman, gives formal notice that the mandate of the 14,000 UN peacekeepers in UNPROFOR would be terminated on 31 March. He maintains that the ‘present situation in the [Serb-]occupied territories [of Croatia] is wholly unacceptable’. The self-declared ‘Republic of Serbian Krajina’ declared in December 1991 is predominantly ethnic Serb but represents 30 per cent of Croatia’s territory.
- 15 Feb.** An ethnic-Albanian university, deemed illegal by the Macedonian government in December 1994, is formally established in a ceremony in the village of Mala Recica near Tetovo. Riots ensue 2 days later in which one rioter is killed and 15 injured.
- 12 Mar.** President Tudjman withdraws his termination of the UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia, but its continuation is to be on much revised terms.
- 1–2 May** The Croatian Army captures Western Slavonia from the ethnic Serb rebels who had held it since December 1991.
- 7 May** Fighting flares up again in Sarajevo between Bosnian Serbs and Muslims.
- 8 May** In the presence of President Milošević of Serbia, President Tudjman of Croatia sketches out on the back of a menu, at a VE Day banquet in London’s Guildhall, a division of Bosnia between the two countries, which is how he envisages the region as looking 10 years from then. The sketch is for the benefit of Paddy Ashdown, the leader of the British Liberal Democrats.
- 12 Jul.** Thousands of Bosnian Serb troops enter the UN ‘safe haven’ of Srebrenica, which is defended by 150 lightly armed Dutch peace-keepers. The Muslim population is rounded up and the men and the boys are separated from the women. At least 2,500, and probably more than 5,000, of the males are subsequently shot.
- 4 Aug.** The Croatian Army invades the Krajina and captures the whole region by 9 August. Some 150,000 Serbs flee or are forcibly expelled, some are killed as they flee, and many villages are burned. The Bosnian Serbs and the Serb opposition criticise President Milošević of Serbia for not responding militarily. The capture of Slavonia and of the Krajina creates some 300,000 Serb refugees in all.
- The Americans and the Germans broadly support the invasion, but Britain, France and Russia condemn it.

- America denies allegations that it had trained the Croatian Army but admits that commercial consultants are advising the Army under American licence.
- 30 Aug.** NATO initiates a bombing campaign against Bosnian Serb forces and positions.
- 3 Oct.** President Gligorov of Macedonia is seriously injured in an assassination attempt in Skopje which kills two.
- 12 Oct.** A negotiated Bosnian ceasefire comes into force.
- 15 Oct.** Greek and Macedonian representatives put their names to an accord on mutual relations, in Skopje. Macedonia had adopted a less sensitive symbol for its national flag, and Greece had qualified its objections to the use of the name 'Macedonia'. Greece lifts its trade embargo.
- 21 Nov.** The prime ministers of Bosnia–Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia initial the Dayton peace accords at Dayton, Ohio. America and Germany ask the United Nations to lift sanctions on Yugoslavia.
- 14 Dec.** 'The Peace Agreement on Bosnia–Herzegovina' is signed at the Elysée Palace in Paris by President Izetbegović of Bosnia–Herzegovina, President Tudjman of Croatia and President Milošević of Serbia. President Clinton of America, John Major, British prime minister, President Chirac of France, Chancellor Kohl of Germany, Viktor Chernomyrdin, Russian prime minister and Felipe Gonzalez for the EU sign as sponsors.
- The Agreement provides for a central government responsible for foreign affairs and commerce, together with a Muslim–Croat Federation with 51 per cent of the national territory and a Serb Republic with 49 per cent, both being responsible for their internal affairs. Parallel relations between Croatia and Serbia and those entities are limited by a provision that they shall respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia.
- 20 Dec.** A NATO force of 63,000 men (IFOR) is deployed for 12 months to enforce the Paris Peace Agreement and to maintain a separation zone between the two Croat–Muslim and Serb entities.
- 1996**
- 14 Aug.** President Izetbegović of Bosnia–Herzegovina and President Tudjman of Croatia agree in Geneva to dissolve the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna.

Nov. The Serbian opposition parties accuse Slobodan Milošević of electoral fraud, and their supporters march on Belgrade. Milošević had refused to recognise the opposition's gains in the local polls.

20 Dec. A new NATO Stabilisation force (SFOR) of 30,000 men is deployed in Bosnia–Herzegovina on the expiry of IFOR's mandate. Czech, Polish and Russian troops also are attached to SFOR.

1997

2 Jan. The Serbian Orthodox Church offers its support to the Serbian opposition.

4 Feb. President Milošević backs down after 88 days by recognising the victories of the *Zajedno* opposition coalition in the Serbian municipal elections of November 1996.

10 Feb. Bosnian Croats fire on some 200 Muslims trying to travel between the Muslim and Croat areas of the city of Mostar. At least one Muslim is killed and 30 injured. The city's joint police force collapses.

28 Feb. President Zoran Lilić of Yugoslavia and Momčilo Krajišnik for the Bosnian Serb Republic sign an accord on 'special ties' to increase trade and cooperation.

22 May The Macedonian Constitutional Court rules that the Albanian flag may not be flown in Macedonia. The ruling provokes demonstrations by ethnic Albanians on the following day, and the flag continues to be flown.

1998

12 Jan. Some 15,000 supporters of the outgoing Montenegrin president, Momir Bulatović, try to storm government buildings in Podgorica on the eve of his successor's inauguration.

15 Jan. All demonstrations are banned throughout Montenegro.

15 Jan. Croatia formally resumes control of eastern Slavonia, the last Serb enclave in Croatia, captured by Croatian Serbs in 1991.

21 Jan. The Yugoslav prime minister, Radoje Kontić, negotiates an agreement whereby demonstrations in Montenegro are called off in return for elections in May.

- 31 Jan.** The People's Assembly of the *Republika Srpska* moves the seat of government from Pale to Banja Luka.
- 11 Feb.** The former Montenegrin president, Momir Bulatović, is accused under the criminal law pursuant to the January riots of attacking the constitutional order.
- 28 Feb.** The newly formed, separatist Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) kills four Serb policemen in the village of Likosane in central Kosovo.
The Serb police kill 24 ethnic Albanians in the area in retaliation, claiming that they are UCK members, which the villagers deny.
- 2 Mar.** 50,000 ethnic Albanians demonstrate in protest in Priština, the capital of Kosovo. America condemns Serbia's use of force, and threatens to re-impose full sanctions on Yugoslavia. Its senior envoy to the Balkans, Robert Gelbard, had, however, earlier described the UCK as a 'terrorist organisation', a description which the ethnic-Albanian leaders claimed had encouraged the Serb retaliation.
- 5 Mar.** President Milošević of Yugoslavia insists on the normalisation of relations between the EU and Yugoslavia before the EU can be allowed to open a monitoring mission in Kosovo.
- 5–6 Mar.** Serb security forces kill 53 ethnic Albanians around the village of Lausa, 40 kilometres west of Priština. They include women and children, but all are alleged to be UCK members.
- 9 Mar.** The Contact Group on the former Yugoslavia, comprising the foreign ministers of America, Britain, France, Germany and Italy, and a Russian deputy foreign minister, meeting in London, threatens to freeze Serbia's foreign assets and to impose a range of sanctions on Yugoslavia if Serbian security forces are not withdrawn by 19 March and talks opened on the future status of Kosovo. The Russians, however, express considerable reserve over the use of sanctions.
- 13 Mar.** 50,000 ethnic-Albanian students and trade unionists demonstrate without interference in Priština.
- 19 Mar.** Rival Serb and ethnic-Albanian demonstrators clash in Priština.
- 10 Jun.** Tens of thousands of ethnic Albanians demonstrate in Skopje, the Macedonian capital, in support of the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK).

- 24 Jun.** The Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) seizes the Belacevac open-cast coal mine. It is a significant blow to the Serbian economy.
The mine is recaptured by Serbian forces, who kill ten UCK members, on 29 June.
- 3 Sep.** The Yugoslav army shells a number of villages near Prizren in its fight against the UCK. There is speculation that Yugoslavia is seeking to crush the UCK before the pressure from NATO becomes unacceptable.
- 23 Sep.** The UN Security Council adopts Resolution 1199 which demands an immediate ceasefire in Kosovo and condemns ‘all acts of violence by any party’. It also expresses grave concern ‘at the recent intense fighting in Kosovo and in particular the excessive and indiscriminate use of force by Serbian security forces’.
- 24 Sep.** NATO approves an ‘activation warning’ authorising the Supreme Allied Commander, General Wesley Clark, to ask member states for the forces necessary to execute military intervention on Kosovo.
- 28 Sep.** Mirko Marjanović, the Serbian prime minister, declares to the Serb National Assembly that ‘peace reigns in Kosovo ... as of today all anti-terrorist activities have ended’. He also undertakes that special police units will return to barracks as demanded by both American and EU diplomats.
- 30 Sep.** The British foreign secretary, Robin Cook, calls for an emergency meeting of the UN Security Council to condemn three massacres in Kosovo in which Serb forces had reportedly killed 35 people. He says they are ‘not an act of war [but] plain cold murder’.
- 5 Oct.** The American envoy, Richard Holbrook, outlines a deal to avoid air attacks. NATO gives Slobodan Milošević 4 days in which to cease his offensive against the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo.
- 6 Oct.** Russia warns that it will veto any new UN resolution authorising military action over Kosovo.
- 12 Oct.** President Milošević pledges himself to comply with UN demands and to accept a 2,000-strong international observer force in Kosovo under OSCE command.
- 17 Oct.** The UCK breaks its ceasefire, announced on 8 October, by killing three policeman at Orlate.
- 24 Oct.** General Wesley Clark warns President Milošević that Yugoslavia faces air strikes unless it removes its forces from Kosovo by 27 October.

- 27 Oct.** NATO suspends its threat in the light of Yugoslav military withdrawals from Kosovo.
- 6 Nov.** The fragile ceasefire in Kosovo is broken when five ethnic Albanians are killed in exchanges with Serb police. Two police are murdered in a revenge attack on 9 November.
- 14 Dec.** 31 UCK guerillas are killed by Yugoslav troops near Prizren as they try to smuggle guns into Kosovo from Albania. Perhaps 30 people are killed during the month in further fighting.

1999

- 2 Feb.** NATO threatens to bomb Yugoslavia if Serbia does not attend the proposed Rambouillet peace talks on the future of Kosovo.
- 6 Feb.** Peace talks open at Rambouillet, France, on a Contact Group peace plan for Kosovo. The plan would disband all military groups, including the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK), reduce the Serb police force to 2,500 men and the Yugoslav Army presence to 1,500, and introduce a NATO peace-keeping force of some 35,000 men. It would effectively terminate Serbian jurisdiction over its Kosovo province.
- 14 Feb.** The American secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, attends the Rambouillet talks. She repeats that NATO will bomb Serbia if the Contact Group peace plan is not accepted.
- 23 Feb.** The ethnic-Albanian and Serb delegations at Rambouillet agree ‘in principle’ to autonomy for Kosovo, but no agreement is signed.
- 1 Mar.** Hasim Thaci, head of the political directorate of the ethnic-Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK), is appointed head of the ‘provisional government in Kosovo’.
- 2 Mar.** Adem Demaci, a hardliner who had blocked the signature by the ethnic-Albanian side of the Rambouillet peace plan in the February, resigns as a negotiator.
- 10 Mar.** President Milošević of Yugoslavia refuses to accept the stationing of a 28,000-strong NATO peace-keeping force in Kosovo, as envisaged in the Rambouillet plan.
- 19 Mar.** The British and the French terminate the further talks in Paris on the Rambouillet plan when the talks fail to achieve agreement with the Serbian delegation led by

President Milutinović. An agreement had been signed by the Albanian delegation.

The collapse of the talks leads to a drive by Serbian security forces to clear ethnic Albanians from strategically significant areas of northern Kosovo adjacent to Serbia proper.

20 Mar. The NATO Supreme Allied Commander in Europe maintains that more than 60,000 ethnic Albanians have been displaced in Kosovo since December 1998.

23 Mar. In the face of continuing failure to persuade President Milošević to accept the Rambouillet plan, NATO announces that it is to launch air attacks on Serbia.

Yugoslavia mobilises its army.

24 Mar. NATO opens its bombing campaign against Serbia. Yugoslavia responds by declaring a state of war and embarking on a systematic campaign to clear northern and western Kosovo of ethnic Albanians. The NATO action is allegedly to avert a humanitarian disaster in Kosovo. The British all-party House of Commons Defence Committee is to conclude on 24 October 2000, however, that ‘all the evidence suggests that plans to initiate the air campaign hastened the disaster’.

2 Apr. Albania and Macedonia appeal for urgent aid to cope with the flood of ethnic-Albanian refugees from Kosovo. By the end of the month, there are some 300,000 in Albania and 160,000 in Macedonia.

12 Apr. The Yugoslav parliament votes to apply to join a pan-Slav union with Russia and Belarus. The vote has little practical significance.

12 Apr. Ten train passengers are killed and 16 injured when a NATO air-launched missile hits a railway bridge. The pilot had allegedly not seen the approaching train.

23 Apr. NATO launches a missile attack on State Television in the centre of Belgrade. At least ten people are killed, including make-up girls, tea boys and technicians.

29 Apr. Yugoslavia brings proceedings against several NATO members, including Britain, before the International Court of Justice in The Hague, arguing that the NATO intervention is illegal. Britain successfully resists the Court’s jurisdiction on a legal technicality.

1 May At least 23 passengers are killed when a NATO missile directed at the Luzane bridge north of Priština hits a civilian bus.

- 7 May** American NATO bombers attack the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, killing four Chinese and injuring 20. The Americans claim that they were intending to attack the Yugoslav Federal Directorate of Supply and Procurement, but were misled by an out-of-date map. It is a claim the Chinese decline to accept. It is disclosed later that the embassy was a centre for Chinese intelligence gathering in Europe.
- 27 May** NATO drops cluster bombs by mistake on the centre of Niš, rather than on a military building near the airport. At least 33 civilians are killed and scores of others seriously injured.
- In response to suggestions that cluster bombs are banned under the Geneva Convention, a NATO spokesman claims that their use is allowed ‘in open countryside against ground troops’.
- 27 May** President Milošević is indicted for war crimes by the UN International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. It is the first time that a sitting head of state has been so indicted. The Tribunal had been established by the UN Security Council in 1993. Its prosecution receives about a third of the UN’s annual sponsorship of the court, and its members and judges enjoy the same status as diplomats. The defence does not enjoy the same official status or resources.
- Late May/Early Jun.** British prime minister Tony Blair persuades a reluctant American President Clinton to accept the possibility of a ground invasion of Kosovo.
- 3 Jun.** President Milošević accepts a Kosovo peace plan tabled jointly by President Ahtisaari of Finland on behalf of the EU and Viktor Chernomyrdin on behalf of Russia. All Serb forces are to be withdrawn from Kosovo, an international security presence with a substantial NATO component is to be deployed there under UN auspices, and refugees are to be allowed to return in safety. Kosovo will, however, remain formally part of Serbia, and the terms of the joint plan are more favourable to Serbia than those offered at Rambouillet, insofar as NATO forces are to be restricted to Kosovo, and there is no requirement for a referendum on the future status of the province.
- 6 Jun.** The cost to NATO members of the bombing campaign on Yugoslavia is estimated at US\$7 billion. The cost of the damage inflicted by NATO on Serbian infrastructure

- is however to be put at some US\$50–150 billion. Some 1,250 civilians have been killed.
- 9 Jun.** NATO and Yugoslav delegations meeting at Kumanovo sign a Military Technical Agreement to implement the agreed plan.
- 10 Jun.** The UN Security Council adopts Resolution 1244 approving the international peace plan for Kosovo.
- 11–13 Jun.** International (KFOR) troops enter Kosovo.
- 20 Jun.** Yugoslav forces complete their withdrawal from Kosovo. Many ethnic Serbs flee with them, as ethnic-Albanian refugees return. The damage inflicted on the military appears to have been appreciably less than NATO had supposed.
- 24 Jun.** According to a report published in the authoritative British newspaper, ‘The Times’, the Serbs claim to have lost only 13 tanks during the NATO air attacks. NATO had claimed more than 120.
- 2 Nov.** Montenegro further distances itself from Serbia within the Yugoslav Federation by adopting the German Mark (DM) as its national currency.
- 2000*
- 20 Jan.** The funeral in Belgrade of the assassinated Serbian warlord, Arkan (Željko Raznatović), attracts the largest crowds since Tito’s in 1980. Many have come from the Bosnian Serb Republic and from Montenegro, his family’s native republic.
- 8 Feb.** Pavle Bulatović, the Yugoslav defence minister, is assassinated in Belgrade. The motive is unknown. He was a senior member of the Socialist People’s Party, the Montenegrin opposition party.
- Jul.** The Yugoslav government changes the federal constitution so as to make the presidency and membership of the upper house directly elected.
- 24 Sep.** The first round of the Yugoslav presidential election results in the effective defeat of Slobodan Milošević by Vojislav Koštunica.
- 30 Sep.** The Yugoslav Federal Electoral Commission demands a rerun of the presidential poll.
- 2 Oct.** Tens of thousands of protesters stage a nationwide day of protest across Yugoslavia in an attempt to force Slobodan Milošević to accept defeat. His support in the media

begins to crumble, but he still behaves as if the second round of presidential voting will go ahead on 8 October.

Vojislav Koštunica expresses disappointment at both American and Russian attempts to reduce tension in Serbia, and maintains that the Serbs must resolve the crisis on their own.

3 Oct. The Serbian government begins to arrest the ringleaders of the growing campaign of civil disobedience which paralyses the country for a second day. The opposition plans to bring hundreds of thousands of Serbs into Belgrade to bolster the capital's own protests.

4 Oct. The Yugoslav supreme court annuls the 24 September election result on the grounds that there had been irregularities in the 'voting process, counting and confirmation'. The significance of the court's ruling is unclear, and the opposition sets a deadline of 6 October for Milošević to concede defeat.

Tens of thousands of protesters demonstrate in Belgrade, and 30,000 more disperse 800 riot police at the Kolubara mines.

5 Oct. Slobodan Milošević resigns when the Yugoslav army and police side with the protesters.

Vast crowds of demonstrators had earlier set fire to the federal parliament and Radio Television Serbia as symbols of the Milošević regime.

8 Oct. Vojislav Koštunica is sworn in as president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

9 Oct. Activists storm a number of factories, banks, universities and civil service offices across Yugoslavia to expel their former chiefs. Fearing possible anarchy, the leaders of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia distance themselves from direct action.

9–10 Oct. The EU lifts its oil embargo and flight ban on Serbia following the swearing in of Vojislav Koštunica as president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. America follows suit.

The EU proposes that Yugoslavia participate in the stabilisation and association process for South-Eastern Europe, launched at the European Council in June 1999.

15 Oct. Chris Patten, EU external affairs commissioner, admits that more than £350,000 of EU money had been channelled covertly into Serbia's independent media prior to the September election to counter pro-Milošević propaganda in the state-controlled media.

- 15 Oct.** Crown Prince Alexander of Yugoslavia meets President Koštunica in Belgrade to assess the prospects of restoring the monarchy. The president had been a self-proclaimed monarchist.
- 24 Oct.** President Koštunica acknowledges that Yugoslavia's army and police had murdered many ethnic Albanians in Kosovo during 1999.
- 1 Nov.** Britain expresses its concern to America at suggestions by American diplomats that Kosovo could become a fully independent state even under UN Resolution 1244, which guarantees the integrity of Yugoslavia and substantial autonomy for Kosovo. Britain does not wish to see the creation of any more mini-states in the region.
- 22 Nov.** Ethnic-Albanian separatists of the Liberation Army of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedjam (UCPMB), a splinter group of the officially dissolved Kosovo Liberation Army, attack Serb targets in the Presevo Valley area of Serbia, adjacent to Kosovo. The attacks and the deaths are to continue despite UN and NATO attempts to restrain them.
- 25 Nov.** Slobodan Milošević is re-elected leader of the Yugoslav Socialist Party.
- 2001**
- 9 Jan.** Biljana Plavsić, a former president of the *Republika Srpska* within Bosnia, gives herself up to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague.
She is charged on 11 January with genocide and ethnic cleansing between July 1991 and December 1992.
- 3 Feb.** The American secretary of state, Colin Powell, declines to meet President Djukanović of Montenegro, who has travelled to Washington for the purpose, because he does not wish to 'encourage the further changing of borders in the region'.
- 26 Feb.** Dario Kordić, the former vice-president of the Bosnian Croat Republic, is sentenced in The Hague to 25 years' imprisonment for planning and instigating the ethnic cleansing of Muslims from Bosnia in 1992–3.
- 14 Mar.** Fighting between rebel ethnic Albanians and the Macedonian army spreads for the first time from remote rural areas to the outskirts of Tetovo, Macedonia's second city.

- 25 Mar.** A fifth Balkan war appears possible as the Macedonian Army launches a full offensive against an ethnic-Albanian rebel stronghold near Tetovo. Albanian rebels had been attacking Macedonian troops sporadically for a month, and could rely on supplies from Kosovo across the border which NATO, despite protestations to the contrary, had been unable to close.
- 28 Mar.** The Macedonian Army continues its assaults on suspected positions of the Albanian National Liberation Army (NLA). The Army enjoys the strong support of the country's Slav majority, which fears partition to create a Greater Albania, but the condemnation of the Albanian minority which represents about a third of the population. The attacks appear to prove successful in their immediate objective.
- The Macedonian government maintains that it will open dialogue to address ethnic-Albanian demands for more constitutional rights and greater representation in the civil service, education and the state-run media.
- The likelihood of an agreed settlement is however questionable.
- 1 Apr.** Slobodan Milošević is arrested in his villa in Belgrade by Yugoslav federal police following a 3-day stand-off. Four police officers had been injured in an attempt to storm the villa the day before. He is accused before a Yugoslav court of corruption and of breaking the law so as to retain power, as well as of inciting his bodyguards to shoot at the officers who tried to arrest him.
- 2 Apr.** Slobodan Milošević denies embezzlement, but admits that he covertly funded the Bosnian and Croat Serb armies.
- 3 Apr.** President Koštunica reiterates that federal Yugoslavia has no intention of handing Slobodan Milošević over to the Tribunal in The Hague. Both the president and his prime minister had expressed scepticism as to the impartiality of the Tribunal.
- 4 Apr.** The British foreign secretary, Robin Cook, advises the federal Yugoslav president, Vojislav Koštunica, that the west will help Yugoslavia to rebuild its economy provided it in due course hands Slobodan Milošević over to the Tribunal in The Hague. The Tribunal, with the support of many in America, wants him handed over immediately.
- 5 Apr.** The Serbian justice minister, Vladan Batić, declines to accept a warrant from the Tribunal in The Hague for the arrest of Slobodan Milošević. The court's registrar is

referred to Momčilo Grubac, the Yugoslav federal justice minister.

- Vladan Batić does, however, urge the Tribunal to prosecute Hashim Thaci, the former commander of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and other Kosovar Albanian leaders for the murder of Serb civilians.
- 8 Apr.** The campaign by Croat nationalists to form a Bosnian Croat state spreads to Croatia. War veterans announce that they will blockade NATO bases on the Dalmatian coast supplying peacekeeping forces in Bosnia. Their action is interpreted as retaliation for the seizure by UN officials, supported by SFOR soldiers, of the *Hercegovacke Banka* in Mostar. The Bank was believed to have been financing the proposed Bosnian Croat state, and its closure prompts rioting by thousands of Bosnian Croats.
- 18 Apr.** Colonel Dragan Obrenović, a Bosnian Serb, is accused at the Tribunal in The Hague of orchestrating the slaughter of more than 5,000 Muslim civilians near Srebrenica in 1995.
- 22 Apr.** The pro-independence ‘Victory for Montenegro’ coalition, led by President Djukanović, wins 36 of the 77 seats in the Montenegrin parliamentary elections. The rival ‘Together for Yugoslavia’ coalition wins 33 seats and only some 5,000 fewer votes.
- 25 Apr.** President Djukanović of Montenegro insists that his country will press ahead with independence, but that he will negotiate with Serbia rather than act unilaterally.
- 3 May** The use of helicopter gunships and tanks by the Macedonian Army against ethnic-Albanian rebels renews fears that Macedonia is slipping into civil war.
- 3 May** Slobodan Milošević declines to accept an arrest warrant for war crimes issued by the Tribunal in The Hague. The warrant is left in the bars of his cell.
- 7 May** Bosnian-Serb rioters trap western diplomats in a building in Banja Luka in protest at ceremonies marking the start of the reconstruction of the city’s sixteenth-century Ferhadija mosque, destroyed by Bosnian Serbs in May 1993.
- 7 May** The Macedonian government steps back from plans to announce a state of war. Pressure from the EU and NATO had probably contributed to the decision.
- 24 May** Some 4,000–5,000 Serb troops and paramilitary police complete the Serb return to the Presevo valley, the

- buffer zone in southern Serbia established by NATO as part of the 1999 peace agreement. The ethnic-Albanian separatists of the Liberation Army of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedjam (UCPMB) raise little resistance.
- 24 May** A political crisis erupts in Skopje when it is revealed that the ethnic-Albanian party leaders, who had agreed 12 days earlier to join a new national coalition government, have made a peace deal with the rebels, and that the deal has been part-brokered by an American envoy of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The deal is condemned by the American Embassy in Skopje and by the British Secretary-General of NATO, who maintains that the rebels have no place in negotiations on Macedonia's future.
- 6 Jun.** Shots are fired at the office of the Macedonian president in Skopje, raising fears of a campaign of terror in the capital.
- The prime minister, Ljubco Georgievski, renews his call for the country to declare 'a state of war' on ethnic-Albanian rebels: a measure which needs a two-thirds majority in parliament and would probably bring down his ruling coalition which includes two ethnic-Albanian parties.
- 14 Jun.** America's President Bush, EU leaders and NATO broadly endorse the Macedonian president's proposals for a ceasefire, a partial amnesty for the ethnic-Albanian rebels and enhanced political representation for the ethnic-Albanian minority. The rebels are seeking direct NATO military intervention.
- 17 Jun.** President Putin of Russia on a trip to Kosovo rules out any redrawing of Balkan borders as 'extremely dangerous and destructive'. Both he and President Koštunica had also attacked the UN plan for self-government in Kosovo unveiled by Hans Haekkerup, the UN's Kosovo governor in May, and President Putin maintains that: 'Too many concessions have been made to radicals ... The legal framework of future self-government is raised almost to the standard of a constitution.' Local elections are scheduled for 17 November.
- 20 Jun.** Peace talks break down between the Macedonian government and ethnic-Albanian rebels.
- 25 Jun.** Thousands of Macedonian nationalist demonstrators storm the presidential palace in Skopje in protest at a government ceasefire agreement with ethnic-Albanian

rebels in the village of Aracinovo. Their rallying cry is: 'Gas chambers for the Albanians!' The Macedonian Paramilitary 2000 group orders Albanian businesses in Skopje to close or face fire-bombing.

The ceasefire agreement had been brokered by Javier Solana, the EU's security and foreign policy chief, and permitted ethnic-Albanian rebels to retreat with their weapons under the escort of American KFOR troops.

The deeply unpopular EU insists on a political settlement as a precondition of further aid.

25 Jun. The Yugoslav government formally requests the Belgrade court to extradite former President Milošević to the Tribunal in The Hague, in accordance with a government decree.

27 Jun. America announces that it will participate in a conference in Brussels on rebuilding Yugoslavia on 29 June, co-chaired by the European Commission and the World Bank, and give substantial financial aid, provided the Yugoslav government cooperates fully with the Tribunal in The Hague. It is envisaged that the conference will raise some \$1.3 billion overall for reconstruction.

28 Jun. The Serbian government hands former President Milošević over to the Tribunal in The Hague. The hand-over follows a ruling by Yugoslavia's Constitutional Court that the government's extradition request of 25 June breaches a constitutional ban on extraditing Yugoslav citizens. The Serbian prime minister calls the Court decision invalid.

It appears that President Koštunica, who is a critic of the Tribunal, was not informed of the government's decision in advance.

6 Jul. The Serbian prime minister, Zoran Djindjić, admits that his decision to extradite Slobodan Milošević to The Hague may prompt the break-up of the Yugoslav federation. The federal prime minister, Zoran Zizić, had resigned in protest earlier in the week.

8 Jul. Four Croat cabinet ministers, all members of the Social Liberal Party, resign in protest at the government's decision to hand two generals over to the Tribunal in The Hague. The two generals are understood to be Rahim Ademi, a Kosovar Albanian who fought for Croatia, and Ante Gotovina, commander of the Croatian forces, 1991–5. Both are widely seen as national heroes in Croatia.

- Mirko Condić, the Croatian veterans' leader, says that they will prevent any extradition, but General Ademi surrenders to the Tribunal voluntarily on 25 July.
- 23 Jul.** Fighting breaks out again between the Macedonian Army and ethnic-Albanian rebels in Tetovo.
- 10–12 Aug.** Ten ethnic Albanians are killed and 22 houses and ancillary buildings burnt by security forces in the Macedonian village of Ljuboten, 4 miles north of Skopje. The government claims all the casualties were terrorists, but critics allege that it was a revenge raid for the earlier deaths of 18 Macedonian soldiers in the vicinity.
- 13 Aug.** Ethnic-Albanian and Slav politicians sign a framework agreement to bring the fighting in Macedonia to an end. The agreement increases the rights of the ethnic-Albanian community, but many rebels, including a number from Kosovo, are likely to continue to strive for the union of all ethnic Albanians.
- 14 Aug.** Ali Ahmeti, the leader of the ethnic-Albanian National Liberation Army in Macedonia, signs an agreement with NATO on decommissioning and deployment. There are fears, however, that the agreement will not be observed by the radical Albanian National Army.
- Ali Ahmeti had been regarded by the west as a terrorist and still was by Slav Macedonians. The Macedonian interior minister, Ljube Boskovski, is to maintain on state television on 20 August: 'He is nothing but a criminal responsible for crimes against humanity, committed against his people. Ali Ahmeti must be brought to the Macedonian independent courts and judged for crimes against humanity'.
- 15 Aug.** NATO approves a first-phase deployment of 3,500 troops to Macedonia to prepare for the collection of up to 3,000 weapons to be surrendered by the ethnic-Albanian National Liberation Army (NLA). The disarming is supposed to last for only 30 days.
- The troops will be lightly armed as they are intended neither to partition the country nor to enforce the weapons' handover.
- 16 Aug.** The leader of Macedonia's ethnic Albanians, Ali Ahmeti, declares that he will not hand over any weapons until the peace agreement has been ratified by the Macedonian parliament.
- 21 Aug.** It is alleged by western defence sources that the Macedonian army is rapidly increasing its stockpile of

weapons with semi-secret deliveries from Russia and Ukraine. It is estimated, however, that there are some 600,000 weapons, stolen during the disorder of 1997, which are available to the rebels on the Albanian black market.

A bomb partly destroys a fourteenth-century Orthodox monastery near Tetovo, but it is unclear who is responsible.

23 Aug. NATO launches its operation to collect 'one weapon' from each member of the ethnic-Albanian National Liberation Army in Macedonia. The Army has some 2,500–6,000 men.

30 Aug. Slobodan Milošević makes his second appearance before the Tribunal in The Hague. The Tribunal's chief prosecutor, Carla del Ponte, declares that she is to submit indictments for genocide in Bosnia, and perhaps Croatia, on 1 October and that the trial is likely to start in autumn 2002.

Slobodan Milošević is currently charged with mass murder, deportation and persecution of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo in 1999. He maintains, however, that the charges are false, the Tribunal illegal and his imprisonment unlawful.

Some 45 other alleged war criminals of all the former Yugoslavia's ethnic and religious groups are held in Scheveningen with him.

9 Sep. EU foreign ministers agree on sending a 'small but robust' force of probably more than a thousand men to Macedonia to defend the unarmed international observers from the EU and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The observers are intended to help prevent renewed violence between the Macedonian Army and ethnic-Albanian rebels. NATO troops are not wanted by Macedonia's own Security Council.

12 Sep. British military sources report that about one-third of the weapons so far handed over to the British contingent of NATO troops in Macedonia are defective or unused.

16 Sep. It is accepted that at least 350 NATO troops will remain in Macedonia after the end of their weapons collection mission on 26 September.

28 Sep. The ethnic-Albanian National Liberation Army in Macedonia is formally disbanded.

9 Oct. Former President Milošević is indicted by the Tribunal in The Hague for the expulsion of 170,000 non-Serbs from

- the predominantly ethnic-Serb regions of the Croatian Krajina and Slavonia in 1991–2.
- 11 Nov.** Three Macedonian policemen are killed by ethnic-Albanian rebels near the village of Trebos. Some argue that the presence of the police had been a deliberate provocation inspired by Ljube Boskovski, the hard-line interior minister. The Macedonian parliament is yet to ratify the August peace accord.
- 16 Nov.** The Macedonian *Sobranje* approves the constitutional reforms giving increased rights to the ethnic-Albanian community.
- 2002**
- 14 Mar.** President Koštunica of Yugoslavia, prime minister Zoran Djindjić of Serbia and President Djukanović of Montenegro sign an agreement whereby a new Union of Serbia and Montenegro would replace Yugoslavia. The two semi-independent states would share defence and foreign policies but retain separate economies, currencies and customs services.
- The EU foreign policy (chief) declares: ‘This is the start of a new chapter that will lead to entry into the European Union.’
- 30 May** An Italian magistrate places Milo Djukanović, the Montenegrin president, under investigation on formal charges of having promoted, directed and organised a gang of a Mafioso-Camorra stamp involved in international smuggling. It is also believed in Italy that Montenegro had given refuge to many leading Italian criminals between 1996 and 2000.
- President Djukanović had enjoyed western support during the 1990s for his goal of Montenegrin independence, and the west had largely turned a blind eye to criminal activity there.
- 9 Dec.** Yugoslavia’s president, Vojislav Koštunica, accuses his rival in the Serbian presidential elections, Zoran Djindjić, the Serbian prime minister, of rigging the turnout figures so as to keep them below the 50 per cent threshold needed for a valid result. Vojislav Koštunica had come first in the elections on 8 December, and he files his complaint with the Serbian constitutional court.

2003

27 Jan. Milan Milutinović, president of Serbia until December 2002, is charged with four counts of crimes against humanity and one count of war crimes, before the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague.

The prosecution alleges that he was responsible for the Serb forces which expelled 800,000 ethnic Albanians from Kosovo in 1999 and murdered at least 900.

He pleads not guilty.

4 Feb. The Yugoslav federal parliament formally abolishes the state of Yugoslavia as a legal entity and replaces it with a new Union of Serbia and Montenegro.

9 Feb. Milo Djukanović accuses Italy and the EU of ‘demonising’ him, and maintains that allegations that senior Montenegrin judges and politicians are implicated in sex trafficking are part of a plot to undermine him.

12 Mar. The Serbian prime minister, Dr Zoran Djindjić, is assassinated in Belgrade.

19–20 Jun. The European Council (summit of heads of government) in Thessaloniki gives political approval in principle to the ultimate entry of all the Balkan states into the European Union.

16 Nov. Tomislav Nikolić, the candidate of the ultra-nationalist Serbian Radical Party, wins Serbia’s third round of presidential elections with 46 per cent of the vote, but the elections are invalid because the turn-out of 41 per cent remains below the constitutional threshold of 50 per cent.

29 Dec. The ultra-nationalist Serbian Radical Party, led by Vojislav Seselj on trial for war crimes in The Hague, wins the largest share of the vote (27.3 per cent) in Serbia’s general election. It offers to enter into a coalition with the former President Koštunica’s moderate nationalist Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS).

Vojislav Seselj declares that if he took office, he would lay claim to the Croatian region of Krajina as part of Greater Serbia.

2004

17 Mar. Ethnic-Albanian mobs attack Serb villages and churches across Kosovo. At least 19 people are killed.

- 5 Apr.** Some 94 per cent of Slovenian voters in a national referendum reject restoring rights of residence, property ownership, education, health and welfare services to ‘the erased’: the 18,000 ethnic Bosnians, Croats and Serbs removed from the records when Slovenia seceded from Yugoslavia in 1991.
A Bill to restore those rights had been approved with strong EU encouragement in February 2004.
The leader of the Association of the Erased, Aleksander Todorovič, comments: ‘In Bosnia, the fascists committed terrible deeds using weapons. Slovenia did the same with paperwork.’
- 13 Jun.** Tomislav Nikolić, the acting leader of the extreme nationalist Serbian Radical Party, is the favourite to win the day’s first round of Serbia’s presidential elections with 29 per cent support. The Party leader, Vojislav Seselj, is under detention in The Hague as an indicted war criminal.
- 2 Dec.** A 7,000-strong EU force (EUFOR) takes over from SFOR in Bosnia. SFOR had been active since December 1996.
- 2005**
- 13 Feb.** Boris Tadić pays the first visit to Kosovo by a serving president of Serbia since 1999. He reasserts Serbia’s claim to the province, where some 80,000 Serbs still live, a quarter of the prewar population.
- 8 Mar.** The European Commission declares that the EU will not open accession negotiations with Croatia the following week if Carla del Ponte, the chief UN war crimes prosecutor, reports that efforts by Croatia to arrest General Ante Gotovina, a war crimes suspect, are insufficient.
- 8 Mar.** Ramush Haradinaj, prime minister of Kosovo, is indicted for war crimes on 37 counts by the UN tribunal in The Hague. He resigns immediately and hands himself over. He had been a regional commander of the Kosovo Liberation Army during the war of 1998–9.
- Oct.** Talks open for a Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA), the stepping stone to EU membership, with Serbia and Montenegro.
- Dec.** The EU grants the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) candidate status for EU membership but does not consider it yet ready for accession talks.

2006

20 Feb.

The first talks between Kosovars and Serbs for 7 years, mediated by the United Nations, open in Vienna. The 'Contact Group' of the US, Britain, France, Germany and Italy have insisted on a framework whereby Kosovo may not return to direct Serb rule, be partitioned along ethnic lines or be joined to Albania. Kosovo must, however, be a democracy and respect Serb minority rights.

These preconditions seem likely to result in permanent deadlock. Wolfgang Ischinger, the EU's chief negotiator for Kosovo, is to provoke outrage from ethnic Albanian and ethnic Serb alike when he suggests in August 2007 that the province could be partitioned.

27 Feb.

The trial of the Serbian state for genocide in Bosnia in 1992 opens at the International Court of Justice in The Hague. The case had been brought by Bosnia, and it is the first time that a whole country has been charged with genocide.

11 Mar.

Slobodan Milošević dies while still on trial in The Hague.

3 May

The EU suspends the talks with Serbia leading to EU membership, for failing to arrest General Ratko Mladić, wanted by the International Tribunal in The Hague for war crimes. The European Commission had set a deadline of 30 April for his arrest.

22 May

Montenegro votes for independence with 55.4 per cent in support and a turn-out of 86 per cent. The EU had imposed a threshold of 55.0 per cent for recognition of the result. Independence is formally declared on 3 June.

The 650,000 people of the new state are, however, only 43 per cent Montenegrin.

The prime minister, Milo Djukanović, aims for the full integration of Montenegro in the EU and NATO, and claims that it will be the next new member of the former after Croatia.

27 Sep.

Momčilo Krajišnik, a former speaker of the Bosnian Serb parliament, is sentenced to 27 years' imprisonment by the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague. He had been found guilty of persecutions, extermination, murder, deportation and forced transfer of non-Serbs, but not guilty of genocide.

29 Oct.

A Serbian referendum with a 50 per cent turn-out approves a new constitution which asserts that Kosovo is an integral part of Serbia.

Nov. President Bush overrules the US State Department to offer Serbia the first step to ultimate NATO membership, joining NATO's Partnership for Peace Programme.

2007

21 Jan. The ultranationalist Serbian Radical Party, led by Tomislav Nikolić, wins the largest number of votes, 28.7 per cent, in Serbia's parliamentary elections. The pro-western Democratic Party wins 22.9 per cent. Tomislav Nikolić, however, cannot form a government.

26 Feb. The International Court of Justice in The Hague finds the Serbian state not guilty of genocide in Bosnia. It had, however, violated its obligation to prevent the Srebrenica massacre of 1995, and to punish those responsible.

14 Mar. Olli Rehn, the EU's enlargement commissioner, criticises the leaders of Bosnia–Herzegovina for breeding ethnic conflicts and reviving tensions. The EU would not conclude negotiations on a Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) 'before concrete progress has been made on two key conditions: police reform and cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia'.

The European Parliament had also expressed the view that the time had come to amalgamate the two Bosnian constituent entities, agreed under the Dayton accords of 1995, into one body.

6 Dec. Talks between Serbia and its province of Kosovo collapse. Kosovar demonstrators in Priština demand an immediate declaration of independence, but the Serbian prime minister, Vojislav Koštunica, had indicated in November that Serbia might respond by encouraging the break-up of Bosnia–Herzegovina.

2008

20 Jan. Tomislav Nikolić, the ultranationalist candidate, wins the first round of the Serbian presidential election with 39.6 per cent of the vote. He is defeated in the second round on 4 February, however, by the pro-EU incumbent, Boris Tadić, with 50.6 per cent of the vote.

17 Feb. Kosovo declares its independence. It is recognised by America, Britain, France, Italy and Turkey, but not by Russia, which will veto UN membership, nor by Bulgaria, Greece, Romania or Slovakia.

III

THEMATIC CHRONOLOGIES

3.1

THE RISE OF AUTHORITARIANISM 1919–39

1919

- 26 Jan.** Poland holds elections for a constitutional assembly, and Piłsudski hands power over to the newly elected *Sejm* on 20 February.
- 16 Nov.** The counter-revolutionary army of Admiral Horthy arrives in Budapest and brings the Hungarian White Terror to the capital. Between two and four times as many people are killed as during Béla Kun's Red Terror. Famous writers and musicians who had served in the Hungarian Soviet Republic, including Bartók (q.v.) and Kodály (q.v. in Biographies), are 'disciplined', and many left-wing individuals are imprisoned or interned. Some thousands of intellectuals emigrate.
- 28 Dec.** A general strike is declared in Bulgaria. The Stamboliyski government responds by proclaiming martial law. The strike is abandoned on 5 January 1920.

1920

- Jan.** Hungary holds national elections under theoretical universal suffrage. In practice, the White Terror is still in progress, the elections are boycotted by the Socialists, and the Communist Party is illegal.
- 29 Feb.** Czechoslovakia adopts a liberal constitution but declares the national territory to be a single and indivisible unity. Only Carpathian Ruthenia is promised autonomy.
- 1 Mar.** The Hungarian Parliament, having opted for the restoration of the monarchy, elects Admiral Horthy regent of Hungary. The monarchy is formally proclaimed on 23 March.
- 19 Mar.** Jozef Piłsudski is made marshal of Poland.

1921

- 17 Mar.** Poland adopts a liberal constitution.
- 28 Jun.** The 'Yugoslav' constitutional assembly approves the centralist 'Vidovdan Constitution' which is designed to promote the

unification of the country. The Croat Peasant Party, however, refuses to recognise, and boycotts, the assembly.

Article 126 of the Constitution stipulates a 60 per cent majority for any future amendment.

King Alexander survives an assassination attempt as he prepares to swear to uphold the new constitution.

The Hungarian government enacts a law banning all Communist activities and authorising the banning of the distribution of newspapers and books without prior legal proceeding.

1922

2 Mar. Hungary abolishes the universal franchise with a new system which disenfranchises about 25 per cent of the electorate and imposes educational and residence qualifications for the vote. Ballots are secret in urban areas but public in rural ones. The opposition is not allowed to organise in the villages.

The prime minister, Count Bethlen, maintains that a secret ballot is 'irreconcilable with the open character of the Hungarian people'.

14 Dec. Gabriel Narutowicz assumes office as president of Poland in succession to his friend, Piłsudski, but is assassinated 2 days later. He is succeeded by Stanisław Wojciechowski, another member of Piłsudski's circle.

1923

29 May Marshal Piłsudski resigns as chief of the Polish general staff and goes into retirement.

8–9 Jun. A *coup d'état* led by General Peter Midilev, Colonel Kimon Georgiev and Colonel Damian Velchev overthrows the Bulgarian government. The prime minister, Alexandur Stamboliyski, is killed and his Agrarian Party ministers arrested. The coup is backed by officer and professional interests.

Thousands die in the ensuing disorder.

23 Sep. An armed attack by the Communists on the new Bulgarian government is part-thwarted by advance intelligence. It only receives substantial support in the Plovdiv, Vratsa and Stara Zągora areas, and is suppressed by 28 September.

6 Nov. Strikes engulf Poland, and the workers in Kraków rebel, clashing with police. 32 people are killed, and many are wounded. Similar events occur in Łódź and Dąbrowa.

1924

- 24 Dec.** Ahmed Zogu summons an Albanian constitutional assembly on a restricted franchise. It abolishes the regents in favour of a republic of which Zog becomes president.

1925

- 16 Apr.** A bomb explodes in Sofia cathedral, killing over a hundred people. Two Communists are found guilty, who appear to have acted on their own initiative. More than 300 people are sentenced to death and hundreds more murdered unofficially.

The Communist Party is declared illegal.

- 18 Jul.** An 'R-R Coalition' agreement is signed between the Serb Radicals of Nikola Pašić and the Croat supporters of Stjepan Radić. It allows for a modest degree of Croat autonomy.

- Nov.** President Wojciechowski of Poland warns General Sikorski, one of the country's most powerful army leaders, not to instigate a military coup. Sikorski, together with Roman Dmowski, had formed the secret *Pogotowie Patriotów Polskich* (Polish Patriots' Readiness) to plan the overthrow of democracy and to introduce a dictatorship.

1926

- 12 May** Marshal Piłsudski, disillusioned with parliamentary democracy, leads a march by military units on Warsaw. President Wojciechowski and his government resign 2 days later, after a battle for the inner city which has cost the lives of 300 people.

- 19 May** Polish workers announce a general strike in support of Piłsudski, who they mistakenly think will introduce a socialist programme.

- 15 Sep.** Piłsudski's most trusted aide, Colonel Walery Slavek, secretly meets prominent aristocrats at Dzikow in a 3-day meeting, to establish a conservative power base for autocratic rule.

- 4 Dec.** Roman Dmowski founds the Camp for a Great Poland (*Obóz Wielkiej Polski*). It regards itself as a movement, not a party, and is focused on the cult of the leader. It is autocratic, militantly nationalist and anti-Semitic, and it agitates for dictatorship.

- 10 Dec.** The death of Pašić leads to the collapse of the 1925 compromise agreement. Stjepan Radić, the leader of the Croat Peasant Party, returns to an oppositional role.

- Dec.** The democratic republic of Lithuania is overthrown in a coup led by the Nationalist Party and right-wing army officers.

1928

1 Jan. Vojtech Tuka, editor of *Slovak*, the newspaper of Father Andrej Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, maintains that the October 1918 Turčiansky Svätý Martin declaration of a single Czechoslovak nation included a secret clause limiting the union to 10 years. If the promised Slovak autonomy had not materialised by that October, the Slovaks would be free to make new decisions.

He is accused of conspiring with Hungary to undermine the republic and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

20 Jun. A Montenegrin member of the 'Yugoslav' *Skupština* murders four Croat members during a parliamentary session, including Stjepan Radić, the Croat leader. His assassination unites the Croats against the Serbs, and the other Croat members withdraw from the *Skupština*. Dr Vlako Maček succeeds Radić as party leader.

The new Lithuanian constitution introduces a presidential dictatorship under Antanas Smetana, supported by the army and the increasingly fascist Nationalists.

1929

6 Jan. Having failed to negotiate a viable settlement, King Alexander of 'Yugoslavia' dissolves the *Skupština*, quashes the 1921 constitution, bans all the existing political parties and establishes a royal dictatorship. He also divides the country into new administrative provinces (*banats*).

18 Aug. Two thousand Austrian *Heimwehr* (extreme nationalist) storm-troopers attack a Social Democratic Party celebration in St Lorenz. Three people are killed and 200 wounded. A similarly fatal attack is made at Vösendorf, near Vienna, 2 days later.

3 Oct. In his continuing attempt to unify his country, King Alexander formally changes its name from the Triumvirate Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to Yugoslavia. He also bans all political parties rooted in ethnic, religious or regional loyalties, and standardises the legal and educational framework. In addition, he seeks to ease the lot of the peasantry.

1930

9 Sep. Following the comparatively poor showing of Piłsudski's *Bezpartyjny Blok* (Non-party Block) in Poland's March 1928 national elections, he has 19 opposition members and senators arrested, who are soon followed by a further 60, together with several thousand members of the public. Later national elections are a formality

to endorse Piłsudski's power, which is rooted in his control of the army.

28 Oct. Mussolini overtly abandons his earlier thesis that fascism is not for export.

1931

3 Sep. King Alexander introduces a new constitution which makes Yugoslavia an authoritarian, though technically parliamentary, state. No candidate may stand for the *Skupština* unless his name is included on a 'national list', and all such lists must include a representative nominated from each national electoral division. The *Skupština* will be elected by direct universal suffrage, but half the members of the Senate will be appointed by the king.

14 Sep. Yugoslavia enacts a new electoral law pursuant to the new constitution. Its tenor is undemocratic, as the ballot is not secret. Moreover, the party with most votes is automatically to be awarded 204 of the 305 parliamentary seats, and if it obtains an overall majority, it is to be awarded all 305 seats. The opposition parties boycott the forthcoming elections in protest.

The new *Skupština* sees the formation of a single Yugoslav Party under the effective control of the crown. That basic framework is to remain in place until 1937.

1932

23 Mar. Czechoslovakia bans the wearing of the swastika emblem. It had been a more common sight in the Sudetenland (see section 4.1) in the immediate post-war years than in Germany itself.

19 May Dr Dollfuss, a Christian Socialist, becomes Austrian Chancellor. He leads a cabinet of Christian Social, *Heimwehr* (extreme nationalist) and Agrarian members.

25 May Czechoslovakia dissolves all illegal groups of the fascist youth movement.

26 Sep. The Bulgarian Labour Party, the legal front for the banned Communist Party, wins 22 of the 35 seats on the Sofia Municipal Council. The result represents a doubling of the 'Communist' vote and a halving of the government vote in comparison with the national election of 1931. It provokes a wave of terror, and anticipation that the result will prompt the government to ban the Labour Party.

Oct. The Hungarian prime minister, General Gyula (von) Gömbös, renews fascism in Hungary. The established ruling party is reorganised on the leadership principle as the Party of National

Unity with its own vanguard fighters. Its corporatism is based on the Italian model.

- 16 Oct.** Some 200,000 people demonstrate at Altfohl in favour of Slovak autonomy. Autonomy had been conceded under the Treaty of Bratislava signed by President Masaryk, but had not materialised.

1933

- 14 Jan.** A new Romanian government is formed under Dr Vaida Voevod, leader of the semi-fascist Romanian Front.
- 23 Jan.** A fascist coup is foiled near Brno, Czechoslovakia. The fascist leader, retired General Rodola Gajda, the hero of the Czechoslovak Legion, is arrested, but claims to have had no knowledge of the planned coup.
- 30 Jan.** Adolf Hitler is appointed as Chancellor of Germany.
- 3 Feb.** Martial law is proclaimed in Bucharest and the oil-producing regions of Romania, following rioting.
- 21 Feb.** The Romanian government introduces a parliamentary bill aimed at strengthening public order and state security. It prohibits terrorist organisations, inflammatory pamphlets and provocative cartoons, unauthorised public demonstrations, uniforms and emblems, and unauthorised official reports on the state of the country.
- 16 Mar.** The Austrian Christian Socialists (Clericals) resolve to rule by decree without parliament. The Christian Socialist government has a parliamentary majority of one.
- 24 Mar.** The ‘enabling law’ makes Adolf Hitler not only Chancellor but dictator of Germany.
- 12 Apr.** The Labour members of the Bulgarian *Sobranje* are excluded by decree.
- 30 Apr.** A new Austrian constitution is enacted abolishing parliamentarism and making the Chancellor, Dr Dollfuss, effectively a dictator.
- 14 May** 40,000 members of the *Heimwehr* (extreme nationalists) celebrate in Vienna the liberation of the city from the Turkish siege of 1683. Dr Dollfuss takes the salute accompanied by the *Heimwehr* commander-in-chief, Prince Rudiger von Starhemberg, whose ancestor had been Austrian commander at the time. Dr Dollfuss declares that neither parliament nor parliamentary government will ever return to Austria in its previous guise.
- 14 May** The Austrian Social Democratic Party formally deletes from its programme its demand for union with Germany, for as long as Germany remains a Nazi dictatorship.
- 19 May** Austria bans the flying of flags other than Austria’s own national, provincial and municipal ones.

- 13 Jun.** Austria arrests Theo Habicht, a German national, Reichstag deputy-inspector of the Austrian Nazi party and press attaché to the German legation in Vienna, in Linz. All Nazi meetings are banned, and 170 ‘Brown Houses’ are closed.
- 25–26 Jun.** Sofia is placed under martial law for 24 hours, during which time citizens are confined to their homes. Some 1,200 people are arrested, including 1,100 Macedonian revolutionaries and 100 Communists.
- 9 Sep.** Dr Dollfuss announces to the Austrian Catholic Congress in the presence of the Papal Legate that he proposes to rebuild the state in the Christian German spirit. The new Austrian constitution will be on the corporatist lines of the Papal encyclical ‘Quadragesimo Anno’. He adds at a further session 3 days later that his goal is a Catholic Peasant Commonwealth rather than a Fascist State on the Italian model. Warm relations are nevertheless to be cultivated with Italy.
- 10 Sep.** Theo Habicht broadcasts against the Austrian government. He announces that the Austrian Nazis will only be willing to come to terms with the Dollfuss government on the following conditions:
- that the Nazis be completely rehabilitated as a political party, and that all steps taken against them be rescinded;
 - that they be admitted to an interim cabinet in proportion to their numerical strength, pending early elections which should produce a government constituted in proportion to the results.
- 11 Sep.** Dr Dollfuss explains the aims of the new organisation, *Vaterländische Front* (Fatherland Front), founded by him to realise his new corporatist state.
- 21 Sep.** Dr Dollfuss reconstructs his cabinet on an authoritarian, non-Party basis.
- 5 Oct.** Czechoslovakia bans the German Nazi Party and the German Nationalist Party within its territory.
- 6 Nov.** Following a ban by the Hungarian prime minister, General von Gömbös, on the wearing of the swastika, the Hungarian National Socialists adopt the ‘Arrow Cross’, a cross combined from four arrows, as their emblem. The swastika had been banned as a foreign official symbol on 10 September.
- 11 Dec.** The Romanian government dissolves the ‘Iron Guard’ as a terrorist organisation aiming to establish its own ‘storm troops’. (See section VII, Glossary for fuller particulars).
- 14 Dec.** The Polish government parties announce a programme of constitutional reform. The lower house (*Sejm*) is to become advisory and the Senate nominated, one-third by the president and two-thirds by legionaries and others with military decorations. The president is

to have the sole right to appoint and discharge ministers, to determine the agenda of the *Sejm*, and to enact legislation. The president is to be elected by direct suffrage, but only two candidates will be permitted, of which one will be nominated by the retiring head of state.

- 22 Dec.** The Austrian bishops' conference issues a pastoral letter supporting Chancellor Dollfuss's attempt to establish a 'great Catholic state' and denouncing Hitler and the Nazis. It singles out for condemnation 'Nazi racial madness', 'aggressive anti-Semitism' and 'extreme State nationalism'.
- 29 Dec.** The Romanian prime minister, Ion G. Duca, is assassinated by a member of the dissolved 'Iron Guard'. He and his accomplices deny acting under orders.
- 30 Dec.** Martial law is proclaimed throughout Romania in response to the Duca assassination. Press censorship is universal, and the most prominent members of the dissolved Iron Guard are arrested.

1934

- 12 Jan.** Alfred Frauenfeld, the leader of the Austrian Nazi Party, is arrested by Austria for continuing to work for the Party.
- 26 Jan.** The new Polish constitution is approved by the *Sejm*.
- 8 Feb.** Major Emil Fey, Austrian vice-Chancellor and *Heimwehr* chief in Vienna, orders the searching and ransacking of the headquarters of the Social Democratic Party and the arrest of its leaders and the commanders of the *Schutzbund* (defence force). Similar action is taken in Linz on 12 February.
- 12 Feb.** Civil war breaks out in Austria between the Social Democrats and the Clericals in government. Dr Dollfuss resolves to dissolve parliament and the Socialist Party in its entirety. Troops occupy Vienna's City Hall (*Rathaus*) and arrest the Burgomaster. The flag of the *Heimwehr* (q.v.) flies over the building, a Socialist stronghold since 1920. (See also section 2.2.)
- 18 Feb.** The government is victorious in the Austrian civil war. All trade unions are declared illegal, and 36 Socialist organisations are dissolved. The *Heimwehr*, which played a leading role in the fighting, strengthens its position in government. The war has claimed the lives of 132 government troops and 137 civilians.
- 19 Feb.** Theo Habicht offers an 8-day truce to the Dollfuss government in a broadcast from Munich. If no satisfactory answer is received, the struggle will resume on 28 February.
- 3 Mar.** Austria publishes the draft of the new National Syndicate of Austrian Workers and Salary Receivers, which is to replace the former trade unions and is a significant step in the reordering of Austria as a corporate state.

- 15 Mar.** Corneliu Codreanu, leader of the Romanian Iron Guard until its dissolution, is arrested. He had disappeared following the assassination of Ion G. Duca, the prime minister, in December 1933.
- Mar.** The democratic republic of Estonia is overthrown in a coup. It is to become an authoritarian and increasingly fascist state under Konstantin Päts.
- 19 May** A *coup d'état* installs Colonel Kimon Georgiev as Bulgarian prime minister. King Boris was allegedly unaware of the planned coup.
The new government, which is led by the leaders of the 1923 coup, announces that the *Sobranje* will be reduced in size from 270 to 100 members, of which 75 will be nominated by the government and 25 by the corporations into which Bulgaria is to be divided. All political parties are to be abolished. Unofficially, Germany welcomes the coup as 'a new blow at parliamentarianism'.
- 28 May** Danzig bans the Communist Party and its subsidiaries, allegedly in the interests of public security.
- May** The democratic republic of Latvia is overthrown in a fascist coup. The prime minister, Kārlis Ulmanis, seizes power and dissolves parliament to remodel Latvia on specifically Italian lines. He merges his office with that of the president 2 years later.
- 15 Jun.** The Polish minister of the interior, Colonel Bronislaw Pieracki, is assassinated by Ukrainian separatists.
- 18 Jun.** Colonel Georgiev, the Bulgarian prime minister, announces that he proposes to govern by decree for 1 year in accordance with Article 47 of the Constitution. The Article provides that in crisis conditions and when the *Sobranje* cannot be reassembled, the king, advised by and on the responsibility of his ministers, may rule by Royal Decree for 1 year, following which the *Sobranje* must ratify all the decrees passed.
- 25 Jul.** Dr Dollfuss is assassinated by the Austrian Nazis. (See section 2.2 for fuller particulars.)
- 9 Oct.** King Alexander of Yugoslavia is assassinated in Marseilles. (See section 2.2 for fuller particulars.)
- 5 Nov.** 250 leading Croats, including the Archbishop of Zagreb, submit a petition to the Yugoslav Regent, Prince Paul. They ask, first, that the Court for the protection of the Realm be abolished and that the arrest and imprisonment of political opponents be discontinued; second, that a general amnesty be declared for political prisoners and for Dr Maček, the leader of the opposition, in particular, and that nationalist organisations be dissolved forthwith; and third that new elections be held on the basis of a free and secret ballot.

1935

- 22 Jan.** Colonel Georgiev resigns as Bulgarian prime minister under royal pressure, and Tsar Boris III effectively becomes Bulgarian dictator.
- 19 Apr.** The Bulgarian government of General Zlatev resigns following the arrest of two former prime ministers: Professor Aleksandur Tsankov, leader of the Bulgarian National Socialists (fascists), and Colonel Georgiev. The arrests are attributed to fear of a putsch organised by Professor Tsankov.
- 5 May** The Yugoslav general election results in victory for the government of Bogolyub Jevtić. Only four political groups had been allowed to participate in the election. The Social Democrats and the Yugoslav Popular Party had been excluded for failure to comply with legal requirements, and the Slovene Popular Party had boycotted it.
- 20 Jun.** The Yugoslav government of Bogolyub Jevtić falls on the resignation of all its Croat members. The opposition declares that its members will not attend parliament in view of the ‘terrorist methods practised at the election’.
- 7 Jul.** Bulgaria bans political parties and their newspapers by decree. Contravention is punishable with 3 years’ imprisonment and heavy fines.
- 22 Jul.** The Yugoslav parliament, the *Skupština*, authorises the government to widen the franchise, and re-establish freedom of assembly and of the press. Prime Minister Stojadinović nevertheless emphasises that the new law will not allow any party organised on a religious, regional or tribal basis.
- 22 Jul.** The Bulgarian government legalises the two fascist organisations dissolved in 1934 as the nucleus of a new state party.
- 20 Aug.** A new Yugoslav governmental party is established, comprising three of the parties banned on the proclamation of a dictatorship by the late King Alexander. They are the Radical Party of prime minister Stojadinović, and the Slovene Clerical and Bosnian Muslim Parties. The new Party supports the monarchy and the ruling dynasty, a united nation and a single citizenship.
- 2 Oct.** The Bulgarian government declares martial law in response to an alleged revolutionary conspiracy by the republican Svevo group and the Radical Peasant group.
- 24 Nov.** Boris III of Bulgaria asserts his power with the installation of his favourite, Kiosseivanov, as prime minister.

1936

- 5 Jan.** The Bulgarian government again dissolves two of the leading fascist organisations: the National Legion, with 40,000 members organised

on Nazi storm-trooper lines, and the smaller Home Defence (*Rodna Zachtita*), inspired by the Austrian *Heimwehr*.

- 3 Mar.** Bulgaria dissolves the Military League and bans officers from participating in politics.
- 10 Oct.** Dr Kurt von Schuschnigg, the Austrian Chancellor, dissolves the *Heimwehr* and excludes Prince Starhemberg from national political activity. Major Fey, who had led a second faction of the *Heimwehr*, pledges the Chancellor his support.

1937

- 15 Jul.** Hungary passes a law whereby the Regent (Admiral Horthy) is no longer responsible to parliament.
- 15 Sep.** An ‘opposition front’ of Croats and dissatisfied Serb political groups is announced, with the intention of forcing the replacement of the 1931 Constitution.
- Oct.** Major Ferenc Szálassi announces at a mass rally the foundation of the Hungarian Arrow Cross Party (*Nyilaskeresztes-part*) through the fusion of earlier Nazi and fascist groups. The new party is both demagogic and mystical in tone, and appeals in particular to young workers and the lower middle class.
- 25 Oct.** The Polish government arrests 80 leaders of the *Falanga* faction of the Nazi-inspired National Radical Camp, named after General Franco’s Falange Party in Spain. The Camp had been established in 1934, and the *Falanga* was involved in preparations for a coup.
- 28 Dec.** Octavian Goga of the National Christian Party forms a new Romanian government. The National Christians are less extreme than the ‘All-for-the-Fatherland’ Party of Corneliu Codreanu, but they still believe in close cooperation with the fascist countries, adherence to the anti-Comintern pact and radical anti-Semitism. The Party’s co-leader, the poet laureate Professor Cuza, had been one of the founders of organised anti-Semitism in Romania and had adopted the swastika long before Hitler.

1938

- 12 Feb.** A new Romanian ‘Government of National Concentration’ is formed under the Romanian Orthodox Patriarch, Dr Miron Cristes. The new government excludes the National Peasant Party, whose leader Dr Maniu, a former prime minister, refuses to participate on the grounds that the new regime is undemocratic, the All-for-the-Fatherland Party, and the National Christian Party of Professor Cuza and Octavian Goga.

- 21 Feb.** King Carol publishes a new constitution establishing a corporatist dictatorship. No citizen is to be allowed either in speech or in writing to argue for a change in the structure of government or the distribution of property rights, for exemption from taxation or for class warfare. Corneliu Codreanu voluntarily dissolves his All-for-the-Fatherland Party. An oral plebiscite held 3 days later delivers 4,297,581 votes in favour and 5,483 votes against the new constitution.
- 10 Mar.** Rioting breaks out in Vienna, Graz, Linz and Innsbruck between supporters of the Nazis and of the *Vaterländische Front* (Fatherland Front). Dr Seyss-Inquart, Austrian Nazi minister of the interior and public security, flies to Berlin for consultations with the German government.
- 11 Mar.** The Austrian Chancellor, Dr Kurt von Schuschnigg, resigns under German pressure, and the Austrian Nazis take over the public buildings in Vienna and other Austrian towns and cities. The swastika flies from St Stephen's cathedral in Vienna. Dr Seyss-Inquart, the Austrian Nazi leader, becomes Chancellor. (See section 2.2 for fuller particulars.)
- 13 Mar.** Austria's new Nazi government dissolves the Austrian state and declares Austria an integral part of Germany (*Anschluss*). The Fatherland Front is dissolved likewise. (See section 2.2 for fuller particulars.)
- 21 Mar.** The five Austrian Roman Catholic bishops, led by Cardinal Innitzer of Vienna, declare:

From our deepest conviction and free will we joyfully recognise that the National Socialist movement has achieved and is achieving outstanding results for the *völkische* and economic reconstruction and the social policy of the German Reich and people, particularly for the poorer classes. We are also convinced that the National Socialist movement has banned the danger of all-destroying godless Bolshevism. The bishops give their blessing to these activities and will exhort the faithful in the same sense. On the day of the plebiscite it is a natural national duty for us bishops to declare ourselves as Germans for the German Reich and we expect from all faithful Christians that they know what they owe their people. (Source: *Keesing's Contemporary Archives 1937–40*, p. 3014)

The declaration arouses the concern of the Vatican, and certain provisos are incorporated in a further statement published by the Cardinal on 6 April.

- 12 Apr.** Germany abolishes the Austrian law which had enabled extraordinary measures to be taken against those involved in the assassination

- of Dr Dollfuss, and his assassin, Otto Pianetta, is officially rehabilitated. Many streets are to be named after him.
- 17 Apr.** Corneliu Codreanu, leader of the former Romanian All-for-the-Fatherland Party and of the Iron Guard, is arrested for allegedly planning a *coup d'état*. He is sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment 2 days later for writing an insulting letter.
- 11 May** The Central Committee of the Ukrainian National Democratic Organisation resolves to abandon as unsuccessful its 3-year-old policy of cooperation with the Polish government. It maintains that promised minority rights have not materialised, and it demands autonomy for eastern Galicia, home to 4–5 million Ukrainians.
- 27 May** Corneliu Codreanu is sentenced by a Romanian military court in Bucharest to 10 years' imprisonment for treason.
- 15 Aug.** The Croats and the Serb democratic opposition unite to demand the resignation of the Stojadinović government and the reintroduction of a democratic constitution.
- 6 Oct.** Msgr Jozef Tiso is appointed prime minister of autonomous Slovakia in the newly federated Czechoslovakia.
- 9 Oct.** A mob with many apparent Nazi members storms the palace of Cardinal Archbishop Innitzer of Vienna, causing serious damage and some injuries. The Cardinal had opposed the abolition of compulsory religious education in schools and the voluntary secularisation of marriage. The Cardinal had been fiercely attacked in the Nazi newspaper, *Völkischer Beobachter*, as a 'political epileptic', but the Nazis blame the rioting on Czechs and Czech Jews.
- 10 Oct.** The Yugoslav government dissolves the *Skupština* with immediate effect, pending elections on 11 December.
- 29 Nov.** King Carol and his interior minister agree on severe measures against the former Iron Guard following a renewal of terrorism and the attempted assassination of Professor Goanga, the rector of the University of Cluj.
- 29–30 Nov.** 'The Night of the Vampires'. Corneliu Zelea Codreanu and 13 other leading members of the Iron Guard are shot by their guards, allegedly for seeking to escape. Those killed include the assassins of Ion Duca.
- 4 Dec.** Three members of the Iron Guard, arrested in connection with the attempted assassination of the rector of the University of Cluj, are shot dead by their police escort, allegedly for trying to escape.
- General Antonescu and Prince Cantacuzeno are both arrested as prominent members of the Guard.
- 15 Dec.** The new Romanian *Frontul Renasterii Nationale* (Front of National Rebirth) is proclaimed by royal decree. It incorporates the Liberal Party, the National Peasants' Party, the National Christian Party, the Romanian Front and all Crown Councillors, who are the king's

own nominees. The king is party leader. All other political parties and activities are banned.

1939

- 4 Jan.** The statute is promulgated of the Romanian Front of National Rebirth. The party motto is ‘King and Nation, Work and Faith’. The fascist salute is adopted with the greeting *Sanitate* (Good Health).
- 5 Feb.** Dragiša Cvetković succeeds Milan Stojadinović as Yugoslav prime minister. He holds talks with the Croat leader, Dr Maček, over the following 3 months. Although Dr Maček maintains that the Croat question is being discussed along the right lines for the first time in 20 years, no solution is reached. It is understood that the most difficult task is to define the boundary between Serbia and Croatia, particularly in Bosnia where the populations are mixed.
- 26 Feb.** The Hungarian ‘Arrow Cross’ Party is temporarily banned in Hungary on the day that parliament is due to debate the country’s second anti-Jewish law. It is part of the Horthy regime’s attempt to limit the influence of the far right by moving ever further to the right itself.
- 11 Apr.** The Bulgarian government dissolves the Bulgarian National Socialist Party, the *Ratnizi*. The Party was already technically illegal but had been allowed to continue on the grounds of its patriotism.
- 2 May** The German government disestablishes the Roman Catholic Church in Austria, and 10 days later deprives the Supreme Council of the Protestant Churches of Austria of its official status.
- 29 May** The ‘Arrow Cross’ wins 20 per cent of the vote in the Hungarian national elections. It obtains nearly 42 per cent in the industrial ‘red suburbs’ of Budapest where it displaces the previously dominant Social Democrats.
- 7 Jun.** King Carol opens the new Romanian corporatist parliament. All members are required to wear the uniform of the Front of National Rebirth, and the small number who refuse, including the former prime minister, Dr Maniu, are not allowed to take their seats.
- 26 Aug.** Dragiša Cvetković and Dr Maček finally conclude the *Sporazum* (Agreement) on future national relations within Yugoslavia.

3.2

ANTI-SEMITISM: CHARACTER, SCALE AND SCOPE

1920

Hungary introduces the 'numerus clausus', a law restricting the numbers of Jews admitted to universities to the same proportion as their representation in the population as a whole. In consequence, the proportion of Jewish students is to fall from 34 per cent in 1917–18 to 8 per cent in 1935–6.

It is the beginning of the new wave of European anti-Semitic legislation.

1931

- 3 Nov.** Anti-Semitic agitation recurs at the University of Warsaw. sixty people are wounded.
- 12 Nov.** The anti-Semitic disturbances spread to Lwow, where nationalist students prevent Jewish students from entering the university. Twenty people are wounded.
- 13 Nov.** The disturbances extend to all Polish universities except Poznań and the Roman Catholic university at Lublin.

1933

- 9 May** Fighting between Nazi, and Jewish and Socialist, students temporarily closes the Anatomical Institute in Vienna. Some 30 students are injured.
- 21 Nov.** Nationalist students in Hungary adopt a memorandum against Jewish students. It demands strict observance of all provisions relating to them, as well as the cancellation of all work permits for foreigners and stricter immigration control.

1934

- 2 Apr.** A substantial number of Jewish and 'non-religious' doctors in Vienna, appointed under the City's Socialist regime, are dismissed.

1937

- 13 Sep.** Poland's anti-Semitic, fascist parties declare an 'anti-Jewish month'. Its observation causes substantial economic distress to its Jewish victims.

1938

- May** Hungary passes the first general anti-Semitic legislation to be introduced outside Germany.

1946

- 5 Jul.** A pogrom erupts in the Polish town of Kielce, and 45 Jews are killed and a further 40 wounded. The Jewish population had numbered 850, as against 15,000 prewar. A western newspaper report says that a crowd of at least 5,000 people participated, that few Jews were saved by the intervention of Polish civilians and that the resident priest in Kielce had declined to intervene.

Nine of the ringleaders are tried before a military court and executed by 16 July. The pogrom nevertheless stimulates the exodus of a further 100,000 Jews from Poland.

- 8 Jul.** The Polish prime minister, Eduard Osobka-Morawski, accuses the Polish Roman Catholic Church and members of the Polish Peasant Party of part-responsibility for the pogrom. He notes that Cardinal Sepicha, Prince-Archbishop of Kraków, had earlier refused to sign an anti-Semitic appeal, and that the Bishop of Kielce had refused to sign a denunciation of the program.

- 12 Jul.** Cardinal Hlond, Archbishop of Gniezno and Poznań, declares in a statement: 'The fact that the condition [of the Polish Jews] is deteriorating is to a great degree due to the Jews who today occupy leading positions in Poland's government and endeavour to introduce a governmental structure which the majority of the people do not desire'.

1951

- 5 Jul.** Israeli sources maintain that the Hungarian deportations commenced in the May (see section 2.4) have extended beyond the capital and include a large number of Jews. The entire Jewish community in Debrecen is said to have been deported.

1952

- 23 Mar.** It is announced in Prague that Mordecai Oren, an Israeli political leader, has been arrested for espionage. The arrest is believed to be

associated with that of Rudolf Slánský and other Czechoslovak Jewish Communists, accused of working for ‘western imperialism’, world Zionism’, and ‘Jewish cosmopolitanism’.

27 Nov. Eleven of the 14 officials, including Slánský himself, found guilty at the Slánský trial of high treason against the Czechoslovak state, are Jewish.

1954

Mar. Three of the chief leaders of the Romanian Jewish community, Dr M. Benvenisti, Jean Cohen and A. L. Zissu, are sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of espionage, anti-state activity and ‘Zionist crimes’. A number of parallel trials are conducted between the autumn of 1953 and the spring of 1954 involving some 150 people.

1968

A Polish government campaign persuades 25,000 Jews to emigrate. It forms part of a wider anti-Zionist campaign.

1998

19 Aug. The Polish government takes legal action to terminate the erection by radical Catholics of Christian crosses outside the former Oswiecim (Auschwitz) concentration camp. The Israeli government had officially asked on 5 August for the crosses to be removed.

1999

28 May Polish police, supported by the army, remove 300 crosses erected by radical Roman Catholics from outside the former Oswiecim camp. The cross erected to commemorate the visit of Pope Paul John II in 1979 is left untouched.

2000

30 Oct. Israeli historians claim that the Slovak bishop, Jan Vojtassak, whom the Pope planned to beatify, had been present at the meeting of the Slovak National Council in March 1942 when plans were outlined to deport 58,000 Jews, most of whom died in the concentration camps.

Bishop Vojtassak had been sentenced to 24 years’ imprisonment in 1950 but released under an amnesty in 1963. He had died in 1965, but his conviction had not been quashed until 1990.

2001

10 Jul. President Kwaśniewski of Poland formally apologises for the massacre of 1,600 Jews by Poles in the village of Jedwabne on 10 July 1941. The massacre had previously been blamed on the German Nazis.

3.3

WARTIME ADMINISTRATION, COLLABORATION, GOVERNMENT AND RESISTANCE

1939

- 17 Sep.** Bulgaria confirms her continuing neutrality.
- 21 Sep.** The Romanian prime minister, Armand Călinescu, is assassinated by the Iron Guard near Bucharest. The assassins are publicly executed that night, and 292 members of the outlawed Guard are soon shot likewise.
- Romania declares that its policy of strict neutrality will continue. Germany alleges that the assassins were acting on British initiative, an allegation the British describe as 'pure invention'.
- 30 Sep.** Professor Ignacy Moscicki resigns as Polish president, and a new 'government in exile' is formed in France. The new president, Władysław Raczkiewicz, appoints a 'Cabinet of National Unity' with General Władysław Sikorski, commander-in-chief of the Polish Army in France, as prime minister. The new government, which has its seat in Angers, is immediately recognised by Britain and France.
- 17 Nov.** A Czechoslovak National Committee is formed in Paris under Dr Beneš. It maintains that the agreement to the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia signed by President Hacha is juridically null and void. The Committee is recognised by France the same day and by Britain on 20 December.

1940

- 14 Jan.** A new Yugoslav law enables the establishment of a Croat Diet. The enabling law is signed by Prince Paul on his first official visit to Croatia since his appointment as regent in 1934. Direct and secret ballots are approved for both the new Diet and the *Skupština*.

- 28 Jan.** Bulgaria holds national elections on a non-party basis. Candidates are only allowed to be pro- or anti-government. The government wins 140 of the 160 seats in the *Sobranje*.
- 21 Jun.** Romania establishes a new ‘National Party’ with King Carol as supreme leader. The new party, unlike the Front of National Rebirth which it replaces, includes members of both the National Peasants’ Party and the Iron Guard. All Romanians, except Jews, are eligible for membership.
All former members of the Iron Guard are amnestied.
- 23 Jul.** The British government recognises the Czechoslovak National Committee in London as the provisional Czechoslovak government.
- 3 Sep.** King Carol asks General Ion Antonescu to form a new Romanian government.
- 5 Sep.** A Romanian decree abolishes the authoritarian royal constitution of 1938 and restricts the royal prerogative. It also dissolves Parliament and makes General Antonescu ‘Leader of the State’.
- 6 Sep.** Following consultations with General Antonescu, King Carol abdicates in favour of his son, Michael, who becomes king, formally, for the second time. General Antonescu expresses loyalty to the ‘Vienna Award’ (see section VII, Glossary) to the German and Italian governments, and arrests many of his leading opponents including Georghe Tatărescu and Constantin Argetoianu, both former prime ministers.
- 8 Sep.** The Antonescu government announces a programme of social reforms and of investigation into governmental and ministerial corruption since 1930. King Carol’s accounts are blocked. Dr Maniu and Constantin Brătianu, leaders of the National Peasant and Liberal Parties respectively, support General Antonescu provided he reintroduces some form of constitutional government.
- 11 Sep.** Horea Sima, leader of the Iron Guard, maintains that the new Romanian government is neither willing nor able to ‘cooperate intimately with the Axis’ powers and is only a ‘pace-maker’ for the Iron Guard.
- 15 Sep.** A royal decree makes Romania a ‘Legionary State’ with the Iron Guard as the only recognised party. General Antonescu is ‘Leader of the State’ (*Conducator*), prime minister and head of the ‘legionary regime’.
Horea Sima is deputy prime minister and commander of the legionaries.
- 30 Sep.** The Hungarian ‘Arrow Cross’ and National-Socialist Parties merge under Major Szalassi. They are joined on 6 October by the Christian National Socialists. Major Szalassi had been amnestied from a long term of imprisonment on 19 September, and the ban on the Arrow Cross and similar parties had been repealed on 29 September.

- 5 Nov.** Dr Beneš in exile inaugurates a Czechoslovak Council of State of some 40 members to work as a consultative and controlling body with the provisional government. He transfers legislative powers to the presidency.
- 27 Nov.** The Romanian Iron Guard carries out mass assassinations of those alleged to have been involved in the Codreanu assassination. Victims include General Argescu and Professor Jorga, both former prime ministers, and number perhaps 2,000.

1941

- 21 Jan.** The faction of the Iron Guard opposing total Romanian subservience to Axis interests rebels against the Antonescu government. Heavy street fighting and rioting ensues across the country, and some 6,000 people are killed.
- 25 Jan.** General Antonescu re-establishes control with German assistance. An arrest warrant for the Guard's leader, Horea Sima, 'dead or alive', is issued the next day.
- 29 Jan.** General Antonescu confirms that Romania will 'march without hesitation on the side of the great Führer and Duce'.
- 20 Feb.** The decree of 15 September 1940 making Romania a 'Legionary State' based on the Iron Guard is abrogated.
- 26–27 Mar.** The pro-German Yugoslav government is overthrown in a coup led by General Dušan Simović, chief of the Yugoslav Air Force. The prime and foreign ministers are arrested, and King Peter II assumes the throne, 6 months under age.
- 10 Apr.** Germany establishes a nominally independent Croat state under Dr Ante Pavelić (q.v.), with widely drawn boundaries. Its minister of religion, Dr Budak, is to announce of the Serbs who comprise one-third of the population: 'We shall kill some of the Serbs ... we shall drive out others and the remainder will be forced to embrace the Roman Catholic faith'.
- 16 Apr.** King Peter leaves Yugoslavia, and a royal government-in-exile is established in London.
- 4 May** The Yugoslav government of Dušan Simović, in exile in Jerusalem, reiterates that the *Sporazum* is one of the political foundations of the state.
- 14 May** Dr Pavelić proclaims the establishment of a Croat monarchy and the intended accession of an Italian nominee, the Duke of Spoleto of the House of Savoy, as King Almone. The Duke, however, stays in Italy.
- 4 Jul.** Yugoslav Communist partisans under the direction of Josip Broz (Tito), General Secretary of the Yugoslav Communist Party since January 1939, organise the extension of their guerilla

campaign against the Axis powers. Their aim is both to drive out the enemy and to create a Communist Yugoslavia. The Germans put a price of Reichsmark 100,000 on his head, dead or alive.

- 11 Jul.** A Montenegrin National Assembly petitions the Italian High Commissioner for autonomy under a monarch within the Italian Empire. The grandson of the former King Nicholas nevertheless declines the crown.
- 23 Aug.** Tito signals to the Soviet government that: ‘Partisan operations in Serbia are assuming to an ever greater extent the character of a national uprising. The Germans are only holding the larger towns while the villages are in the hands of the Partisans’.
- 14 Sep.** Martial law is imposed throughout Bulgaria.
- 1 Nov.** A civil war opens between the Yugoslav Četniks and the Partisans which will run in parallel with the war of resistance. (See section 2.3 for fuller particulars.)

1942

- 14 Jan.** Britain disowns any attempt by ex-King Carol to create a Free Romanian Movement. America adopts a similar line on 13 February. The former monarch was then in Mexico.
- 19 Feb.** Admiral Horthy’s son, István, is elected Deputy Regent of Hungary in the light of his father’s desire to retire. He is, however, killed in action in Russia in the August.
- 26 May** Reinhard Heydrich, Deputy Protector of Bohemia and Moravia and deputy head of the German Gestapo, is fatally wounded in the suburbs of Prague by two Czechs. He dies on 3 June. 207 Czechs are executed as a reprisal.
- 9 Jun.** The Czech village of Lidice is ‘liquidated’ by the Germans as part of the reprisals for the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich. Although the total population is only about 450, the thoroughness of the destruction is to make Lidice a byword for the brutality of Nazi occupation.
- 16 Sep.** An Albanian ‘National Front’ is established to fight for Albanian liberation from the Italians.
- 26 Nov.** Tito opens the first meeting of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Committee of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) at Bihac on the borders of Bosnia and Croatia.

1943

- 22 Jan.** A Polish Note to the Allies reports that the Germans have established at least 24 concentration camps on Polish territory,

including Majdanek, Oswiecim (German Auschwitz), Sobibor, and Treblinka. The most notorious is Oswiecim.

Large numbers of Poles are to be found in about 80 camps across Germany and Poland.

- 26 Jun.** The new royal Yugoslav government-in-exile decides to prepare to transfer its seat from London to Cairo.
- 7 Aug.** The Croat and Serb ministers of the royal Yugoslav government-in-exile in London fail to agree on the structure of the post-war Yugoslav state, and the cabinet resigns.
- 9 Sep.** The Bulgarian *Sobranje* unanimously approves a Regency Council comprising Prince Kiril, the boy king's uncle, Professor Bogdan Filov, the prime minister, and General Mikhov, the minister for war.
- 14 Sep.** The new Bulgarian government of Dr Bojilov, consequent upon the appointment of Professor Filov to the Regency Council, is considered more moderate in tendency than its predecessor.
- 30 Nov.** Under Tito's leadership, the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Committee of Yugoslavia turns itself at Jajce into a National Committee of Liberation with the powers of a provisional government, designed to supersede the monarchy and exiled government. Tito is granted the title 'Marshal of Yugoslavia' and is made prime minister and minister of defence.
- 6 Dec.** The Bulgarian minister, Kristov, announces that the government has been forced to take resolute action against 'Communist partisans' of whom over 1,000 had been killed or arrested. He is to threaten them with 'severe methods of liquidation', but is to admit that many of his own appointees as mayors had 'proved to be Communists'.

1944

- 23 Mar.** A new Hungarian government is formed under Major-General Doeme Sztojaj. The German and Hungarian governments agree 'to mobilise all the resources of Hungary for the final victory of the common cause'. The previous prime minister, Kallay, takes refuge in the Turkish Legation in Budapest on 26 March.
- 13 May** The Allies warn all Axis satellite countries of the consequences of their continued cooperation with Germany.
- 21 Jul.** The Soviet Union establishes a Polish Communist-dominated 'Committee of National Liberation' in Lublin, and recognises it as the provisional Polish government in January 1945. (See also section 2.3.)
- 24 Aug.** A new all-party Romanian government is formed under General Constantin Sanatescu. It comprises members of the National

- Peasant, National Liberal, Social Democratic, and Communist Parties. General Antonescu is arrested.
- 29 Aug.** Major-General Sztojay resigns as Hungarian prime minister on health grounds, and his death is reported 2 days later.
- 4 Sep.** A royal decree re-establishes the Romanian liberal constitution abrogated in 1938. It implies the revocation of the anti-Jewish legislation enacted in the interim.
- 9 Sep.** The pro-German Bulgarian Regency Council is dismissed and a new Council appointed comprising Professor Venelin Ganev (Radical Democrat), Zvetko Boboshevsky (Conservative), and Todor Pavlov (Communist). The Council of Ministers decides to arrest all cabinet ministers who had held office in January 1941 and all members of the *Sobranje* who had supported the war policy.
- 18 Sep.** It is announced that the Soviet Command in Romania has arrested Marshal Ion Antonescu, dictator (*conducator*) since 1941, and leading members of his regime, as probable war criminals.
- 5 Oct.** The Romanian cabinet decides to purge all those responsible for the pro-fascist orientation of national policy between 1938 and 1944, and to place them before courts martial.
- 16 Oct.** Major Ferenc Szalassi, leader of the Hungarian Nazi Arrow Cross, establishes a Regency Council to replace Admiral Horthy and declares himself prime minister. (See section 2.3 for fuller particulars.)
- Oct.** Differences arise between the four parties comprising the Romanian National Democratic bloc (the National Liberal, National Peasant, Social Democrat and Communist Parties). The Social Democrats and Communists and two smaller left-wing groups form the National Democratic Front which seeks a larger share in government and accuses Brătianu and Maniu of opposing essential reforms and not joining fully in the alliance with the Soviet Union.
- 5 Nov.** Following representations by the Allied Control Commission that the Romanian government of General Sanatescu is slow in fulfilling the armistice terms, King Michael increases the representation in the government of the National Democratic Front.
- 12 Nov.** Romanian decrees provide for the arrest of all former members of the Iron Guard, the abrogation of all fascist racial legislation and the post-war expulsion of over 300,000 Romanian-born Germans.
- 28 Nov.** The Albanian provisional government moves to Tiranë. (See section 2.3 for fuller particulars.)
- 30 Nov.** The Hungarian government of Major-General Szalassi moves to Sopron near the Austrian border.
- 20 Dec.** A People's Court in Sofia opens its hearings into war crimes charges. It sentences to death the three former regents, Prince Kiril, Professor Filov and General Mikhov, and 98 others, comprising

two former prime ministers, Dr Dobri Bojilov and Ivan Bagrianov, 20 other ministers, 68 deputies and eight personal advisers of the late King Boris. The last premier, Konstantin Muraviev, a further minister, 23 deputies and another two royal advisers are sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labour. The regents are executed on 1 February 1945.

24 Dec. A provisional Hungarian national assembly meets in Debrecen and constitutes a provisional national government comprising all the main parties.

1945

11 Feb. The Romanian prime minister, General Radescu, denies in a broadcast allegations by the National Democratic Front (*Frontul National Democratic*) (FND) that the armistice is being sabotaged by ‘reactionary’ ministers and ‘pro-fascist’ officials.

22 Feb. Moscow Radio broadcasts a *Pravda* article attacking what it alleges is ‘the undecided and very often anti-democratic policy’ of the Radescu government in Romania.

24 Feb. Romania experiences widespread public disorder, and a mass political demonstration is forcibly suppressed in Bucharest. General Radescu maintains that FND elements, including its Hungarian secretary-general and Ana Pauker, are ‘trying to gain power by terror and criminal acts committed under the mask of democracy’. He denies that the army has provoked incidents. He resigns 3 days later.

1–12 Mar. The first Congress of the Bulgarian *Otechestven* (Fatherland) *Front* adopts a Communist resolution in favour of early free parliamentary elections.

6 Mar. Dr Petre Groz(e)a, previously vice-premier, and leader of the far-left Ploughmen’s Front, forms a new, mainly FND, Romanian government. It fails to secure recognition from the Americans or the British.

8 Mar. Attacks on General Radescu continue in the Romanian press and in Soviet broadcasts, accusing him of plotting a ‘dictatorship of reactionary militarists’ and seeking to provoke civil war. He takes refuge in the headquarters of the British representative in Bucharest.

22 Mar. King Michael signs a major decree on land reform. It aims to enlarge existing holdings to 5 hectares, and to create new ones by expropriating land belonging to Germans, collaborators, war criminals and absentee landlords. In addition, all individual estates of more than 50 hectares are expropriated, except for those belonging to the churches, cultural and scientific institutions or the crown.

- 3 Apr.** Dr Beneš and the Czechoslovak government in exile return to Košice, Slovakia, as the Czechoslovak provisional capital.
- 7 Apr.** The composition of the Czechoslovak provisional government, negotiated in Moscow, is announced. Dr Zdenek Fierlinger is non-party prime minister but is a left-wing socialist by conviction and a believer in close political relations with the Soviet Union.
- End Apr.** Consequent on the government's pledge of Slovak autonomy, the Slovak National Council (*Slovenska Narodni Rada*) elects a new Executive Committee comprising four Communists and four Democrats.

3.4

POST-WAR RETRIBUTION AND REVENGE

1945

- 10 May** Konrad Henlein, the former leader of the Czechoslovak Sudeten German party, commits suicide in an Allied prisoner-of-war cage.
- 22 Jun.** The Czechoslovak government decrees the expropriation of all land held by Germans and Hungarians, as well as by traitors and collaborators. Some 270,000 farms are involved, covering 6,240,000 acres.
- 8 Aug.** Bulgaria announces that 10,907 people had been indicted for treason and collaboration between the end of 1944 and the end of March 1945, and that 2,680 of them have been condemned to death.
- 18 Oct.** The Czechoslovak government orders the permanent closure of the German University in Prague.
- 25 Oct.** The city president of Wroclaw, formerly Breslau, announces that the 250,000 Germans still in Wroclaw will be evicted to Germany at the rate of 4,000 a week and that within 6 months it will be the second city in Poland.
- 28 Oct.** The newly elected Czechoslovak Provisional National Assembly meets in Prague, and confirms Dr Beneš as president of Czechoslovakia. President Beneš declares that the only possible solution to the German problem is the total expulsion of all Czech Germans. 'They must go. In the interest of the peoples and the peace of Europe, there can be no other solution'. The Hungarian problem also had to be solved but rather on the basis of an exchange of populations.
- 4 Nov.** A special Hungarian High Court finds Laszlo de Bardossy, a former prime minister, guilty of high treason for involving the country in the War against the will of the Hungarian people. He is executed on 10 January 1946.
- 23 Nov.** The same Court finds Dr Béla de Imredy, a former prime minister and foreign minister, similarly guilty of high treason. He is executed on 28 February 1946.

1946

- 6 Feb.** General Milan Nedič, the collaborationist wartime prime minister of Serbia, commits suicide before being tried as a war criminal.
- 1 Mar.** The Hungarian High Court finds Ferenc Szalassi, the leader of the Hungarian Nazi Arrow Cross and a former prime minister, guilty of high treason. He is hanged on 12 March.
 Nine members of his cabinet, including Dr Sandor Csia of the Regency Council, are also hanged between March and May.
- 22 Mar.** The same Court finds Major-General Doeme Sztojaj, a former prime minister and ambassador to Berlin, guilty of high treason. He is shot by a firing squad on 24 August.
- 29 Apr.–31 Jul.** Five leading ministers in the wartime government of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, including Professor Jaroslav Krejci, its prime minister, are tried in Prague as collaborators. Four are found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment, with Krejci receiving a term of 25 years.
- 22 May** Karl Hermann Frank, a Sudeten German and wartime Reichs-Protector of Bohemia and Moravia, is publicly hanged as a war criminal in the courtyard of the Pancrac Prison in Prague in front of 5,000 people. They include the survivors of Lidice who had been specifically invited to be present, as Frank had been found guilty of responsibility for ordering the massacre.
- 1 Jun.** General Ion Antonescu, former *conducator* of Romania, is executed near Jihlava as a war criminal.
- 17 Jul.** Colonel Draža Mihajlović is executed in Belgrade for high treason, collaboration with the enemy and war crimes. He had admitted that certain of his subordinates had reached accommodation with the enemy, but denied all charges of terrorism. In the words of his final speech: ‘I wanted much ... I began much, but the gale of the world carried me and my work away’.
- 29 Jul.** Dr Bela Tuka, former prime minister of Slovakia, is put on trial for high treason, collaboration, the suppression of freedom and crimes against humanity. He is found guilty, and hanged on 20 August.
- 30 Sep.** The trial opens in Zagreb of Cardinal Stepinać, Archbishop of Zagreb and the head of the Roman Catholic Church in Croatia. He is to be sentenced to 16 years’ hard labour for collaboration with the Germans, the Italians, and the *Ustaša*, complicity in their crimes and resistance to the new Communist government of Yugoslavia.

- 16 Oct.** Dr Arthur Seyss-Inquart, the Austrian Nazi leader, is hanged at Nuremberg with nine other leading Nazis.
- 28 Nov.** Dr Ludwig Fischer, the wartime governor of Warsaw, Josef Meisinger, the SS chief in Warsaw, and Max Daume, the German chief of police, are put on trial in Warsaw on charges of ordering the massacre of some 500,000 Jews in the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto, the execution of thousands of Polish patriots and the systematic destruction of Polish culture. They are found guilty, and hanged in Warsaw on 7 March 1947.
- 2 Dec.** Msgr Jozef Tiso, former president of Slovakia, is put on trial for high treason, collaboration, the suppression of freedom and crimes against humanity. He is found guilty, and hanged in Bratislava on 18 April 1947.

1947

- 30 Jan.–21 Apr.** Rudolf Beran, Czechoslovak prime minister after Munich, and General Jan Sirový, interim prime minister who demobilised the Army after the decision to cede the Sudetenland, are tried in Prague for collaboration and sharing responsibility for the destruction of the prewar Czechoslovak Republic. They are found guilty and each sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment.
- 11 Mar.** Rudolf Hoess, commandant of the Oswiecim (Auschwitz) concentration camp, is put on trial before a Polish tribunal in Warsaw on charges of responsibility for the murder of 4 million Jews from all parts of German-occupied Europe, of another 300,000 inmates and of 12,000 Soviet prisoners-of-war. Hoess accepts full responsibility and maintains that he would have burned or gassed his own children if ordered to do so.
 He is hanged on his own gallows in Oswiecim on 15 April.
 A further 23 members of the staff at Oswiecim are sentenced to death in Kraków on 22 December 1947.

1995

- 8 Mar.** The Czech Constitutional Court upholds the Beneš decrees of 1945 which had evicted the Sudeten Germans and deprived them of their property.

3.5 COMMUNISM

3.5.1 The post-war consolidation of Communist power

1945

- 22 Aug.** Having failed to persuade the Groz(e)a government to resign, King Michael of Romania appeals to the American, British and Soviet governments for help in establishing a government which they will recognise and which will permit the signature of peace treaties and admission to the United Nations.
- 23 Aug.** King Michael breaks off all relations with the Groz(e)a government and refuses to sign any of its decrees. He does, however, continue to maintain friendly relations with the Soviet representatives in Romania.
- 20 Oct.** Constantin Brătianu, the leader of the Romanian National Liberals, maintains of the Groz(e)a government that 'this government, which bears all the stigmata of dictatorship, constitutes a real danger both to internal order and to the foreign position of Romania'.
He maintains that 'it is certain that the government has no credit in any of the country's social categories'.
- 25 Oct.** Dr Iuliu Maniu, the leader of the Romanian National Peasant Party, maintains that:

The Groz(e)a government is the most hateful Romania has ever possessed ... It holds its power solely thanks to its armed guards, censorship, and a regime of terror such as Romania has never known. It has set up concentration camps for its political opponents and all prisons are now full of members of the National Peasant and National Liberal Parties, while newly recruited police agents are maltreating and torturing political prisoners. Anarchy rules in Romania. Those Romanians who became notorious under the dictatorship, by transferring their allegiance to the Communist Party, escaped punishment as war criminals and now exercise a new dictatorship through their ministerial positions in this so-called democratic regime. (Source: *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, p. 7664)

- 4 Nov.** The first post-war Hungarian general election is held fairly and freely. The Smallholders Party wins with 245 seats, followed by the Communists with 70, the Socialists with 69, the National Peasants with 23 and the Democrats with 2.
- 11 Nov.** The Yugoslav general elections are won by Marshal Tito's 'People's Front' with 90 per cent of the vote. There had been a single list of 510 candidates of which 470 were Communists and the balance Communist-sponsored.
- 18 Nov.** The Bulgarian general elections are won by the government with 86 per cent of the vote, as against 12 per cent for the unofficial opposition comprising a single list of candidates headed by Nikola Petkov, the leader of the Agrarians. The elections had been postponed so as to enable the four opposition groups to become legal political parties, but they had boycotted the elections on the grounds that no free elections were possible while the ministries of the interior and justice were Communist-controlled.
- Colonel Georgiev forms a second 'Fatherland Front' government comprising five Communists, five *Zveno* members, four Agrarians, one Social Democrat and one Radical.
- 2 Dec.** The Democratic Front wins 93.18 per cent of the votes in the Albanian national elections, which are described by western correspondents as being held in a free and orderly atmosphere.

1946

- 4 Jan.** Following negotiations with the Allies, the Romanian opposition parties agree to appoint representatives to join the government. The government, however, rejects the nominations of Constantin Brătianu and Ion Michalache the following day on the grounds that they are 'reactionaries'. Alternative nominations are accepted on 7 January.
- 25 Feb.** Negotiations between the Polish National Peasant Party (PSL) and other parties for an electoral bloc with a single list of candidates for the forthcoming elections break down.
- 11 Mar.** The Romanian Social Democratic Party resolves by a large majority to put forward election candidates on joint lists with the Communists and other left-wing groups of the National Democratic Front. The Party leader, Titel Petrescu, opposes the decision and announces his decision to re-found the Party.
- 12 Mar.** Following a security police raid on PSL headquarters, the Polish government alleges that documents have been found showing that the PSL had been in touch with 'imprisoned terrorists'.

- 21–22 Apr.** The German Communist and Social Democratic Parties in the Soviet Zone merge at a Unification Congress in Berlin to form the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands – SED*).
- 28 Apr.** The National Peasant Party leaves the Polish government and goes into opposition.
- 26 May** The Czechoslovak general elections are won by the Communists with 38 per cent of the vote and the support of some other left-wing groups. A Communist-led coalition government is formed.
- 29 May** Dr G. M. Dimitrov, the former leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, is sentenced to life imprisonment for ‘undermining the morale of the Bulgarian Army during the 1944 campaign against Germany’.
- 28 Jun.** Kristu Pastukhov, the veteran Bulgarian Social Democrat leader, is sentenced to 5 years’ imprisonment for criticising a speech to the Bulgarian Army by the prime minister, Georgi Dimitrov.
- 30 Jun.** Poland holds a referendum on three questions designed to assess ‘whether the policy of [successively] the National Council, the Polish Committee of National Liberation and the provisional Government of National Unity is in harmony with the will of the people’. The three questions are: are you for the abolition of the Senate; are you for making permanent through the future constitution the economic system instituted by land reform and nationalisation of basic industries, with maintenance of the rights of private initiative; and are you for the Polish western frontiers as fixed on the Baltic and on the Oder and Neisse?
- The final results announced on 12 July are all in the affirmative. Stanisław Mikołajczyk, leader of the National Peasant Party, had protested on 1 July, however, that there had been irregularities in the vote.
- 14 Jul.** The new Romanian electoral law extends the vote to women for the first time.
- 22 Sep.** Poland adopts an electoral law providing for free, private ballots. Economic and other collaborators are disenfranchised. Stanisław Mikołajczyk opposes the law, alleging that it would prevent his party from obtaining fair representation.
- 27 Oct.** The Bulgarian general elections are won by the Communists with 277 seats in the *Sobranje* as against 69 for the Agrarians, nine for the Social Democrats, eight for *Zveno* and one for the Radicals. Turnout is 96 per cent, and the elections are conducted in a quiet and orderly manner. The Independent Agrarian leader, Nikola Petkov, maintains, however, that the election campaign has been conducted in an atmosphere of terror.

The principal issue in the elections had been the proposed new constitution which would proclaim a People's Republic. The opposition wishes to retain the 1879 constitution, but with the monarch replaced by a president.

19 Nov. The Romanian general elections are won by the government bloc, the National Democratic Front, with 70 per cent of the vote. The National Democratic Front comprises the Liberals of Gheorghe Tatărescu, the foreign minister, with 75 seats, the Social Democrats, also with 75, the Communists with 73, the Ploughmen's Front (*Frontul Plugarilor*) with 70, the National People's Party with 26, dissident National Peasants with 20 and others with nine.

The opposition comprises the National Peasant Party with 32 seats, the National Liberals with three, the Democratic Peasant Party with two and the Hungarian People's Union with 29.

Constantin Brătianu and Titel Petrescu are both defeated.

22 Nov. Georgi Dimitrov, the Bulgarian Communist leader, forms a third 'Fatherland Front' Government. It comprises nine Communists, five Agrarians, two Social Democrats, two *Zveno* members and an independent Communist. The former prime minister, Colonel Kimon Georgiev (*Zveno*) becomes foreign minister.

5 Dec. Dr Maniu informs the president of the Romanian National Assembly that the National Peasant Party regards the elections as null and void, and will boycott the new parliament accordingly.

10 Dec. Dr Maniu maintains that the National Peasant Party alone had actually won 70 per cent of the vote in the Romanian elections and that the National Democratic Front had won not more than 16 per cent.

31 Dec. It is announced in Budapest that a significant number of Army officers and right-wing members of the Smallholders Party have been arrested following the discovery of an alleged conspiracy against the state. (See also section 2.4.)

1947

19 Jan. The government bloc wins 394 of the 444 seats in the *Sejm* in the Polish general elections. The government bloc comprises the Polish Workers (Communist) Party (PPL), the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), the Democratic Party (SP) and a dissenting portion of the Peasant Party (PS). The four parties had previously agreed on the allocation of seats between them.

23 Jan. Stanisław Mikołajczyk declares that he will appeal to the Supreme Court for the elections to be declared null and void.

- 28 Jan.** Ferenc Nagy, the Hungarian prime minister and Smallholders Party leader, declares at a meeting of the Party's Parliamentary Club that the Party will expel those of its members whose actions had 'obscured its progressive and parliamentary character'.
- 31 Jan.** The Hungarian Communist Party executive accuses the Smallholders Party of 'delaying tactics' which are favouring the 'rallying of reactionary forces'. The attacks by the Communists and the Socialists are focused on Béla Kovacs, the Party's Secretary-General.
- 4 Feb.** The political committee of the Smallholders Party expels a further five deputies from the Party and suspends another three, as well as Béla Kovacs, pending further investigation. These reduce the Party's strength in the National Assembly to 203, as against 245 after the elections of November 1945 and 222 after expulsions in 1946. The Party remains the strongest in the Assembly but loses its overall majority.
- 7 Feb.** The new Polish government comprises eight Socialists, including the prime minister, five Communists, five members of the dissenting portion of the Peasants Party, three Democrats, two Catholic Labour and one non-party member.
- 7 Feb.** László Rajk, the Hungarian Communist minister of the interior, asks the National Assembly to withdraw the parliamentary immunity enjoyed by Béla Kovacs, Secretary-General of the Smallholders Party, so as to permit his arrest. It is alleged that he had known of an 'underground organisation' and of the plan to form a counter-revolutionary government.
- The Smallholders reject the charges, while admitting that some Party members had aimed to overthrow the regime.
- 20 Feb.** Béla Kovacs voluntarily resigns his party offices, asserting that he had had no involvement in the conspiracy but accepted a measure of political responsibility.
- 25 Feb.** Béla Kovacs is arrested by the Soviet military authorities and charged with 'organising secret armed anti-Soviet terrorist groups'. The Americans protest to the Soviet government and the Soviet chairman of the Allied Control Commission at what they describe as 'unjustified Russian interference in Hungarian internal affairs'.
- 12 Mar.** Following Communist and Socialist pressure, Ferenc Nagy, the Hungarian prime minister, forms a new coalition government with three fewer Smallholder ministers. A further five deputies are expelled. The new coalition's programme includes the abolition of compulsory religious education in schools and the regulation of the relations between church and state.

- 5 May** The Romanian ministry of the interior announces that a number of people have been arrested on charges of conspiring to overthrow the regime, subversion and sabotage.
- 31 May** Ferenc Nagy resigns as Hungarian prime minister following Soviet assertions that Béla Kovacs had implicated him in the counter-revolutionary plot. The new prime minister, Lajós Dinnyés, also of the Smallholders Party, accuses his predecessors of having been surrounded by a ‘clique who desired the restoration of reactionary rule in Hungary’. Ferenc Nagy is expelled from the Party on 4 June.
- 6 Jun.** Nikola Petkov, leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, a bastion of anti-Communist sentiment, and leader of the Opposition in the *Sobranje*, is arrested as he leaves the *Sobranje* building. He is accused of conspiring to overthrow the government by armed force.
- The American and British representatives in Sofia protest at the banning of *Narodno Zemedelsko Zname* and *Svoboden Narod*, the organs of the Agrarian and Social Democrat Parties respectively.
- 10 Jun.** The Hungarian minister of justice, István Riesz, announces that under the new electoral law, about 500,000 people, or some 10 per cent of the previous electorate, will lose the vote, including all those sentenced for ‘crimes against democracy’, ‘collaborationists’ and those who had returned from western Europe since 1 January.
- 12 Jun.** The *Sobranje* resolves by a large majority to unseat 23 Agrarian Party deputies because they had earlier written ‘unconstitutional letters of loyalty’ to Nikola Petkov. The deputies are to be replaced by an equal number from the Party’s electoral list.
- 15 Jul.** Dr Maniu, Ion Michalache and other leaders of the Romanian National Peasant Party are arrested, and the Party newspaper, *Dreptatea*, banned. Dr Maniu is accused of directing a plot to overthrow the regime. He is to be found guilty on 11 November and sentenced to life imprisonment. (See also section 2.4.)
- 29 Jul.** The Romanian government officially dissolves the National Peasant Party of Dr Iuliu Maniu. Its representatives continue to sit in parliament as independents.
- 5–16 Aug.** The trial of Nikola Petkov in Sofia ends with his condemnation to death. His four co-defendants, who unlike him had pleaded guilty, receive prison sentences of 5–15 years. He is hanged on 23 September.
- The proceedings are denounced by the American and British governments.

- 26 Aug.** The *Sobranje* approves legislation dissolving the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, alleging that it had become ‘a centre for fascist forces seeking revenge’ and was responsible for ‘terrorist sabotage and diversionist acts aimed at provoking the foreign occupation of Bulgaria’.
- 5 Oct.** The Communist Parties of nine European countries, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia (together with France and Italy) decide in Warsaw to establish a Communist Information Bureau based in Belgrade to ‘organise the exchange of experiences’ and ‘where necessary to co-ordinate the activities of the Communist parties on the basis of mutual agreement’. The text bitterly attacks ‘American imperialism’ and the western Social Democrat and Labour parties, particularly in Britain and France.
- The new ‘Cominform’ is seen in the west as a renewal of the Communist International (Comintern) which had been closed down in 1943.
- 26 Oct.** Stanisław Mikolajczyk, the leader of the Polish National Peasant Party, flees Poland.
- 22 Nov.** The Bulgarian Communist Party introduces a law in the *Sobranje* whereby the ‘Fatherland Front’ will be turned into a single ‘people’s organisation’ and the government will be authorised to nationalise all remaining private industries.
- 4 Dec.** The *Sobranje* adopts the proposed new constitution and proclaims Bulgaria a ‘People’s Republic’.
- 11 Dec.** Georgi Dimitrov forms a fourth ‘Fatherland Front’ government following the enactment of the new Bulgarian constitution. The new government comprises 14 Communists, five Agrarians, two Social Democrats and two *Zveno* members.
- 30 Dec.** King Michael abdicates, and Romania becomes officially the Romanian People’s Republic.

1948

- 13 Jan.** The small Bulgarian opposition opposes the government’s budget in the *Sobranje*. The prime minister, Georgi Dimitrov, reminds them that the executed Agrarian Party leader, Nikola Petkov, is ‘under the ground’ and tells them: ‘If you have not been wise in the past and do not try to gain wisdom you will receive a lesson that you will remember until you meet Saint Peter’. He continues that if the Americans and the British ‘had not intervened ... the death sentence [on Nikola Petkov] could have been commuted to other punishment’.

- 17 Feb.** Underlying tensions come to a head at a cabinet meeting of the Czechoslovak 'National Front' coalition government. The Communist ministers insist on immediate and extensive measures of nationalisation, and the non-Communists protest at the appointment of Communists to important security service posts in contravention of agreed cabinet policy.
- 18 Feb.** The Czechoslovak Communist Party accuses the non-Communist parties in the coalition government of provoking a crisis in the cabinet, of delaying the government's programme by 'dilatatory' tactics and of working to overthrow the coalition before the May general elections.
- 21 Feb.** The Czech National Socialist Party of President Beneš, the People's Party and the Slovak Democratic Party decide to withdraw from the cabinet in view of the minister of the interior's refusal to rescind his security service appointments.
- The Czechoslovak Communist Party urges President Beneš to accept the ministers' resignations and expresses the belief that the Social Democratic Party would 'find it necessary to remain in the government at the side of the Communist Party for the sake of the realisation of the Government's programme'. The President, however, declines to allow ministers of any party to resign before general elections.
- 22 Feb.** The Czechoslovak Communist Party leader, Klement Gottwald, addresses a mass Party demonstration in Wenceslas Square, Prague, and calls for the establishment throughout the country of 'Action Committees' to form the basis of a 'new National Front'.
- 25 Feb.** President Beneš reluctantly accepts the resignations of the 12 ministers and the formation of a new coalition government, in which Communist ministers hold half the cabinet posts and most of the major ones. He also releases the text of a letter to the Praesidium of the Communist Party the previous day in which he had written: 'It is clear to me that Socialism is the way of life desired by an overwhelming part of our nation. At the same time I believe that with Socialism a certain measure of freedom and unity is possible, and that these are the vital principles of our national life'.
- The Communists, with 144 seats, have a working majority in coalition with the Social Democrats, who have 39, in the 300-seat National Assembly.
- 2 Mar.** Dr Cepicka, the Czechoslovak minister of justice, issues the first official order on the role of the 'Action Committees'. They are to be recognised as the 'supreme organs on cultural and political

matters', and their chief task is to 'cleanse' the Czech National Socialist, People's and Slovak Democratic Parties. A Central Action Committee is to be formed in Prague to create at all levels 'organisations of reliable persons' whose duty it would be to 'remove everyone whose loyalty is doubtful', and that until that process was complete, the parties to be 'cleansed' were not to be allowed to form new party associations. Only the Central Action Committee and the political committees to 'cleanse' the parties are envisaged as permanent.

11 Mar. The Czechoslovak prime minister swears in a new Slovak Board of Commissioners. It is predominantly Communist and led by Dr Gustav Husák.

9 Apr. All parties in the Czechoslovak 'National Front' government agree to present a single list of candidates for the forthcoming elections 'to confirm the results of the events of February in a democratic, constitutional and parliamentary fashion'.

10 Apr. The executive committee of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party votes unanimously to merge with the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

9 May Czechoslovakia adopts a new constitution, declaring it a 'Democratic People's Republic'.

30 May The Czechoslovak general elections produce 6,431,963 votes for the governing 'National Front', as against 772,293 blank votes, the only legally permitted alternative. About 78.3 per cent of the seats in the new Assembly are held by the Communists and Social Democrats.

7 Jun. President Beneš refuses to sign Czechoslovakia's new constitution and resigns.

8 Dec. The political committee of the Hungarian Smallholders Party declares that the Party must be purged of its 'bourgeois' elements.

15–21 Dec. The Polish Workers' (Communist) and Socialist Parties merge at a congress in Warsaw as the Polish United Workers' Party.

1949

19 Feb. The Bulgarian *Zveno* party of Colonel Kimon Georgiev, following the example of the Radical Party, resolves to discontinue its existence as an independent party and to merge into the 'Fatherland Front'. Its members should 'support the establishment of socialism in Bulgaria'. The 'Fatherland Front' henceforth consists of only the Communist and Social Democratic Parties.

- 2 Apr.** The American and British governments protest to the Romanian government at its violation of the peace treaty by allegedly curtailing in a systematic manner the fundamental freedoms of expression, press and publication, of political opinion and of religious worship.
- 15 May** The People's Independence Front, comprising five parties under the direction of the United Workers Party, on a single list wins 95.6 per cent of the vote in the Hungarian general elections. The new parliament comprises: United Workers Party 270 seats, Smallholders 62, National Peasants 30, Independent Democrats 12 and Radicals four.
- 18 Aug.** The National Assembly approves a new Hungarian constitution modelled on the Soviet constitution of 1936 and paralleled in the other 'people's democracies'. It declares the Hungarian People's Republic a state of the workers and working peasants which 'organises all forces of society for the struggle for socialism'. Natural resources, banking, transport, public utilities and the chief industries are declared to be the property of the state.
The national flag is revised to feature a five-pointed red star rather than the former coat-of-arms.
- Early Oct.** Around 10,000–50,000 people are arrested in Czechoslovakia in a purge of 'unreliable', predominantly middle-class elements.
- 12 Oct.** The first East German government is announced under Otto Grotewohl of the SED, which has a clear majority in the government of ten to eight.
- 18 Dec.** The single list of candidates presented by the 'Fatherland Front' wins 98.89 per cent of the vote in the Bulgarian general elections. The proportion of party strengths within the list was pre-arranged. The new *Sobranje* comprises 156 Communists, 48 Agrarians, and 35 Independents, and the new cabinet 22 Communists, three Agrarians and one Independent.

1950

- 31 May** The trial opens in Prague of 13 leading figures, including prominent members of the Czech National Socialist, Social Democratic and Catholic People's Parties, on charges of high treason and espionage. All plead guilty. All are found guilty on 8 June, and Jan Buchal, Milana Horakova, Professor Zavis Kalandra and Dr Oldřich Pecl are sentenced to death.

1951

- 3 Mar.** The new Politburo of the Hungarian United Workers Party contains only one former Socialist – Sandor Ronai, the national president.

1952

- 30 May** The dismissal of Dr Jan Sevcik as vice-prime minister and minister for physical culture marks the removal of the last non-Communist Czechoslovak vice-prime minister.
- 9 Jul.** Walter Ulbricht announces that the Central Committee of the SED has decided that ‘the planned construction of socialism should begin’ in East Germany. He adds, in accordance with Stalinist orthodoxy, that ‘the intensification of the class struggle is inevitable’.
- 22 Jul.** Poland adopts a new constitution, modelled on the Soviet constitution of 1936, whereby the country becomes officially the Polish People’s Republic (*Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa*).
- 24 Sep.** Romania adopts a new constitution modelled on the Soviet constitution of 1936. The new constitution emphasises more strongly than that of 1948 Romania’s links with the Soviet Union.
- 30 Nov.** Romania holds elections for a new Grand National Assembly. There is only one candidate, representing the People’s Democratic Front, in each constituency.

3.5.2 The purges and the show trials

1948

- 5 Sep.** The Polish president, Boleslaw Bierut, resumes an openly party political role and himself replaces Władysław Gomulka as Secretary-General of the Polish Communist Party. The Party executive’s eight-point programme includes: the ‘purification’ of the Party by the removal of all those suspected of ‘questionable loyalty’ or of ‘rightist and nationalist deviation’; stricter Party discipline; continued opposition to American imperialism and its agents; the removal of ‘bureaucracy’ from within the Party; and more ‘self-criticism’ by Party members.
- 7 Sep.** Władysław Gomulka declares to a Party meeting in Warsaw that he had been guilty of ‘rightist and nationalist deviation’ and had been wrong on the subject of Yugoslavia.

20–23 Sep. The Polish Socialist Party meets in conference in Warsaw to ‘eliminate faults and deviations’ within the Party. It dismisses 15 members of its central committee for ‘nationalism’, ‘deviationism’ and allegedly opposing the proposed merger with the Communists. Amongst those dismissed is Eduard Osubka-Morawski, prime minister from the liberation until January 1947.

10 Dec. It is reported that the Albanian government has conducted a widespread purge of officials deemed sympathetic to Titoism. They include Lt-Gen. Kochi Dodze, formerly vice-prime minister, minister of the interior and secretary of the Albanian Communist Party.

1949

26–27 Mar. The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party remove Traicho Kostov, vice-prime minister since the establishment of the ‘Fatherland Front’ government and formerly Secretary-General of the Communist Party, from the Politburo and from his government posts. He had allegedly pursued an ‘insincere and unfriendly policy towards the Soviet Union’ in the course of trade negotiations, shown a ‘nationalist deviation’ and ‘ignored the party leadership’. He is later made director of the National Library.

He is, though, to be expelled from the Communist Party on 14 June and from the *Sobranje* on 17 June.

19 Jun. Twenty people, including László Rajk, are arrested in Hungary on charges of spying for a foreign power.

16 Sep. László Rajk, formerly Hungarian foreign minister and interior minister and member of the Politburo of the Hungarian Communist Party, is accused in Budapest with seven other leading figures of conspiring with Yugoslavia to overthrow the government, with plotting to assassinate Matyas Rákosi, the Communist Party leader, and with conducting espionage on behalf of Yugoslavia and the west. He pleads, and is found, guilty and is hanged with two others of the accused on 15 October.

29 Sep. Traicho Kostov, together with ten others, is charged in Sofia with high treason, espionage and conspiracy to overthrow the regime. The 11 are tried on 7–14 December and found guilty. Traicho Kostov is sentenced to death and executed on 16 December; the other accused are sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment.

1950

- 5 May** Dr Gustav Husák is dismissed as chairman of the Slovak Board of Commissioners. He is later accused of promoting ‘Slovak separatism’.

1951

- 22 Feb.** Josef Frank, a member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party praesidium, announces to the Central Committee that 169,544 members had been expelled from the Czechoslovak Party in the previous 6 months following extensive ‘screenings’ which would remain a feature of Party discipline. The attitude to the Party and to the Soviet Union would be paramount. As a result, Party membership stood at 1,677,433, as against more than 2 million 12 months earlier.
- 22 Feb.** President Gottwald claims in a speech to the central committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party that Dr Vladimir Clementis, foreign minister until March 1950, Otto Sling, Communist Party Secretary in Brno until November 1950 and allegedly a British agent, and Marie Svermova, Assistant Secretary-General of the Communist Party and the widow of a war-time resistance leader, are the leaders of a plot to dominate the Communist Party, overthrow the regime and seize power. It is announced 5 days later that Dr Clementis had been arrested during an extensive Party purge and was to be charged with espionage, treachery and working for the establishment of a separate Slovak republic.
- 14 Mar.** General Reicin, deputy Czechoslovak defence minister, and Colonel Kopold, a member of the General Staff and son-in-law of Marie Svermova, are arrested for complicity in the Clementis plot.
- 24 Apr.** Rudolf Slánský, Secretary-General of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, declares that the Party has been ‘too lenient’ to those who joined it for ‘opportunist’ motives, and that the purge would continue ‘without mercy’ until all ‘anti-Bolshevik ideas and deviations from Marxism–Leninism’ had been eliminated.
- 7 Sep.** The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party abolishes the post of Secretary-General, previously held by Rudolf Slánský, but makes him a member of the new Party praesidium. He is appointed a vice-prime minister 2 days later.
- 23 Nov.** Rudolf Slánský is arrested and charged with treason.

1952

- 27 Nov.** Rudolf Slánský, and ten other Party officials, are sentenced to death at the end of a ‘show trial’ in Prague on charges of high treason, espionage and sabotage against the state. A further three officials are sentenced to life imprisonment. It is alleged that Slánský had wanted Czechoslovakia to follow the Yugoslav path and was the real leader of the Clementis plot. He had pleaded guilty and is executed on 3 December.

1954

- 14 Apr.** Lucretiu Patrascanu, a former Romanian minister of justice, is sentenced to death by a military court in Bucharest on charges of treason.
- 14 Jul.** East Germany announces that Dr Karl Hamann, formerly Liberal minister of supply, has been sentenced to 10 years’ imprisonment for having ‘sabotaged the nations’ food supply’. He had been dismissed and arrested in December 1952. He is to be pardoned in October 1956.
- 10 Oct.** It is announced that Vasile Luca, a former Romanian deputy prime minister and minister of finance, has been sentenced by a military court in Bucharest to hard labour for life. He had been charged with forming an anti-state organisation to disrupt the economy and hinder the construction of socialism.

3.5.3 The struggle between church and state

1946

- 30 Sep.** The trial opens in Zagreb of Cardinal Stepinac, Archbishop of Zagreb and Roman Catholic primate of Croatia, on charges of wartime collaboration and of resistance to the new Communist government. He is to be sentenced to 16 years’ hard labour. (See section 3.4 for fuller particulars.)

1948

- 9 Aug.** Romania forbids the organisation of any political party on a confessional basis, requires all clergy to take an oath of loyalty to the state, bans foreigners from serving as clergy, lays down that all religious bodies should be maintained from their own national resources and forbids any contacts between Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews and Muslims with their co-religionists abroad except of a religious nature.

1949

- 5 Feb.** Cardinal Josef Mindszenty, Archbishop of Esztergom and Roman Catholic Primate of Hungary, together with six others, is found guilty in Budapest on charges of high treason, conspiracy against the state and illegal currency dealings. In the ‘Yellow Book’ containing his alleged confession, he was said to have aimed for a new federated Central European monarchy under the Habsburgs. He is sentenced to life imprisonment on 8 February.
- 12 Feb.** The Vatican excommunicates all those in any way concerned in the trial of and the ‘iniquitous sentence’ imposed on Cardinal Mindszenty.
- 24 Feb.** A new Bulgarian law lays down that the leadership of each church has a responsibility to the state and that ministers of churches maintaining ‘canonical relations with churches abroad’ cannot take up office without official sanction.
- 25 Feb.** Fifteen pastors of the United Evangelical Churches in Bulgaria are put on trial in Sofia on charges of espionage and high treason. The accused include the respective heads of the Baptist, Congregational, Methodist and Pentecostal churches. All plead guilty, and the leaders are sentenced to life imprisonment.
- The Bulgarian protestant community comprises some 14,000 people only, but is disproportionately represented in education and welfare.
- 13 Jul.** The Apostolic *Acta* of Pope Pius XII condemns all those who support Communism.
- 6 Sep.** A Hungarian decree makes religious instruction no longer compulsory in schools.

1950

- 20 Mar.** Poland nationalises without compensation all Church estates of more than 100 hectares in the provinces of Poznań, Pomerania and Silesia, and of more than 50 hectares elsewhere, together with their livestock, buildings and associated businesses. Farms owned by parish priests are exempted.
- 5 Apr.** Ten leading members of the Czechoslovak religious orders are sentenced in Prague to long terms of imprisonment for treason and espionage.
- 18 Apr.** The Czechoslovak government takes over most of the country’s monasteries and amalgamates the remainder to ‘bring the orders back to their original Christian mission’.
- 1 Jun.** Jozsef Revai, Hungarian minister of education, launches an attack on the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary. He criticises

the bishops for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the state, although they had done so under Admiral Horthy, and for reactionary attitudes. He announces that the government will exercise the right of the Habsburg emperors to approve all appointments to the episcopate.

9 Jun. The Hungarian government initiates the closure of many monasteries and convents, and the requisitioning of their premises, sometimes for use as schools and nurseries.

30 Aug. Archbishop Grosz of Kalocsa and Jozsef Darvas, Hungarian minister of education and religious affairs, sign a church–state agreement. The government recognises freedom of religion and agrees to the retention of some monastic orders and church schools. The church agrees to work with the government, to respect the constitution, not to oppose the agricultural producers’ cooperative movement, and to oppose nuclear weapons.

The Vatican maintains on 12 September that the agreement has been reached ‘in an atmosphere of intimidation and terror prepared with assiduous care’.

7 Sep. The Hungarian government dissolves 59 of Hungary’s 63 religious orders, leaving only the Benedictines, Franciscans, Piarists and a teaching order of nuns. The 63 different orders had owned 636 major buildings, and the church estimates that 10,000 monks and nuns will have to return to secular life.

27 Sep. The People’s Assembly of the Yugoslav constituent republic of Bosnia–Herzegovina bans the wearing of the veil by Muslim women.

1951

10 Mar. Msgr Josef Beran, Archbishop of Prague and Roman Catholic Primate of Czechoslovakia, who had been confined ‘incommunicado’ in his palace in Prague since June 1949, is banished from Prague and fined, for his ‘negative attitude’ to the government’s church laws.

18 Mar. The Vatican excommunicates all those involved ‘either physically or morally’ in the persecution of the Roman Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia. Offences under the excommunication decree include bringing bishops before lay judges.

25 Jun. Archbishop Jozsef Grosz of Kalocsa, acting head of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary, together with eight other Roman Catholic priests and laymen, is found guilty by a Budapest

court of conspiracy to overthrow the government and of illegal currency dealings. He had pleaded guilty and is sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment on 28 June.

- 29 Jun.** The Vatican excommunicates all those who have taken a major part in the trial, arrest and conviction of Archbishop Grosz.
- 21 Jul.** The Hungarian Roman Catholic Bench of Bishops takes an oath of loyalty to the People's Republic in Budapest.
- 14 Sep.** Ten Romanian Roman Catholic priests and laymen, including the Bishop of Timișoara, are found guilty by a military court in Bucharest on charges of espionage and anti-state activities. Four are sentenced to hard labour for life and the Bishop (aged 81) to 18 years' solitary confinement.
- 18 Sep.** The Vatican excommunicates all Romanians who have persecuted, or helped persecute, servants of the Roman Catholic Church.

1952

- 19 Jul.** East Germany enforces its requirement that the churches sever connections with the west by refusing clergymen visas to attend congresses in West Germany.

3.5.4 Orthodoxy and reform 1953–90

1956

- 25 Feb.** Khrushchev's address to the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party denounces Stalin, and enunciates the doctrine of different roads to socialism.
- 18 Apr.** The Cominform is abolished.
- 28 Jun.** The Poznań riots provoke Khrushchev to send a secret circular to all the Communist parties in the Soviet bloc, warning of the Yugoslav example and reasserting that the Soviet is the 'directing Party' and the only valid model for other Communist movements (see section 2.5).
- 1 Nov.** The Hungarian government of the independent Communist, Imre Nagy, seeks neutrality and reform. Nagy had written on the preceding regime of Matyas Rákosi (q.v.):

... cowardice, hypocrisy, servility, falsehood and opportunism are praised as virtues. The degeneration and corruption of public life lead to the corruption of hearts and the degradation of character. The debasement of the soul to be observed in society is

one of the gravest manifestations of the ethical and moral crisis taking place at this moment ... humanism, which should be the characteristic trait of socialism, is repressed and its opposite, a cold inhumanity, reigns in public relations. (Source: *Political Memoirs*, p. 115)

(See also section 2.5.)

1968

5 Jan. The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party replaces Antonin Novotný as First Secretary with Alexander Dubček.

5 Apr. The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party approves an action programme which commits the Party to economic liberalisation, the restoration of the freedom of the press, assembly and travel, more power and independence for the parliament and the non-Communist political parties and more internal party democracy.

The programme maintains that the Party's monopoly on power has arisen 'from the erroneous thesis that the Party is an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat'. It nevertheless rejects multi-party democracy.

8 May 'The Group of Five', comprising Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Union, holds discussions in Moscow on Dubček's liberalisation in Czechoslovakia, 'the Prague Spring'.

14–15 Jul. The 'Group' meets in Warsaw to prepare a joint letter to the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The letter, criticising the liberal reforms, is signed on 17 July.

A reliable Czechoslovak public opinion poll, conducted during the month, finds that only 5 per cent of respondents want a return to capitalism, and 89 per cent want to continue on the road to 'socialism with a human face'.

29 Jul.–2 Aug. The Soviet and Czechoslovak leaderships meet in Cierna, Slovakia. The outcome of the discussions fails to satisfy the Soviet Union, which is particularly apprehensive of the impact of reformism on the adjacent Ukraine.

3 Aug. The 'Group' meets the Czechoslovak leadership in Bratislava.

12 Aug. Walter Ulbricht follows up the letter by meeting Dubček in Karlovy Vary. He receives a cool reception from the Czech crowds.

20 Aug. The armies of the 'Group of Five' invade Czechoslovakia.

26 Sep. The Soviet Communist Party newspaper, *Pravda*, publishes the ‘Brezhnev Doctrine’, as enunciated by Leonid Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party. It maintains that ‘... every Communist Party is responsible not only to its own people but also to all the socialist countries, and to the entire Communist movement. Whoever forgets this by placing sole emphasis on the autonomy and independence of Communist Parties lapses into one-sidedness, shirking his internationalist obligations’.

1969

17 Apr. Alexander Dubček is demoted to the symbolic post of Chairman of the Czechoslovak National Assembly and is replaced as First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party by Dr Gustav Husák.

1980

8 Oct. Erich Honecker claims in an East German television interview that Poland ‘belongs inseparably to the world of socialism, and no one can turn back the wheel of history ... Together with our friends in the socialist camp, we will see to that’.

1981

6 Apr. With regard to Poland, President Husák advises the 16th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party that:

History has taught us what it means to have a good neighbour, a reliable ally. We belong to the same political economic and defensive alliance. We have common objectives, common friends and enemies. We are linked by a thousand and one ties; we have the longest common frontier. That is why we are profoundly anxious to see that the Polish People’s Republic should develop as a firm, orderly and socialist state.

1988

20–22 May A special Conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party replaces János Kádár as Party leader and embraces a radical programme of reform.

20 Jul. Three leading Bulgarian Communist Party reformers (Chudomir Aleksandrov, Stanko Todorov and Stoyan Mikhailov) are dismissed from their posts. The dismissals are interpreted as a conservative backlash orchestrated by Zhivkov as Party leader.

1989

- 7–9 Oct.** The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party dissolves itself at its fourteenth Party Congress at the instigation of Imre Pozsgay and is reconstituted as the Hungarian Socialist Party.
- 18 Oct.** Erich Honecker resigns as First Secretary of the East German SED in favour of Egon Krenz.
- 10 Nov.** Todor Zhivkov is ousted as Bulgaria's Communist Party leader in favour of Petar Mladenov, a reformer.

3.5.5 The reformed Communist Parties since 1990

1990

- Jan.** The Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) is dissolved, and its replacement is the SdRP. The SdRP, however, is only to stand at elections as part of the Polish Democratic Left Alliance (SLD).

1993

- 19 Sep.** The Polish Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), both rooted in the former Communist Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), are the principal victors in Poland's general elections. They obtain 20.4 per cent and 15.4 per cent of the vote respectively.

1994

- 29 May** The Hungarian Socialist Party (*Magyar Szocialista Part – MSzP*), the reformed former Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, wins an overall majority of seats in the National Assembly (*Országgyűlés*) in Hungary's general elections. Its leader, Gyula Horn, becomes prime minister on 15 July.

The Party is again victorious in 2002 and 2006.

- 18 Dec.** The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), the reformed former Bulgarian Communist Party, wins, in alliance with two minor parties, an overall majority of seats in the National Assembly in Bulgaria's general elections. Zhan Videnov becomes prime minister on 25/26 January 1995.

1995

- 1 Mar.** The Polish Democratic Left Alliance, the reformed former Communist Party, achieves power as the leading force in a new coalition government.

19 Nov. Aleksander Kwaśniewski, a former Communist and a member of the last Polish Communist government, defeats Lech Wałęsa in the Polish presidential elections.

1997

18 Jul. The Albanian Socialist Party, the reformed Communist Party, returns to power following the tumultuous general election of June–July.

1998

2 Nov. The Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), the reformed East German Socialist Unity Party, enters into coalition with the Social Democrats to govern the eastern German *Land* (province) of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (West Pomerania).

1999

29 May Slovakia, after more than a year's delay, succeeds in electing a new president. Rudolf Schuster is a former high-ranking Communist official.

2000

8 Oct. The Polish president, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, a former Communist, wins a second 5-year term with 55 per cent of the vote. None of the 11 other contestants, including Lech Wałęsa, wins even a third as many votes.

2001

7 Apr. Vladimir Voronin is chosen by the Moldovan parliament as prime minister following the victory of the Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova (PCRM) in the February 2001 parliamentary elections. He initially seeks closer links with Russia, but after 2005 looks rather to the European Union (EU).

21 Oct. Gregor Gysi, the PDS candidate for the post of Governing Mayor of Berlin, wins nearly 50 per cent of the vote in the former East Berlin. The PDS becomes part of the ruling coalition in the Berlin Senate on 17 January 2002.

2002

14–15 Jun. The Czech Republic's (unreformed) Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) wins 18.5 per cent of the vote and 17 more seats than in 1998 in its best showing in a parliamentary election since 1989.

Its share, though, is to fall to 12.8 per cent in the elections of 2–3 June 2006.

2005

28 Jun. The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) wins Bulgaria's parliamentary elections. Sergei Stanishev becomes prime minister.

3.6 FOREIGN AFFAIRS

3.6.1 Regional agreements and alliances 1919–39

1920

14 Aug. Dr Edvard Beneš of Czechoslovakia signs a Convention of Alliance with Yugoslavia, and soon afterwards comes to a preliminary agreement with Romania. It is the beginning of the future ‘Little Entente’.

1921

10 Feb. France concludes a political alliance with Poland, including a secret military convention whereby France guarantees Poland against aggression.

23 Apr. Czechoslovakia and Romania sign a Convention of Alliance in Bucharest.

7 Jun. Romania and Yugoslavia sign a Convention of Defensive Alliance in Belgrade.

Dec. Dr Johann Schober, the Austrian Chancellor, seeks to establish friendly relations with the successor states of the Austro-Hungarian Empire by signing the Treaty of Lány with Czechoslovakia.

1922

31 Aug. The Treaty of Alliance signed by Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia at Mariánské Lázně completes the Little Entente.

The Entente claims not to be anti-Hungarian, but the two attempts by the former Austro-Hungarian Kaiser Karl to return to Hungary the previous year had raised apprehension.

1923

Mar. The signature of the Treaty of Niš by Bulgaria and Yugoslavia testifies to improved relations between the two countries. They agree

to cooperate in the containment of, in practice Macedonian, terrorism.

1924

- 25 Jan.** France concludes a Treaty of Friendship with Czechoslovakia.
27 Jan. Mussolini, Nikola Pašić the Yugoslav prime minister, and Momčilo Ninčić, the Yugoslav foreign minister, sign the Pact of Rome whereby Yugoslavia recognises the incorporation of Fiume in Italy, although the suburb of Susak becomes Yugoslav. They also sign an agreement not to intervene in Albania's internal affairs.
5 Jul. Italy concludes a Treaty of Friendship with Czechoslovakia.

1925

- 21 Jul.** Italy and Yugoslavia sign the Nettuno Conventions governing mutual economic and social relations. The Croat deputies in the *Skupština* refuse to ratify them claiming that they put the Italians in Dalmatia in a favoured position.
16 Oct. Germany signs the Treaty of Locarno with her former enemies. The treaty guarantees western but not eastern European frontiers.

1926

- 10 Jun.** France concludes a Treaty of Friendship with Romania.
17 Sep. Italy concludes a Treaty of Friendship with Romania.
27 Nov. An Italian–Albanian Treaty of Friendship and Security is signed in Tiranë. It records the interest of both countries in the preservation of the Albanian status quo and commits them to 'mutual support and cordial collaboration'. Neither is to enter into any political or military agreement with a third party at the expense of the other.

The Treaty is deeply resented in Yugoslavia, not least because it had received firm British government backing.

1927

- 4 Apr.** Italy concludes a Treaty of Friendship with Hungary, having failed to woo either Czechoslovakia or Romania from the Little Entente.
11 Nov. A Franco-Yugoslav Treaty of Friendship is signed in response to the Italian–Albanian Pact of the previous year. It is a modest document with no military content, but it enrages Italy.

22 Nov. Albania and Italy sign a formal 20-year defensive military alliance in Tiranë to counter the Franco-Yugoslav Treaty.

1928

5 Jun. Mussolini, in a dramatic speech to the Italian Senate, urges revision of the post-war treaties, notably Trianon. His speech is greeted with wild enthusiasm in Hungary, and it marks the real opening of the abyss between Italy and the Little Entente.

1932

25 Jan. Poland signs a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union.

23 Nov. The Soviet government breaks off negotiations for a non-aggression pact with Romania because Romania will not allow the question of Bessarabia (their common frontier) to be discussed. Both France and Poland had urged Romania to conclude such a pact.

1933

15 Feb. Alarmed by the rise of Hitler, the foreign ministers of the Little Entente (Beneš for Czechoslovakia, Titulescu for Romania, and Jevtić for Yugoslavia) sign a new accord in Geneva. It confirms their determination to resist any attempt to destroy existing treaties and commits them to not signing any treaty with a third party without consulting the other two member states. The Entente also establishes a permanent secretariat in Geneva..

15 Feb. Mussolini maintains that French reports of a German–Hungarian–Italian treaty of alliance are ‘a complete invention’.

16 Feb. The Little Entente of Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia is reinforced by the creation of a permanent council which is to meet at least three times annually. The ambition of Edvard Beneš, the Czechoslovak foreign minister, to make the Entente the starting-point for close cooperation between all the Danubian nations founders, however, on the failure to reconcile Hungary, which can continue to rely on the protection of at least one of the major powers.

18 Mar. Mussolini formally proposes a Four-Power Pact of Britain, France, Germany and Italy, and indicates informally that they should determine European affairs, including frontier revisions, between them. Following intense opposition from the Little Entente and Poland, France insists on such amendments to the Pact, which is initialled on 7 June, that the final version has little practical significance.

1934

- 26 Jan.** Poland signs a 10-year non-aggression pact with Germany.
- 9 Feb.** Romania and Yugoslavia, together with Greece and Turkey, sign the Treaty establishing the Balkan Entente (Pact). The Entente is a response to common fears of Italian expansionism and hostility to Bulgarian terrorism. Although neither Albania nor Bulgaria is invited, the Treaty leaves open the possibility of accession by other Balkan countries. Although not a party to the Treaty, Czechoslovakia gives it strong support as the basis for a diplomatic front against external interference for all the Balkan states.
- The Treaty contains a 'secret clause', of which the British, French and Italians are advised, that if a signatory should be attacked by a non-Balkan power, and the latter be joined by a Balkan power, then the other signatories would declare war on the Balkan power.
- In practice, however, the Entente never becomes more than an alliance against Bulgaria.
- Feb.** Marshal Piłsudski sends Colonel Beck, Polish foreign minister, to Moscow, where the existing Soviet–Polish non-aggression pact is extended to 31 December 1945.
- 17 Mar.** The Rome Protocols are signed, allowing for regular consultations on policy between Austria, Hungary and Italy.
- 19 May** The Bulgarian military coup raises fears in Greece that the new government will try to revise the Treaty of Neuilly, but hopes in Yugoslavia that it will help to suppress terrorism in Macedonia. In practice, the new government is to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards its Balkan neighbours.
- 9 Jun.** Czechoslovakia, Romania and the Permanent Council of the Little Entente jointly recognise the Soviet Union.
- 21 Jun.** The French foreign minister, M. Barthou, advises King Carol on a visit to Romania that France will withdraw its diplomatic and financial support if he suppresses democracy and aligns Romania with the fascist states. The security of her frontiers would then be at risk. Nevertheless, M. Barthou is made an honorary Romanian citizen and declares: 'Your frontiers have been, are, and will be, always yours. Know that if a square centimetre of your territory is attacked, France will be at your side'.
- 12 Sep.** The foreign ministers of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania sign the Baltic Pact, a treaty of understanding and collaboration.
- 30 Sep.** The kings of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and their foreign ministers conclude a pact establishing closer economic and cultural relations between the two countries.

1935

- 16 May** Dr Beneš for Czechoslovakia signs a treaty of mutual assistance with the Soviet Union in Prague.

1936

- 14 Sep.** Romania and Yugoslavia sign a defence pact whereby all Yugoslav air force and naval liquid fuels will be supplied by Romania in return for Yugoslav raw materials for the Romanian arms industry. Romania will also supply common aircraft fuel and oil for Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in the interests of standardisation amongst the armies of the Little Entente.
- 1 Dec.** The parliaments of the states comprising the Little Entente, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia, hold their first joint sitting, in Bucharest. They proclaim a parliamentary union to complement their existing military cooperation, and emphasise their total opposition to any revision of the peace treaties.

1937

- 24 Jan.** The prime ministers of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, Dr Kiosseivanov and Dr Stojadinović, sign a non-aggression pact between their two countries in Belgrade. It is the culmination of a process of reconciliation initiated by the exchange of royal visits 3 years previously, prior to which the two countries had been almost in a state of war. Yugoslavia hopes that Bulgaria will in due course become a member of the Balkan Entente.
- 26 Mar.** Count Ciano, the Italian foreign minister, and Dr Stojadinović, the Yugoslav prime minister, sign an Italian–Yugoslav political treaty and a new trade treaty.
- 1–2 Apr.** Romania and Yugoslavia refuse a Czechoslovak request that the Little Entente pledge full military aid to any member which is threatened by aggression. It marks the end of the Entente's political importance.
- 7 May** The Little Entente Parliamentary Union holds its first formal meeting, in Belgrade.

1938

- 31 Jul.** A non-aggression agreement is signed in Thessaloniki, Greece, between General Metaxas, as president of the council of the Balkan Entente, comprising Greece, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia, and Dr Kiosseivanov, the Bulgarian prime minister. The participants

renounce any recourse to force in their mutual relations, but also cancel the limitations in the Treaties of Neuilly and Lausanne on Bulgaria's right to re-arm and to deploy troops in the frontier zone with Greece and Turkey.

- 23 Aug.** The Bled Conference, between representatives of the Little Entente and of Hungary, recognises Hungary's right to re-arm, but the participants renounce any recourse to force in their mutual relations.

1939

- 24 Feb.** Hungary signs the Anti-Comintern Pact.
18 Mar. Germany and Slovakia sign a treaty of collaboration.

3.6.2 Wartime allegiances

1940

- 20 Nov.** The Hungarian prime and foreign ministers, Count Teleki and Count Csaky, sign the Tripartite (Axis) Pact in Vienna in the presence of Hitler.
 Consideration of major policy issues is, however, confined under the Pact to the original signatories: Germany, Italy and Japan.
- 23 Nov.** The Romanian and Slovak prime ministers, General Antonescu and Dr Tuka, sign the Tripartite (Axis) Pact in Berlin.
- 12 Dec.** The Hungarian and Yugoslav foreign ministers sign in Belgrade a 'pact of lasting peace and eternal friendship'.

1941

- 1 Mar.** The Bulgarian prime minister, Professor Bogdan Filov, signs the Tripartite (Axis) Pact in Vienna.
- 25 Mar.** The Yugoslav prime minister, Dragiša Cvetković, and his foreign minister sign the Tripartite (Axis) Pact in Vienna in the presence of Hitler. Major protests erupt in Belgrade and across the country.
- 3 Apr.** The Hungarian prime minister, Count Teleki, commits suicide by shooting himself in the head at dawn. He had been unable to reconcile the pact, signed with Yugoslavia under his auspices in the December, with German demands for active cooperation in the invasion of that country.
- 18 Jul.** The Czechoslovak government-in-exile and the Soviet Union sign an Agreement in London on joint action in the war against Germany.
- 25 Nov.** Bulgaria signs the Anti-Comintern Pact.

1942

- 28 Mar.** The Bulgarian prime minister, Professor Filov, maintains in a speech to the *Sobranje* that: 'The prosperity of our country could not exist outside the new European order. The first condition for the establishment of this order is the destruction of Bolshevism ... The Bulgarian people should know clearly that though we are not fighting we are in a state of war'.

1943

- 9 Dec.** Shishmanov, the Bulgarian foreign minister, pays a glowing tribute to Germany before the *Sobranje* and maintains that Bulgarian foreign policy has for the last 25 years been an organic whole, aiming 'at the undoing of the Treaty of Neuilly and Bulgaria's right to exist'.
- 12 Dec.** Dr Beneš for Czechoslovakia signs a Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-war Collaboration with the Soviet Union, in Moscow in the presence of President Kalinin and Marshal Stalin. The protocol to the Treaty envisages the possibility of a tripartite treaty with Poland in due course.
- The Treaty is welcomed by the Americans and the British.

1944

- 22 Aug.** Draganov, the Bulgarian foreign minister, in a debate in the *Sobranje*, stresses Bulgaria's friendly relations with the Soviet Union, and announces that Bulgarian forces will be withdrawn from Yugoslavia and that Bulgaria will try to make peace with America and Britain. He maintains that the declaration of war on them had been a 'mistake', but that Britain was responsible because she had not 'honoured her promises of 1919'. Moreover, Bulgaria had not wanted to fight Greece but Thrace and Macedonia were 'hers by right'. Professor Tsankov, an influential former prime minister, severely criticises the new approach.
- 5 Sep.** Bulgaria denounces the Tripartite (Axis) and Anti-Comintern Pacts.

1945

- 7 Apr.** The foreign policy of the provisional Czechoslovak government includes the closest alliance with the Soviet Union on the basis of the 1943 Treaty and on practical cooperation in the military, political, economic and cultural fields. An alliance is promised with a new democratic Poland, friendly relations with Bulgaria and Yugoslavia

‘in the spirit of Slav friendship’, a rapprochement with Austria and Hungary after the rectification of injustice, and consolidated relations with Britain.

- 11 Apr.** Marshal Tito and Vyacheslav Molotov, the Soviet foreign minister, sign a Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-war Collaboration in Moscow.
- 21 Apr.** Boleslaw Bierut, president of the National Council of Poland, Eduard Osobka-Morawski, prime minister of the provisional Polish government, and Marshal Stalin sign a Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-war Collaboration in Moscow.

3.6.3 The Communist period

1945

- End May** Marshal Tito declares: ‘We do not want to get involved in any policy of spheres of influence ... Never again will we be dependent on any one’.

The Soviet Union protests officially a week later.

- 10 Nov.** The American, British and Soviet governments announce their intention of recognising the provisional Albanian government established by Colonel Enver Hoxha. American and British recognition is, however, dependent on the holding of free elections.

The Allied decision is bitterly resented in Greece, where all parties other than the Communists are demanding the annexation of northern Epirus as a predominantly Greek inhabited area.

1946

- 16 Mar.** Poland and Yugoslavia sign a Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Aid in Warsaw. Marshal Tito emphasises that the initiative for the strictly bilateral treaty had come from him and that he disapproves of the formation of any blocs.

The Treaty and the parallel treaties that follow across the Soviet bloc are formally directed against future aggression by Germany or any state in alliance with her.

- 4 Apr.** Britain breaks off diplomatic relations with Albania in view of her allegedly unfriendly and uncooperative attitude.

- 9 May** Dr Zdenek Fierlinger, the Czechoslovak prime minister, and Marshal Tito sign a 20-year Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Cooperation in Belgrade.

- 10 Jul.** Colonel Enver Hoxha, the Albanian prime minister, and Stanoje Simić, the Yugoslav foreign minister, sign a 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance in Tiranë.

- 29 Aug.** The United Nations rejects Albania's application for membership. It is favoured by the Soviet Union, Poland and France but opposed by America and Britain.
- 8 Nov.** America breaks off diplomatic relations with Albania.
- 27 Nov.** The Albanian and Yugoslav governments sign an agreement co-ordinating the economic plans of both countries, abolishing customs frontiers and duties, and establishing a currency union by providing for monetary equality between their two currencies.

1947

- 10 Mar.** Czechoslovakia and Poland sign a 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Aid. A rider to the Treaty states that all territorial questions outstanding will be settled by mutual agreement within 2 years and that Czechs and Slovaks in Poland, and the Polish minority in the Teschen area of Czechoslovakia, will enjoy a legal right to national, political, cultural and economic development, with their own schools, associations and cooperative organisations.
- 18–21 Aug.** The United Nations Security Council rejects applications for UN membership from Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania. The Soviet Union vetoes the applications of Austria and Italy.
- 27 Nov.** Georgi Dimitrov, the Bulgarian prime minister, and Marshal Tito sign a 20-year Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid in Varna, Bulgaria. Marshal Tito's official visit is the occasion for large-scale celebrations, and he declares in Sofia that: 'We shall establish cooperation so general and so close that the question of federation will be a mere formality.'
- 8 Dec.** Lajos Dinnyés, the Hungarian prime minister, and Marshal Tito sign a Hungarian–Yugoslav Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance in Budapest.
- 16 Dec.** Colonel-General Enver Hoxha, the Albanian prime minister, signs a similar Albanian–Bulgarian Treaty in Plovdiv, Bulgaria.
The associated communiqué declares that neither nation will 'give any assistance whatever' to the Balkans Commission established by the UN to investigate the situation in northern Greece. Both regard the Commission as a 'violation of the UN Charter and against the sovereignty of the Balkan nations'. (See also section 2.4.)
- 19 Dec.** Ana Pauker, the Romanian foreign minister, and Marshal Tito sign a parallel Romanian–Yugoslav Treaty in Bucharest.

1948

- 14 Jan.** Georgi Dimitrov, the Bulgarian prime minister, signs a 20-year Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with Romania, in Bucharest.
- 4 Feb.** Petru Groz(e)a, the Romanian prime minister, and Vyacheslav Molotov, the Soviet foreign minister, sign a 20-year Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Aid, in Moscow.
- 18 Feb.** Lajos Dinnyés, the Hungarian prime minister, and Vyacheslav Molotov sign a parallel Treaty in Moscow.
- 23 Apr.** Georgi Dimitrov, the Bulgarian prime minister, and Klement Gottwald, the Czechoslovak prime minister, sign a 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Aid.
- 30 May** Georgi Dimitrov, the Bulgarian prime minister, signs a 20-year Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid with Poland, in Warsaw.
- 19 Jul.** Bulgaria and Hungary sign a 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Aid in Budapest.
- 21 Jul.** Czechoslovakia and Romania sign a 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Aid in Bucharest.

1949

- 16 Apr.** The Czechoslovak and Hungarian prime ministers, Antonin Zapotocký and István Dobi, sign a 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance in Budapest.
- 28 Sep.** The Soviet government formally denounces the 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance it had signed with Yugoslavia on 11 April 1945.
The rest of the Soviet bloc follows suit: Hungary and Poland on 30 September, Romania on 1 October, Bulgaria on 3 October and Czechoslovakia on 4 October.
- 8–21 Oct.** Yugoslavia protests to Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and Poland in turn for denouncing their treaties of Friendship and Mutual Assistance with her.

1950

- 20 Feb.** America breaks off diplomatic relations with Bulgaria when the latter refuses to withdraw its charges that the American minister in Sofia has intervened in Bulgaria's internal affairs. A week later, America bans its nationals from travelling to Bulgaria.
- 6 Mar.** Albania follows the other Cominform countries in withdrawing from the World Health Organisation (WHO).

- 30 May** Yugoslavia closes its legation in Albania in view of ‘discriminatory measures ... against Yugoslav diplomats’.
- 23 Jun.** Antonin Zapotocký, Czechoslovak prime minister, and Walter Ulbricht, East German deputy prime minister, declare that their countries have no territorial claims on each other and that the resettlement of Germans from Czechoslovakia has been settled in an unalterable, just and permanent manner.
- 24 Jun.** Walter Ulbricht, the East German deputy prime minister, and István Dobi, the Hungarian prime minister, make a formal declaration of friendship, in which they assure each other of their permanent loyalty to the great Soviet Union, to which they both owe their liberation.
- 6 Jul.** East Germany and Poland sign a treaty in Görlitz recognising the Oder–Neisse line as their joint frontier.
- 1 Oct.** East Germany becomes a member of COMECON.

1951

- 19 Jan.** Yugoslavia terminates its state of war with Austria. The declaration is a technicality, as neither state had been formally at war with the other, but is welcomed by Austria as a sign of Yugoslav goodwill.
- 6 Dec.** Czechoslovakia is agreeable to a requested revision of the Italian Peace Treaty, provided the treaties with Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania are revised likewise. It is similarly agreeable to Italian membership of the UN, provided the three other countries are admitted.

1952

- 16 Feb.** Albania is only agreeable to the requested revision of the Italian Peace Treaty if Italy leaves NATO.

1953

- 28 Feb.** The foreign ministers of Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia sign a Tripartite Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in Ankara, Turkey. It is the first international agreement of its kind which Yugoslavia has entered into since the rupture with the Cominform. Edvard Kardelj, a Yugoslav vice-prime minister, states that adherence to the Treaty is open to Italy, and appeals in any event for Italo-Yugoslav cooperation.

1954

- 19 Jun.** Romania and Yugoslavia restore normal diplomatic relations. They also agree on 14 August to restore the direct rail connections between them, terminated in 1950.
- 7 Nov.** Yugoslavia restores normal diplomatic relations with Bulgaria and Hungary.
- 23 Dec.** Albania and Yugoslavia restore the diplomatic relations broken off in 1950.

1955

- 11–13 May** Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union sign 20-year Treaties of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with East Germany in Warsaw.
A unified military command is created for all of the signatories bar East Germany, whose participation is to be examined later. It follows on 27–28 January 1956.
- 14 May** Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union sign the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance (the Warsaw Pact).
- 15 May** The Austrian State Treaty (the peace treaty) is signed in Vienna. (See section 2.5 for fuller particulars.)
- 2 Jun.** The week-long visit of reconciliation paid by the Soviet leadership to Yugoslavia culminates in a Joint Declaration of Friendship and Cooperation. (See section 2.5 for fuller particulars.)

1956

- 1 Nov.** Hungary, under the leadership of Imre Nagy, seeks to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact. (See section 2.5 for fuller particulars.)

1957

- 1–2 Aug.** President Tito and Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, meet again in Romania. The Soviet invasion of Hungary had again strained Soviet–Yugoslav relations.
- 2 Oct.** The ‘Rapacki Plan’, envisaging a nuclear armaments-free zone in central Europe, is submitted to the UN General Assembly. (See section 2.5 for fuller particulars.)
- 15 Oct.** East Germany and Yugoslavia agree to establish diplomatic relations. West Germany breaks off relations with Yugoslavia in protest on 19 October.

1961

- 1–6 Nov.** President Tito of Yugoslavia hosts the first conference of the Nonaligned movement in Belgrade. (See also section 2.5.)
- 19 Dec.** East Germany announces that it has decided to recall its ambassador from Tiranë as Albania is making normal diplomatic activity impossible.
Albania is in the course of breaking with the Soviet Union and developing close links with China.

1964

- 12 Jun.** East Germany and the Soviet Union sign a 20-year Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance in Moscow. An accompanying statement declares that the two countries, with the other members of the Warsaw Pact, will ensure their own security if West Germany acquires nuclear weapons within the framework of NATO.

1965

- 27 Jan.** It is announced in East Berlin that Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the East German SED, is to make an official visit to Egypt at the end of February at the invitation of President Nasser. Nasser maintains that secret West German arms supplies to Israel are a source of concern to the whole Arab world.

1966

- 31 Mar.** East Germany applies to join the United Nations. It is rejected by America, Britain and France.
- 7 Apr.** Nicolae Ceaușescu declares that Romania is an independent state within the Soviet bloc.

1967

- 31 Jan.** Romania and West Germany agree to establish diplomatic relations. Romania thereby becomes the first Communist state other than the Soviet Union to have diplomatic relations with West Germany. *Neues Deutschland*, the East German party newspaper, describes the Romanian decision as deplorable.
- 8–10 Feb.** The venue of the conference of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact is moved from East Berlin to Warsaw in the light of Romanian anger at the East German attitude.

- 15 Mar.** Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the East German SED, signs a 20-year Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with Poland in Warsaw.
- 17 Mar.** Ulbricht signs a parallel Treaty with Czechoslovakia in Prague. It declares in addition that the 1938 Munich Agreement was invalid from the very beginning.
- 10–13 May** Bulgaria signs a second 20-year Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union.
- 17–18 May** Ulbricht signs a parallel Treaty with Hungary in Budapest.
- 7 Sep.** Ulbricht signs a parallel Treaty with Todor Zhivkov of Bulgaria in Sofia, and Hungary renews its 1948 Treaty with the Soviet Union for a further 20 years.

1968

- 8 May** The ‘Group of Five’ launch the diplomatic pressure on Czechoslovakia which is to culminate in invasion to crush ‘the Prague spring’. (See section 3.5.4 for fuller particulars.)
- 12 Sep.** Albania leaves the Warsaw Pact.
- 26 Sep.** The Soviet newspaper, *Pravda*, publishes the ‘Brezhnev Doctrine’ on the conditional sovereignty of Communist states. (See section 3.5.4 for fuller particulars.)

1969

- 30 Apr.** Iraq is the first Arab country to decide to give full diplomatic recognition to East Germany. West Germany describes the decision as ‘an unfriendly act’ on 1 May.
- 2–3 Aug.** The visit by President Nixon of America to Romania during his European tour disturbs the Soviet Union.

1970

- 19 Mar.** The East German prime minister, Willi Stoph, meets West German Chancellor Willy Brandt in Erfurt, East Germany, in the first top-level government meeting between the two states since their foundation.
- May** Czechoslovakia signs a 20-year Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union.
- 10 Jul.** Todor Zhivkov and János Kádár, First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party, and Jenő Fock, the Hungarian prime minister, sign in Sofia a 20-year Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance.

- 7 Dec.** Chancellor Brandt of West Germany and Jozef Cyrankiewicz, the Polish prime minister, sign the Treaty of Warsaw. (See section 2.5 for fuller particulars.)

1972

- 21 Nov.** East Germany becomes a member of UNESCO.
13 Dec. East Germany becomes a member of the UN Economic Commission for Europe.
21 Dec. Under the terms of the 'Basic Treaty' signed between them, East Germany receives recognition from West Germany of its separate identity, but not of its identity as a foreign state under international law.

1973

- 9 Feb.** Britain and France announce that they have both established diplomatic relations with East Germany.
18 Sep. Both East and West Germany are admitted to the United Nations.
11 Dec. Chancellor Brandt of West Germany and Lubomir Strougal, the Czechoslovak prime minister, sign the Treaty of Prague. (See section 2.5 for fuller particulars.)

1975

- 7 Oct.** Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the East German SED, and Leonid Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, sign a 25-year Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance.

1978

- 7 Jul.** China's suspension of all aid to Albania marks Albania's final isolation from the rest of the Communist world.

1979

- 19 Feb.** Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the East German SED, signs a 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with President Agostinho Neto of Angola. It is East Germany's first such treaty with an African country.

THEMATIC CHRONOLOGIES

1980

- 1 Jun.** East Germany and Cuba sign a 25-year Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, but it makes no reference to military cooperation.

1981

- 13 Sep.** President Husák of Czechoslovakia signs a 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with Ethiopia and South Yemen.
- 21 Oct.** Czechoslovakia and Mozambique sign a Friendship Agreement establishing a framework for closer economic and political collaboration.
- 2–5 Nov.** President Losonczy of Hungary signs a 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with President Mohammed of South Yemen, in Budapest.
- 11 Nov.** President Zhivkov of Bulgaria signs a 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with President Mohammed of South Yemen, in Sofia.

1982

- 19–23 May** East Germany and President Karmal of Afghanistan sign a 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in East Berlin.

1984

- 22–23 Aug.** Erich Honecker is the only Party leader from the Soviet bloc to attend the 40th anniversary celebration of the Romanian Revolution in Bucharest.

1984

- 25–26 Apr.** The signatories of the Warsaw Pact, other than Albania, renew the Warsaw Treaty for 20 years.

1986

- 21 Oct.** A joint paper produced by the West German Social Democratic Party and the East German SED, and endorsed also by the Czechoslovak Communist Party, proposes the establishment over 3 years of a 300-kilometre-wide nuclear-weapons-free corridor along the West German border with East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

1987

- 7–11 Sep.** Erich Honecker pays an official visit to West Germany. It is the first official visit to be made there by an East German head of state.

3.6.4 Regional relations and relations with East and West since 1990*1991*

- 5–6 Oct.** Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland (the Visegrad Three) sign a treaty of cooperation.
- 8 Dec.** Ukraine concludes the Minsk Agreement with Russia and Belarus establishing a Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).
- 21 Dec.** Moldova (with seven other former Soviet republics) joins the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

1992

- 23 Jan.** Representatives of Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and the Ukraine found the Carpathia-Tisza Economic Working Community at Nyiregyhaza, Hungary.
- 3 Feb.** Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Romania and Turkey found the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Project on the initiative of the Turkish government. It aims to establish a new trading zone and to encourage regional economic cooperation.
- 2 Nov.** The Visegrad Three (Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland) agree in Budapest to establish a free trade zone with effect from 1 January 1993.
- 1 Dec.** The economic and trade cooperation agreement between Albania and the EU comes into force.
- Dec.** Albania applies to become a member of NATO but receives an ambiguous response.
- 21 Dec.** The foreign ministers of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia sign the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA) in Kraków. It aims to eliminate mutual trade barriers by the end of the century and to ensure compatibility with EU and European Economic Area regulations.

1993

- 1 Feb.** The EU signs an association agreement with Romania.
- 8 Mar.** The EU signs an association agreement with Bulgaria.

21–22 Jun. The EU's Copenhagen European Council agrees that the associated countries in central and eastern Europe that so desire shall become members of the European Union. Accession will take place as soon as an associated country is able to assume the obligations of membership by satisfying the economic and political conditions required.

Membership requires that the candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities, the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. Membership presupposes the candidate's ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union. The EU proposes that the associated countries enter into a structured relationship with the Institutions of the Union within the framework of a reinforced and extended multilateral dialogue and concertation on matters of common interest.

4 Oct. The EU signs association agreements with the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

1994

1 Feb. The Hungarian and Polish association agreements (Europe Agreements) with the EU come into force.

1 Apr. Hungary applies to become a member of the European Union.

5 Apr. Poland applies to become a member of the European Union.

12 Jun. Austria in a referendum approves EU membership by a large majority. It accedes to the EU on 1 January 1995.

9–10 Dec. The EU's Essen European Council declares that with effect from 1 January 1995, the EU will embark on its programme to prepare for the accession of all the European countries with which it has concluded Europe Agreements. The necessary strategy is being politically implemented by the creation between the associated states and the Institutions of the EU of structured relations.

1995

1 Feb. The Bulgarian, Czech, Romanian and Slovak association agreements with the EU come into effect.

19 Mar. The Hungarian and Slovak prime ministers, Gyula Horn and Vladimir Mečiar, sign a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in Paris. (See section 2.6 for fuller particulars.)

22 Jun. Romania applies to become a member of the EU.

1996

23 Jan. The Czech Republic applies to become a member of the EU.

1997

17 Feb. Bulgaria announces its intention of applying for full NATO membership.

23–24 May A controversial referendum is held in Slovakia on NATO membership and direct presidential elections. It is declared invalid after a turn-out of only 9.6 per cent.

8 Jul. Javier Solana, NATO secretary-general, formally invites the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland to become members of NATO. He declares that the door will be kept open for future members and specifically mentions Romania, Slovenia and the three Baltic states.

Jul. The EU Commission document ‘Agenda 2000’ deems it unlikely that the candidate countries will be able to join the ‘euro’ area immediately on accession. The document proposes that the existing ‘structured dialogue’ be replaced by the new instrument of the accession partnership. The granting of EU assistance under the partnership will be conditional on achieving priority objectives and on progress generally.

1998

1 Jan. The imposition of new visa regulations on Poland’s eastern frontier at EU insistence leads to strains between Belarus and Poland. The tighter regulations, which also have the effect of restricting the black market, are unpopular with many in Poland.

4 Feb. The European Commission decides detailed plans and goals known as ‘accession partnerships’ which the central and eastern European applicants for EU membership will need to meet by the end of 1998.

3 Mar. The Austrian government rules out NATO membership and proposes to remain neutral for at least another 5–10 years.

30 Mar. EU accession talks are formally opened in London with the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Slovakia. More detailed talks open on the following day with the first five, which are considered to have made the necessary economic and political reforms for the opening of full negotiations. No accessions are anticipated, however, before 2004.

15 Apr. The Czech Chamber of Deputies approves NATO membership. The Senate follows suit on 30 April.

1999

- 1 Feb.** Slovenia's association agreement with the EU, signed in 1996, comes into force.
- 9 Feb.** The Hungarian National Assembly votes in favour of NATO membership, and the Treaty is signed by the Hungarian president the following day.
- 17 Feb.** The *Sejm* and the Senate ratify Poland's accession to NATO.
- 12 Mar.** The Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland are formally admitted to NATO at a ceremony in Independence, Missouri, America.
- Russia deplores the development, and some leading British military figures maintain that it will not contribute to peace and security.
- 13 Oct.** An EU Commission paper considers it possible to conclude negotiations with the most advanced candidate countries in 2002.
- 2 Nov.** Montenegro adopts the German Mark (DM) as legal tender, as well as the Yugoslav dinar.

2000

- 3 Feb.** The new Austrian government includes representatives of the far-right Freedom Party (FPÖ) of Jörg Haider. Portugal, which holds the EU presidency, states that ministerial relations between Austria and other EU member states will be downgraded to the lowest possible level.
- 4 Feb.** The EU suspends bilateral political relations with Austria following the inclusion of the far-right Freedom Party in the new federal government coalition. (See section 2.6 for fuller particulars.)
- 27 Jun.** EU governments agree a face-saving formula to lift the sanctions imposed on Austria following the entry of Jörg Haider's Freedom Party into the federal coalition.
- An assessment will be made of Austria's commitment to European values.
- 9–11 Dec.** EU heads of government agree the Treaty of Nice which reforms the Union's decision-making machinery to help it to cope with a significant number of new members, mainly from central and eastern Europe. It is envisaged that the first new members may join in 2004.
- The Treaty has to be ratified by all 15 existing member states by the end of 2002.

2001

- Jun.** The Hungarian parliament passes the Status Law, due to come into force in January 2002, whereby the 3.5 million ethnic Hungarians

living in the neighbouring states will enjoy childcare, education, employment and healthcare rights funded by Hungary. Romania and Slovakia strongly object to the Law, which they maintain is discriminatory, and allege that it would be contrary to EU law once they had acceded to the EU. The law does not apply to the 70,000 ethnic Hungarians in Austria, for related reasons.

2002

1 Jan. Montenegro adopts the euro as its sole currency. It remains, however, outside the formal euro zone.

2003

21 Feb. Croatia applies to become a member of the EU.

12 Dec. Hungary and Slovakia sign an agreement terminating their dispute over the Status Law. The Law had been amended following EU pressure.

2004

29 Mar. Pursuant to the invitation issued on 21 November 2002 (see section 2.6.1), Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia join NATO.

1 May The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia become members of the European Union (EU).

2006

16 Sep. The presidents of the four Visegrad countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia) announce their decision after a 2-day summit in Slany, Czech Republic, to strengthen their cooperation within the European Union (EU). Their priorities are the removal of the remaining barriers to the free movement of labour in the EU and the early enlargement of the Schengen borderless zone.

2007

1 Jan. Bulgaria and Romania become members of the EU. (See section 2.6.1 for fuller particulars.)

1 Jan. Slovenia formally joins the euro zone. It is the first ex-‘socialist’ country to do so.

- Mid-Sept.** Members of two rival ethnic-Albanian parties exchange blows and assault journalists in the lobby of the Macedonian parliament during a break in a heated debate on electoral reform. The EU suggests that it may delay the opening of accession negotiations.
- 15 Oct.** Montenegro signs a Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) with the EU. Agreements had previously been signed with Albania, Croatia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), and are seen as the first step to ultimate EU membership.
- 7 Nov.** Serbia and the EU initial a SAA, but signature by the EU is dependent on the arrest of four alleged war criminals including General Mladić.
- 14 Nov.** The far-right Identity, Tradition, Sovereignty Group in the European Parliament implodes with the resignation of the five members of the Greater Romania Party, led by Corneliu Vadim Tudor. They were protesting at remarks by Alessandra Mussolini, the duke's granddaughter, which he deemed "insulting for Romanian people".
- 5 Dec.** Bosnia-Herzegovina and the EU initial a SAA. Bosnia-Herzegovina is the last Balkan country to do so.
- 21 Dec.** The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia enter the EU's Schengen zone of formality-free travel.

IV
THE NATION STATES

4.1

INTRODUCTION

The chronologies comprising the preceding sections II and III of this book have underlined two basic realities running through the history of central and eastern Europe. The first is the extent to which, for all their distinctive national characteristics, the countries concerned have a common history in the twentieth century of grappling with the challenges of an initially impoverished, poorly educated and underemployed peasantry, weak state structures and social division. They all faced in turn the loss of faith in liberal democracy, the rise of authoritarianism, fascism and Nazism, the devastating impact of the Second World War and finally the assumption of power by Communist regimes (except in Austria), involving some 40 years of cold war. Since 1990, they have also all seen the attempt to create anew a liberal democratic and economic order, and to establish or renew a more western orientation focused on membership of both the European Union and NATO. Fascism, Communism and liberalism alike have held out a promise of modernisation and prosperity equal to, if not superior to, western European levels, but have only succeeded in education. All are currently faced with the problems of social division and discrepancy of wealth between individuals, regions, and town and country, which have the potential to destabilise the whole system. Modernity in the guise of the EU ethos of liberal competition is widely seen as a threat to values, both traditional and inherited from the Communist past. As Ferenc Gyurcsány, the Hungarian prime minister, is reported as saying elsewhere in this book: ‘[from Poland to the Balkans] the fundamental question has not been decided yet – of a progressive modernisation policy or the isolation of radical nationalism. This is the debate that we see happening in all of these countries. Their internal division lines are different. There is a deep, cultural and societal division’.

It is this common history, this common experience, which justifies the whole concept of this book, but the second basic reality of central and eastern European history is no less valid. Individual states have all had their own national ambitions and cultural histories, a consideration which has at best impeded cooperation and at worst fuelled open hostility, and at different periods have followed a quite distinctive economic or political line of their own. Hoxha’s Albania, Kádár’s Hungary, Ceaușescu’s Romania and Tito’s Yugoslavia immediately come to mind, although for differing reasons. The following sub-sections seek to do justice to these national initiatives and particularisms which have on occasion had a direct impact on the common history itself of central and eastern Europe.

4.2

STATES AND REGIONS OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: ORIGINS, CHARACTERISTICS AND PARTICULARISMS

Albania

Little is known of the early history of what is now Albania, but its people comprise a distinct ethnic group speaking a language of the Indo-European family but distinct from Greek or Slavonic. They may, or may not, be identifiable as the Illyrians of Roman times. The Albanians came under Turkish rule in 1431 and remained so except between 1443 and 1468 under Prince Gjergj Kastrioti, surnamed Skanderbeg, a national hero, and again briefly in the eighteenth century. Ambitious Albanians, not unlike their peers from the Baltic states in the Russian Empire, were prominent in the administration of the Turkish Empire. The nineteenth-century khedives of Egypt were of Albanian stock. Although an Albanian League was founded in 1880 and ruled for 2 years, attempts to obtain independence were unsuccessful, and Albania was to be the last European nation to be carved wholly out of the Turkish Empire. Its independence was proclaimed at Vlorë on 28 November 1912 and the principle of autonomy agreed at the London Ambassadorial Conference on 20 December 1912 when the new country's frontiers were also approximately determined. Prince Wilhelm of Wied accepted the crown on 21 February 1914, and the power of government was vested in him and an International Commission of Control.

Both, however, left after the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, when Albania descended into anarchy, being invaded by the forces of Greece, Italy, Montenegro and Serbia, with the Italians occupying Vlorë. The more remote areas remained under the suzerainty of tribal chieftains. Austro-Hungarian troops overran the country in 1916, but the Italian commander proclaimed Albania independent on 3 June 1917, and a provisional government was established at Durrës. Suggestions made prior to Versailles that the new state should become an Italian protectorate were, however, opposed in Albania and were specifically rejected at the 1918 Lushnje Conference, which established a government of

four regents: two Muslim, one Orthodox and one Roman Catholic. Italian forces were promptly withdrawn except from Saseno, off the harbour of Vlorë. The boundaries of the new state were part determined by an International Commission in 1922.

It was exceptionally undeveloped, economically, politically and socially. It had just 310 miles of road, no railways, no industry not related to agriculture, no banks and no national currency. The period of Italian domination was to enjoy considerable popular support as it progressively remedied many of these deficiencies. The Ghegs in the north were divided into clans or tribes, and the second main group, the Tosks, in the south took their lead from beys or chiefs. The tradition of hostility to any form of central authority ran deep, and it remains an important factor in contemporary Albanian politics.

Albania was the only part of the Turkish Empire in Europe where the majority of the population converted to Islam, and modern Albania is Europe's sole primarily Islamic state.

Austria

The creation of an Austrian nation state was to be the logical, but probably least thought through, consequence of the application of the principle of ethnic self-determination to the peoples of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Equally it was testimony to the inconsistency of the Allies at Versailles and the subsequent treaty conferences, who applied the nationality principle when it suited them but ignored it when it did not.

The new state was to inherit no meaningful sense of identity, not least because the preceding Austro-Hungarian Empire had had no common identity. It had not even had a formal name other than 'The kingdoms and territories represented in the Reichsrath'. The western province of Vorarlberg, centred on Bregenz, tried to join Switzerland. Moreover, virtually all Austrians were agreed that the new state was not economically viable, a perception which had much truth in the circumstances of the time, but which also tended to be self-fulfilling. These problems were to be exacerbated by the gulf in outlook between the social democrats of Vienna and the catholic socialists dominant in the rest of the country; a gulf which was not to be bridged until after the Second World War. A token legacy of Austria's early revolutionary socialism is the hammer and sickle still held in the Austrian eagle's talons on the national coat-of-arms. Nazism and anti-Semitism blossomed at an equally early date.

Austria after 1919 was to form an interesting contrast with the new Turkey, the other core nation state resulting from the dismemberment of a multinational empire at the end of the First World War. In Kemal Atatürk, though, the Turks had a general and leader of genius, who was able both to defeat the ambitions of the Allies on Turkey itself and to cultivate and harness Turkish ethnic nationalism for the creation of a new nation state on western, secular lines. Such options were not open to Austria. The Austrians could only be defined as the German-speaking

rump of the former Habsburg Empire. The ambition of their most celebrated leader, Adolf Hitler, working in and through Germany, was to fuse the two states, an ambition he was to achieve with the *Anschluss* of 1938.

Bessarabia

That part of the former autonomous principality of Moldavia lying to the east of the River Prut, Bessarabia was ceded to Russia by the Turkish Empire in 1812, and regarded by Romania as terra irridenta after the realisation of national independence until its transfer in 1918. A Romanian census of 1930 gives the population as 2,864,000, of whom 1,611,000 were ethnic Romanians. The territory was claimed back by the Soviet Union in 1940, and the central part and a strip of the Ukrainian SSR east of the River Dniestr were declared the constituent Moldavian SSR, with its capital at Kishnev, now Chisinau.

It became the independent republic of Moldova in 1991.

Bosnia–Herzegovina

The rugged core of the Balkans which had never enjoyed a national identity. In Bosnia–Herzegovina as in Albania, a significant proportion of the population converted to Islam while under Turkish rule, and some intermingled with Turkish settlers. The rebellion against Turkish imperial rule opened with the Slavs of Herzegovina in July 1875, followed shortly after with those of Bosnia.

The province, however, changed one imperial master for another when Austria–Hungary acquired it at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. The climate was created in which a Bosnian Serb could assassinate the heir to the imperial throne in 1914 and set the First World War in motion.

Bosnia–Herzegovina was incorporated in Yugoslavia in 1918, and formed part of Dr Ante Pavelić's Croat state during the Second World War. That experience of persecution was a major contributor to the Serb minority's decision to try to establish a state of its own when Bosnia–Herzegovina declared independence in 1992.

Bukovina

Originally the core of the later autonomous principality of Moldavia, but ceded to Austria by the Turkish Empire in 1775, Bukovina's transfer to Romania in 1918 was recognised by the Treaty of Saint Germain in 1919, but the northern part, including the capital, Chernivtsi, was transferred to the Ukrainian SSR under the 1947 peace treaty with the Soviet Union, where it remains.

The mainly fifteenth-century churches of Romanian Bukovina, characterised by unique weather-resistant external frescos, are the finest known

examples of Romanian art and architecture and comprise a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Bulgaria

The Bulgarians are the Slav people with the oldest historic identity, and they can be traced back as settlers on the Danube estuary to about AD 650. They are recorded as crossing the Danube from north to south between AD 679 and 681. They were soon a threat to the Byzantine Empire and by the ninth century had established their own first empire, which extended over much of modern Albania and Macedonia as well as Bulgaria. Bulgaria converted to Christianity in the same century. The second empire succumbed with Serbia to the Turks in the fourteenth century.

Modern Bulgaria re-emerged with the 1877 war of liberation. It was recognised as an autonomous and tributary principality under the sovereignty of the Sultan of Turkey, but with a Christian government, under the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. The same Treaty created a territory of Eastern Rumelia, now southern Bulgaria, under Turkish military and political rule but with administrative autonomy. Following a rebellion, it pronounced its union with Bulgaria in 1885, to which the Sultan effectively agreed in the following year. Bulgaria declared her total independence on 5 October 1908.

Bulgaria allied herself with Serbia, Greece and Montenegro to wrest virtually all the remaining European territory of the Empire (essentially Macedonia and Thrace) from Turkey in the First Balkan War of 1912–13. Dissatisfied with her territorial share under the Treaty of London of 30 May 1913, however, she went to war with her former allies on 29 June 1913 in the Second Balkan War, provoking intervention from Romania on 10 July. She recognised defeat under the Treaty of Bucharest of 10 August (26 July under the old-style calendar) 1913, but entered the First World War on the side of the central powers in an unsuccessful attempt to improve her position.

For all its subsequent history of military and royal autocracy, Bulgaria was much more egalitarian in its traditions than its neighbours. The division between rulers and ruled was political, much more than economic or social.

Croatia

The Croats moved with the other southern Slavs ('yugoslavs') into the Balkan peninsula in the sixth century and, like the Slovenes but unlike the Serbs, were converted to Roman Catholicism. Croatia was united with Hungary by a personal union of the crowns in 1091 but was conquered by the Turks in 1463. It later returned to Hungarian rule. In 1918, it joined the new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and its history became that of Yugoslavia until 1991 when it declared its independence.

Czechoslovakia

The state of Czechoslovakia, declared in 1918 and confirmed in 1919, attempted to bring together for the first time two closely related Slav peoples, the Czechs and the Slovaks, as well as the Ruthenes (see separate entry), in a single nation. Both Czechs and Slovaks had been subject to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but the Czech territories had comprised the medieval kingdom of Bohemia until 1526.

In that year, however, the Habsburgs had been elected to the Bohemian throne, creating the dynastic link which lasted until 1918. The Habsburgs had suppressed both national traditions and the religious reform movement inaugurated by Jan Hus, provoking the revolt of 1618 which marked the beginning of the Thirty Years War, when Catholics and Protestants struggled for supremacy across Germany and central Europe. Although the Czech revolt itself was completely crushed at the White Mountain near Prague in 1620, the questioning Hussite spirit resurfaced to some extent within Czech Catholicism to give national life and politics in later centuries a flavour distinct from that of neighbouring states.

The Slovaks in contrast had remained deeply, even narrowly, Catholic and the clergy exercised substantial influence over a largely peasant population which was poorly educated. Slovak nationalism was little developed, and positive support for the Czechoslovak idea came mainly from the Lutherans and from some American Slovaks. In broad terms, the Czech lands in 1919 were comparable with western Europe, and the Slovak lands with Poland and the Balkans. The tension between the liberal and prosperous Czechs and the conservative and devout Slovaks, who suffered severe disadvantage from the loss of their economic links with Hungary, was to remain a source of grave weakness to the Czechoslovak state until its dismemberment by the Germans in 1939.

Although Czechoslovakia was to be reconstituted by the Allies in 1945, less Ruthenia which was absorbed by the Soviet Union, the tension was not to disappear. It was to lead first, after some years of Communist rule, to a federal constitution, and ultimately in 1993 to voluntary dissolution into the Czech Republic, with its capital in Prague, and Slovakia, with its capital in Bratislava, which we know today.

Perhaps because of their history and small size, the Czechs and Slovaks have sometimes been perceived by their neighbours as being too ready to accommodate, rather than resist, superior force. The duplicitous Švejk (Schweik) of Jaroslav Hašek's celebrated twentieth-century novel, 'The Good Soldier Švejk' is the (in)famous exponent of that alleged characteristic. The traditionally more romantic and less realistic Poles used to joke maliciously that the Czechoslovak Army's marching exercise was 'hut-two-three-I-give-up (etc)'

Be that as it may, and with full regard to its deficiencies, Czechoslovakia in its 67-year history did little, if anything, of which its successors need feel ashamed. That could not be said of any of its neighbours. In 1968 with the Prague Spring (sections 2.5 and 3.5.4) and the vision of 'socialism with a human face', it inspired one of the most important reform movements in Communist history.

Estonia

Estonia is the smallest of the Baltic states and with no history as a state prior to its declaration of independence from the Russian Empire in May 1919. Its capital, Tallinn, was the easternmost member of the medieval German Hanseatic trading League. Like the other Baltic states, it had provided many of the Russian Empire's administrators and during the Soviet period was a centre of sophisticated industries.

The Estonians have close ethnic and linguistic ties with the Finns, whom they traditionally regarded as their cultural inferiors. Since 1990 trade has been totally reorientated towards the west, and the Scandinavian nations have taken the lead in establishing new commercial, cultural and communications links.

The strategic sensitivity of the country remains. There are barely 1 million ethnic Estonians in a small country of only some 1.3 million, and it dominates the sea approaches to St Petersburg. The national population is declining even faster than that of neighbouring Latvia, with a negative population growth rate, 1992–2002, of –1.4 per cent. More than 25 per cent of the population is Russian, and Estonian citizenship is dependent on competence in the Estonian language.

Hungary

The Hungarians enter European history as the Magyars who raided Europe as far west as southern France in the tenth century, before settling in broadly their present home in the eleventh, when they were converted to Christianity. Their leader, later canonised as Saint Stephen, became the national patron saint. His coronation crown, returned to Hungary by the Americans in the 1960s amongst national rejoicing, is one of the greatest treasures of the National Museum in Budapest. The Magyars were ultimately a Mongol people, and the modern, notoriously difficult Hungarian language is unrelated to any others in Europe except Finnish and perhaps Turkish.

The medieval Hungarian kingdom reached its zenith under King Matthias Corvinus (1459–90), whose court was at Visegrád on the Danube above Budapest, but in 1526 Hungary fell to the Turks at the Battle of Mohács, and remained under Turkish rule until the Treaty of Karlovci of 1699. The most lasting legacy of Turkish rule was probably in the kitchen. Gifted cooks themselves, the Turks introduced the sweet paprika pepper, which the Hungarians subsequently developed the art of drying. Its use as a powdered condiment gives so many Hungarian meat and fish dishes, notably the famous gulyàs (goulash), their characteristic red appearance. The combination of traditional, Turkish and aristocratic influences has raised Hungarian cuisine to a pre-eminent position in central and eastern Europe. Under the terms of the Karlovci Treaty, Hungary became a part of the Austrian Empire, which it remained until 1918, but did not recover its independence. Nationalist agitation did, however, secure the *Ausgleich* (compromise) of 1867 whereby the Austrian Empire became the dual

Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Hungary assumed control of its own affairs other than foreign policy and trade, and the military. Hungary also returned to its previous frontiers, which meant that the Croats, Slovaks, Transylvanian Romanians and Ruthenian Ukrainians passed under specifically Hungarian imperial rule.

Hungary remained essentially a country of great estates, and although its parliament dated back to 1222, the franchise remained too restricted to modify significantly the power traditionally exercised by the aristocracy, the gentry, and the Roman Catholic Church. The concentration of developed industry around Budapest was not on the whole in Magyar Hungarian hands prior to 1919.

Although aristocratic domination weighed heavily on the peasantry, it made Budapest eastern Europe's most elegant and glamorous capital, and no doubt contributed to the Hungarian's ready charm and ease of manner. Despite their comparatively small number, Hungarians were to make a disproportionate contribution to twentieth century life whether in music with Bartók, Dohnanyi and Ligeti, in British politics with Harold Wilson's famous 'two Hungarians' (his economic advisors Balogh and Kaldor) and with George Soros, the international financier credited with forcing the pound sterling out of the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) in 1992, or in invention with the ubiquitous 'Biro' pen and 'Rubik' cube.

They were also to show considerable adaptability. For all its unhappy beginnings, Kádár's Communist régime was to acquire genuine popularity, and Hungary was to witness economic experimentation unparalleled in the Soviet bloc. Economic liberalisation in the form of the New Economic Mechanism, introduced in 1968, generated a Hungary conspicuously more buoyant than its orthodox neighbours. 'Goulash Communism' was a force to be reckoned with. Budapest had its Hilton Hotel long before the fall of Communism, and serious thought was being given before 1990 to the introduction of full convertibility of the national currency, the forint.

Kosovo

The heartland of medieval Serbia, which returned to Serbia from Turkish rule after the Balkan Wars in 1913 in recognition of its historic importance, Kosovo contains some of Serbia's greatest cultural monuments, including the churches at Peć, one-time seat of the Serbian Patriarchate, and Prizren, internationally celebrated for their Byzantine wall paintings. The medieval monuments in Kosovo were listed as UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 2004 and 2006.

By 1990, the province was 90 per cent ethnically Albanian, partly as a result of the highest birthrate in Europe, and pressures intensified for renewed autonomy or union with Albania, pressures which the Serbs determinedly resisted.

The NATO campaign of 1999 was intensely controversial and is likely to remain so. Those in favour, led by the British prime minister, Tony Blair, argued that the moral duty to resist ethnic cleansing was paramount. Those against noted

that the scale of Serb persecution had been greatly increased as a consequence of NATO pressure, and doubted the likelihood of bombing assisting in the reconciliation of the two peoples. They were also concerned that the attacks were not approved by the United Nations and were indeed contrary to its charter.

The campaign was preceded by pressure on Yugoslavia which can only be described as 'gun at the head' diplomacy. Some considered that the judgement of the Czech-born American secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, was distorted by memories of the western failure to resist Hitler at Munich. True or false, Yugoslavia was presented with a NATO ultimatum such as no country would freely accept and which Yugoslavia was perhaps not meant to. Many in the west were profoundly unsympathetic to a country which remained Communist and had bolstered its case with intransigence rather than flexibility. Yugoslavia was to give NATO 'unrestricted passage and unimpeded access throughout federal Yugoslavia' and immunity from all legal process 'whether civil, administrative or criminal'. Its personnel were to have the right to bivouac and use local facilities free of charge.

The result of the campaign was acclaimed as a success by NATO, but is open to conflicting interpretations. Most of the ethnic-Albanian refugees returned, but their return provoked a flood of perhaps 150,000 Serb refugees. The prospect of peaceful coexistence appears remote as ethnic Albanians dominate Kosovo institutions, notably the courts, and the international institutions are hampered by an acute shortage of finance. It was noted in 2000 that the annual budget of the UN administrator was the equivalent of less than the 1999 cost of half a day's bombing. The consequence is an explosion of crime across the province, ranging from internal disorder to the smuggling of drugs, prostitutes and refugees from further afield. Ethnic-Albanian Muslims are applying pressure on ethnic-Albanian Catholics. NATO policy is also determined by strategic considerations which do not necessarily correspond to the interests of Kosovo. Communal separation is opposed because of its implications first for Bosnia and now for Macedonia, not to mention regions further away. The corollary is the somewhat desperate support of arrangements which can only be described as artificial.

The plan of the UN special envoy, Martti Ahtisaari, for initially supervised independence is bitterly resented in Serbia.

Latvia

Successively under Germanic, Polish, Swedish and, from 1721, Russian rule, Latvia, like the other Baltic states, had provided many of the Russian Empire's administrators and during the Soviet period was a centre of sophisticated industries. Latvia was pro-Bolshevik in 1917 and again in 1919, but the Bolshevik regime was overthrown by the British and the Germans acting in concert the same year. The subsequent liberal democratic government was overthrown in a fascist coup in 1934.

The Latvian language (Lettish) belongs with Lithuanian to the Baltic grouping of the Indo-European family, and the Latvians are primarily of the 'Baltic' physical type found along the coast from Denmark to Russia.

Only just over 50 per cent of the population is ethnically Latvian, and Russians form the majority of the population in the capital, Riga. Isolated clashes have occurred but have been contained. A much greater threat to the country may though be represented by the declining overall trend in a population which already numbers under 2.5 million. Between 1992 and 2002, it had one of the fastest declining populations of any country in the world, with a negative growth rate of -1.3 per cent.

Trade, as elsewhere in the Baltic states, has been reorientated towards the west and close links established with Scandinavia in particular.

The current president, Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga, left Latvia for Canada at the end of the War, where she became a professor.

Lithuania

The largest of the Baltic states and the only one with a national history prior to 1919, Lithuania was united with Poland dynastically in 1385 and politically in 1569, and the fourteenth-century Lithuanian Empire included Belarus and large areas of Russia and the Ukraine. It nevertheless succumbed in its turn and was absorbed into the Russian Empire in 1795. Like the other Baltic states, it provided many of the Russian Empire's administrators and during the Soviet period was a centre of sophisticated industries.

It was occupied by Germany during the First World War, and then invaded first by Bolshevik Russia and second by Poland before a liberal democratic national government was established in 1919. The capital, Vilnius, was however seized for Poland in 1920 and incorporated in it in 1923. Most of the support for Lithuanian independence had in practice come from the large Lithuanian population in America, and Soviet Russia then preferred an independent Lithuania for its nuisance value to Poland. The American connection remains important. The current president Valdas Adamkus, emigrated there from Germany in 1949 and organised demonstrations against Soviet rule throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

The Lithuanian language belongs with Latvian to the Baltic grouping of the Indo-European family, and the Lithuanians are primarily of the 'Baltic' physical type found along the coast from Denmark to Russia. Some 80 per cent of the national population is ethnically Lithuanian, which may make long-term internal stability easier to achieve than elsewhere in the Baltic region. The Russian enclave of Kaliningrad (q.v.) between Lithuania and Poland could, however, always prove a bone of contention as the enclave of Memel (Klaipeda) was with Germany between the Wars.

Trade, as elsewhere in the Baltic states, has been reorientated towards the west and close links established with Scandinavia in particular. The reformed former Communist Party returned to power as the Homeland Union in 1996.

Macedonia

Despite its fame as the homeland of the Greek conqueror, Alexander the Great, whose Empire extended as far east as modern Pakistan, it is a territory which never subsequently developed a real political identity. Settled extensively by Slavs during the sixth and seventh centuries, but with constantly fluctuating borders, it formed at differing times part of the Byzantine, Bulgarian, Serbian and ultimately Turkish Empires. The motivation of the Balkan Wars of 1912–13 (see Bulgaria) which resulted in the predominantly Greek-speaking southern part, focused on Thessaloniki, being awarded to Greece, and almost all the predominantly Slavonic-speaking north, focused on Skopje, to Serbia with a small portion to Bulgaria.

The north, which had been incorporated in Yugoslavia between 1918 and 1991, proclaimed its independence in 1992, but its use of the name ‘Macedonia’ has been bitterly contested by Greece, which deems it a Greek name. International recognition has been achieved under the uneasy compromise formula of ‘Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia’.

Moldova

The former Soviet republic of Moldavia formed out of the greater part of Bessarabia (q.v.) and a strip of the Ukraine in 1940. It became independent in August 1991 and a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in the December.

Fighting broke out in 1992 between government forces and separatists in the largely Russian-speaking areas east of the River Dniestr, which had been declared the republic of Transnistria in September 1991. The dispute was calmed, but the problem remains unresolved. As of 2007, Moldova ranked as the poorest country in Europe.

Montenegro

Montenegro is the only Balkan state never to have been part of the Turkish Empire. Ethnically and religiously akin to the Serbs, its people were traditionally loyal to their clan rather than to any central government, and this social pattern has by no means disappeared. Montenegro was doubled in size and recognised internationally as independent at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Its leader pronounced himself King Nicholas in 1910, but was deposed in 1918 when a national assembly under Serb influence merged the country with Serbia.

It regained autonomy within Yugoslavia in 1946, partly in recognition of the contribution made by its Communist partisans to Yugoslav liberation. It became fully independent again in 2006.

Poland

The Poles have a long history as an identifiable west Slavonic ethnic group, but their territorial boundaries have changed drastically over the last 1,000 years. Slavs colonised the area of what became Berlin in the eleventh century until displaced by Germans, and the frontier between the two peoples stabilised on roughly the present Oder/Neisse line for some centuries, until the Germans started their long movement of eastwards expansion.

In the Middle Ages, much of the modern Poland, Baltic states, Belarus and Ukraine fell within a Polish–Lithuanian Empire, which was a rival to Russia but whose boundaries changed repeatedly.

That Polish Commonwealth nevertheless succumbed, and was divided between Prussia, Russia and Austria in the partitions of 1772, 1793 and 1795. Only Austrian Poland enjoyed a measure of autonomy in the form of the Galician Diet at Lwow. National sentiment nevertheless remained strong.

The recovery of independence in 1918–19 posed the problem of boundaries in its most acute form. Some Poles sought to re-establish the former Empire, and the final eastern frontier, as determined by the Treaty of Riga, brought many non-Poles within the new Poland. The frontier of 1945 was much more faithful to ethnic principles.

The Poles have a reputation as an emotional and idealistic people, whose relations with their neighbours have been summed up in the adage that every Pole keeps two bullets left in his gun – one for the German to be shot out of duty, one for the Russian to be shot for pleasure! Poland has engendered similarly powerful emotions amongst outsiders. Norman Davies, a warm admirer, quotes the famous economist J. M. Keynes' description of prewar Poland as 'an economic impossibility whose only interest is Jew-baiting'. The interwar military caste did little to develop the habits of compromise and restraint on which a modern democracy depends, and the deep Catholic faith of the majority of the population was similarly unhelpful. The fall of Communism has been followed by disputes over abortion and religious education more intense than elsewhere. Nevertheless both democracy and the habit of compromise appear to have taken root more effectively than many observers anticipated in 1990.

Romania

Romania, as its name implies, is the only part of the Roman Empire in central or eastern Europe to have retained its Latin speech, although much altered both by internal developments and external influences. Amongst the more striking of the former are the tendency to replace the classical Latin consonants 'k' and 'g' by 'p', 'b' or 'm'. Hence, Latin 'quattuor' (four) has become 'patru', and 'octo' (eight) has become 'opt'. On the other hand, 'mensa' (table), declined as their first task by countless generations of Latin scholars, has remained unaltered.

Romanians trace themselves back to the Dacians, who were closely related to the better-known Thracians, an Indo-European people valued as mercenaries by both the Macedonian Greeks and the Romans. They passed under Roman rule in AD 106, but the Romans left as early as the late third century, making the local retention of Latin speech all the more remarkable. The Latin poet, Ovid, had regarded his banishment to Dacia's Black Sea coast as banishment to the end of the earth.

The area was subject to repeated conquest and settlement, and eastern Orthodoxy was introduced during the eighth–tenth centuries, when much of the present Romania formed part of the First Bulgarian Empire. The first properly Romanian state was Wallachia, established south of the Carpathian mountains in the early fourteenth century, followed by Moldavia in the Prut Valley east of the Carpathians in 1349. They became vassal states of the Turkish Empire in the late fourteenth century and in 1455, respectively.

Modern Romania dates back to 1856 when the Turks first recognised the autonomy of the two principalities, and their full independence followed in 1878. Until the outbreak of the First World War, the Romanian national movements outside Romania only sought autonomy within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As late as 1911, Alexandru Vaida-Voevod, a future prime minister, described the union of all Romanians as a 'beer table fantasy'. In reality, though, the 'old kingdom' (*regat*) was to be greatly enlarged in 1918 by the progressive transfer of Bessarabia from Russia, Bukovina from Austria and Transylvania and most of the Banat from Hungary, the former two being recognised by the Treaty of Saint Germain in 1919 and the latter two by the Treaty of Trianon in 1920.

The transfer of Bessarabia was never recognised by the Soviet Union, which had not, as Bolshevik Russia, been a party to the Saint Germain treaty. It was reclaimed in 1940.

Under the leadership from 1952 of first Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and then Nicolae Ceaușescu, Romania pursued a highly nationalistic and independent policy which led to tension with the Soviet Union but to warmer relations with China and the western nations. Ceaușescu's decision to repay at any price the large foreign debt incurred through ill-considered industrialisation during the 1970s did, however, bring the country almost to a standstill, and it starved as all production was diverted to export.

(See also Bessarabia, Bukovina and Moldova in this section and Vienna Award in section VII, Glossary.)

Ruthenia (Sub-Carpathian)

This is a traditionally backward area, also known as Transcarpathian Ukraine and Sub-Carpathian Russia, immediately to the east of modern Slovakia. Ethnically Slav, and speaking a range of dialects akin to the neighbouring Slavonic languages. It is divided religiously between the Orthodox and Uniate denominations. Prior to 1919, the commercial and educated classes were almost

all Jewish or Hungarian, and both the small number of educated Ruthenes and the Uniate clergy were Hungarian in sympathy. The goal of independence from Hungary was promoted almost exclusively by emigrants to America who successfully urged Masaryk to incorporate Ruthenia in the new Czechoslovak republic.

Despite a 1918 promise of autonomy, the interwar years were to see a Czech dominance which was administratively beneficial but economically harmful. The earlier Hungarian sympathies of the Uniate clergy transferred to the Ukraine, and the Communists were the largest political party.

Following the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army in 1945, the province was annexed by the Soviet Union and joined to Ukraine, where it remains.

Serbia

The Serbs, like the other southern Slav peoples, appear to have entered the Balkans in the sixth–seventh centuries AD, but they became prominent in the first half of the fourteenth century under Stefan Dušan, whose rule extended from the Danube to central Greece. Defeated by the Turks, first at Chernomen in 1371 and then more decisively at Kosovo Polje on 15 June 1389, the Serbs had succumbed completely by 1459.

The three centuries of Turkish rule saw major emigration out of the Serbian heartland in Kosovo and southern Serbia northwards into central Serbia, the Vojvodina and Croatia. Those Serbs resident north of the Danube, however, passed under Habsburg rule in 1699 under the Treaty of Karlovci, marking the beginning of the progressive expulsion of the Turks from Europe other than from the region of Istanbul, which remains a key part of modern Turkey.

Modern Serbia dates from the rebellions of 1804 onwards under Karadjordje Petrović, the ancestor of the twentieth-century Yugoslav monarchs, and Miloš Obrenović. Its autonomy within the Turkish Empire was recognised after the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–9, but full independence had to wait until 1878, when Serbia also gained additional territory.

Serbia was on the winning side in the two Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913, but the assassination of Crown Prince Ferdinand of Austria–Hungary by a Bosnian Serb on 28 June 1914 impelled the Austro-Hungarian government to make punitive demands on Serbia, which its government under Nikola Pašić (q.v.) effectively met. The Austro-Hungarian government, however, was still not satisfied and declared war, thus setting the First World War in motion.

Serbia was defeated by Austria–Hungary in 1915 and its king and forces retreated to Corfu, leaving the country to be occupied by Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian troops. The end of the First World War, however, saw a complete reversal of fortune and the declaration in December 1918 of the Triunine Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes with the Serb monarch as the new king. The history of Serbia then becomes the history of Yugoslavia (q.v.) until 1990.

Slavonia

Slavonia is a region of Croatia, not to be confused with either Slovakia (Czechoslovakia) or Slovenia (q.v.).

Slovenia

Slovenia is the north-westernmost republic of the former federal Yugoslavia, and the most western in orientation.

The Slovenes can trace themselves back to the sixth century, and in the seventh their territory extended as far north as the modern Leipzig. Nevertheless, the kingdom succumbed to German rule, and its more northern part was permanently Germanised. The area of the modern Slovenia passed progressively under Habsburg rule from the thirteenth century onwards, and remained there until December 1918 when it became part of the new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. It was the first of the federal Yugoslav republics to declare its independence in 1991.

The Slovene language is closely related to Serbo-Croat, and although the standard language is clearly distinct, the dialects of the one merge into those of the other.

Sudetenland

The border regions to the north-west and south-west of what is now the Czech Republic which were included within the new state of Czechoslovakia established by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. They were included so as to give the new state defensible frontiers, but were predominantly German in population. These so-called Sudeten Germans were the subject of suspicion at best and discrimination at worst in interwar Czechoslovakia, and were highly responsive to Hitler's extreme nationalism. Powerful Nazi pressures both from Germany itself and from the Sudetenland, which the British and the French were unwilling to help the Czechoslovak government to withstand, culminated in the Munich Agreement of 1938 which transferred the regions to Germany.

They reverted to Czechoslovakia with the defeat of Germany in 1945, and the Potsdam Agreement endorsed the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia 'in an orderly manner'. In practice, however, the passions engendered by the War made the expulsions summary and brutal.

Ukraine

The Ukrainians are a Slav people closely related ethnically and linguistically to the Russians. Although the Ukraine enjoyed a period of independence in the seventeenth century, it became a part of the Russian Empire, and Ukrainians in the eastern part of the country were extensively Russianised, Khrushchev, the

former Soviet leader, being a notable example. The Ukrainians were trusted by the Russians as natural allies in the Imperial and Soviet periods alike.

There are significant differences in outlook between the Russianised, Orthodox eastern part of the country and the more westernised part, which are at their most marked in the regions transferred from Poland in 1945, where Roman Catholicism is strong. Such differences could prove a problem for the country's longer-term stability.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was established in December 1919, and it joined the future Soviet Union as an independent state in December 1920. It had its own seat in the United Nations from 1945. Total independence was again declared on 5 December 1991, but the Ukraine joined the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) the same month.

The years since independence have been chequered, both economically and politically. President Kuchma was accused in 2000 of complicity in the murder of a journalist critic, and on 26 April 2001 an alliance of Communists and business oligarchs in the Ukrainian parliament passed a vote of no confidence in the market-orientated reformist government of Viktor Yushchenko. The reformists appeared to gain the upper hand with the 'Orange Revolution' of 2004, but intense personal and political rivalries have resulted in continuing instability with a very uncertain outcome. America, the European Union and Russia are all trying to influence events in their favour.

4.3

THE COUNTRIES OF ‘FURTHER’ EASTERN EUROPE

Armenia

The Armenians are an ultimately Indo-European people with an ancient history, who are first identifiable in the sixth century BC in the ruins of the kingdom of Urartu around Lake Van in what is now north-eastern Turkey. Their most dramatic historical era was the first century BC, when they resisted the eastwards spread of the Roman Empire, in association with Mithradates the Great of Pontus, and formed a valuable buffer state between Rome and Parthia during the struggles for power between Mark Antony, Cleopatra and Octavius Caesar (later Augustus). Christianity was recognised as the state religion in AD 300, and the Armenian Church centred in Etchmiadzin is the world’s oldest established Christian Church. The unique Armenian alphabet was derived from the Aramaic by St Mesrop in the early fifth century. Traditionally skilled in commerce and with a wide diaspora, not least in the United States, they are considered by some to be an even more truly cosmopolitan people than the Jews.

Although the area of the modern Armenian state fell within the Russian Empire, very many Armenians lived in the Turkish, where they were feared as potentially disloyal. The massacres of Armenians by Turks in the years before and during the First World War have been compared qualitatively if not quantitatively with the genocide of the Jews by the Nazis in the Second. Moreover, some 1,750,000 Armenians were deported by the Turks from Turkish Armenia in 1915 to Syria and the then Mesopotamia, and in consequence many businesses across modern eastern Turkey, Syria and the Lebanon, and Iraq are in Armenian hands.

The two most famous twentieth-century Armenians, both from Soviet Armenia, were probably Aram Khachaturian, the composer, whose ‘Gayaneh’ and ‘Spartacus’ suites are very well known, and Anastas Mikoyan, the wily, long-serving Soviet trade minister.

Armenia formed part of the Transcaucasian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic between 1922 and 1936, when it was proclaimed a constituent republic of the Soviet Union in its own right. It declared its full independence in September 1991 but became a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in the December.

The early years of independence were marked by violence, both internal and in warfare with Azerbaijan over the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh. An armistice was signed under Russian auspices on 18 February 1994.

Belarus

Belarus is Russian Byelorussia or White Russia. Its inhabitants should not be confused with the 'Whites' or White Russians opposed to the Bolshevik 'Reds' in the Russian civil war. Closely related to the Russians and with a historically non-literary language little more than a Russian dialect, their sense of individual identity has traditionally been very limited. During the Middle Ages, the area formed part of the Polish-Lithuanian Empire. Like the Ukraine, it had its own seat on the United Nations as a Soviet Republic, after 1945. Independence was declared under the internationally unfamiliar name of Belarus in August-September 1991, and it became a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in the December.

The powers of the president, Alyaksandr Lukashenko, were substantially extended in a referendum in November 1996, of contested validity. President Lukashenko has consistently pursued policies of closer economic and political relations with Russia, and a union between the two countries was signed on 21 February 1995. Disputes over energy prices have, however, on occasion cooled the relationship.

Georgia

The traditionally colourful and passionate Georgians are a distinctive ethnic group of the western Caucasus, speaking an Indo-European language written in a unique alphabet derived from the Aramaic by St Mesrop in the early fifth century AD. Georgians take great pride in their early conversion to Christianity in 337 AD. Many also take great pride in their most famous son, Josef Djugashvili, better known as the Soviet leader, Josef Stalin, who to the end of his days spoke Russian with a thick Georgian accent. Statues to him remained in place when they were removed elsewhere in the Soviet Union after 1956.

Despite their long history of national identity, the Georgians have remained divided along clan lines, and the creation of a nation state in any modern sense has proved difficult. Association with Russia has often been seen as a necessary framework for longer-term stability.

Georgia had become part of the Russian Empire in 1806, and independence was first proclaimed on 26 May 1918 and recognised by Bolshevik Russia on 7 May 1920. Following an uprising in 1921, however, Georgia was drawn back into the Russian orbit and was merged with Armenia and Azerbaijan to form the Transcaucasian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic on 15 December 1922. It became a constituent republic of the Soviet Union in its own right in 1936.

Full independence was again declared on 9 April 1991, but Georgia joined the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in October 1993.

Civil war racked the country between 1991 and 1993, but a measure of stability was achieved under the presidency of Eduard Shevardnadze, formerly Soviet foreign minister under Gorbachev. He escaped several assassination attempts. Its reformist president, Mikhail Saakashvili, elected during the so-called 'Rose Revolution' of 2003, seeks ultimate EU and NATO membership, but his approach has led to a breakdown in relations with Russia, which has cut off all transport links and banned the import of Georgian goods.

The country's future is likely to be closely bound up with the strategic rivalry between America and Russia over the routeing of gas and oil pipelines from Central Asia to the west.

Russian enclave of Kaliningrad

This is the northern half of German East Prussia, divided between Poland and the Soviet Union at Potsdam in 1945 and focused on the city of the same name, formerly Königsberg. It is probably the sole remaining European city to be named after a Communist revolutionary.

Its future as a detached Russian enclave on the coast between Poland and Lithuania is problematic. It has been suggested that it might become a commercial 'free city', and it has recently seen a sharp increase in prosperity after a long period of difficulties.

Transnistria

Transnistria is the Russian-speaking part of Moldova lying to the east of the River Dniestr (Nistru). It seeks independence and probable future inclusion in the Russian Federation. Should that occur, it would give Russia a second extraterritorial enclave after Kaliningrad.

4.4

THE IMPACT OF THE EU, NATO AND RUSSIA SINCE 1990

The EU's approach to central and eastern Europe since 1990 may be broadly summarised as: assisting in the painful transfer from a planned to a market economy by means of advice, loans and grants; helping in the establishment of more rigorous and robust administrative and regulatory structures; and insistence on the importance of human rights, particularly with regard to ethnic minorities, and of an independent judiciary unsullied by corruption. The existing member states agreed virtually immediately that they had a moral duty to accept the former Communist states as members in due course, and the basis for the future negotiations was formally adopted at the Copenhagen summit of EU heads of state and government in 1993.

The EU can take pride in a number of considerable successes since that time. Ten new member states adhered in May 2004 including eight from central and eastern Europe, followed by Bulgaria and Romania in January 2007. Contrary to the predictions of some observers, the EU institutions have continued to function without conspicuous signs of strain. The Brussels summit council of June 2007 succeeded, under the skilful chairmanship of the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, in coming to an agreement on the contentious issue of national voting rights under the system of qualified majority voting without which the EU will be unable to develop. Slovenia joined the euro zone in January 2007, and others are hoping to follow.

Rates of national economic growth are everywhere encouraging, although as noted elsewhere this can conceal widespread shortcomings across whole regions.

Encouragement can also be taken from the success of the EU in making respect for minority rights a precondition of EU membership. The large Russian minorities in the Baltic states have been spared some of the discriminatory linguistic restrictions on citizenship which they would have suffered. Transylvania remains essentially peaceful, and tensions over Slovakia's 600,000-strong Hungarian minority have been held in check. The Slovak government contained four Hungarian ministers after 2002.

Similarly, the economically disadvantaged have continued to express their disappointments within an essentially democratic framework. There has no more been a return to the violent populist movements of the 1920s and 1930s than there has been to large-scale violent nationalism.

The greatest success is probably the intangible one that 'Europe' in the guise of the EU has already made the traditional Iron Curtain seem as remote as Franco's Spain or British India. Now that Poland has joined the Schengen area, it is possible to travel by train without formality, after London International, as far as Brest Litovsk: an almost dreamlike prospect for any traveller who can remember the successive duplicate checks and visas needed to cross the inner-German border, the border between East Germany and West Berlin, that between West Berlin and East Berlin and lastly that between East Germany and Poland. Ernest Bevin, Britain's famous post-war foreign secretary, once responded to a question as to the purpose of his foreign policy by saying that it was to be able to go down to London's Victoria Station, buy a ticket to wherever he damn well liked and just go. It is a purpose well on the way to fruition.

These successes, however, are far from absolute. The expanded EU has often seemed almost paralysed by the sheer differences in interest of its 27 members. Those favouring a 'wider' rather than a 'deeper' Europe, not least Britain, always saw expansion as a means of halting integration in its tracks. Some of the newer member states have shown traces of a chauvinism remote from the ideals of the EU's founding fathers. The demand of the Polish prime minister, Jaroslaw Kaczyński, at the 2007 Brussels summit, that Poland enjoy greater voting rights than those proposed to reflect its population losses arising from the Second World War was particularly unfortunate, not least under a German presidency.

The EU may also not have faced up sufficiently to the problem of how to react when the new member states are either unable or unwilling to respect their commitments. Before a country has joined, the EU can threaten to delay or even suspend entry negotiations until remedial action has been taken, but this sanction disappears as soon as membership is achieved. The EU can in theory suspend the payment of grants, but even this option is unpalatable because it may simply hurt the weaker members of society and fan anti-EU sentiment. The hope of EU diplomats that EU membership will of itself lift countries' performance may be a dangerous illusion, particularly when a comparatively large number of countries are involved. The problem is general, but it has come to the fore since the admission of Bulgaria and Romania to the EU in January 2007. The EU has had to recognise that the problems of corruption and organised crime in the two countries are such that they are a threat to the whole EU, but there is very little that it can do about it. Amnesty International had reported in 2002 that the Romanian government showed 'little respect for the law. It instructed judges how to rule in certain cases and made partisan dismissals from, and appointments to, the judiciary ... Corruption continued to be widespread and to undermine the legal system, the economy and public confidence in Government.'

In Bulgaria, more than one hundred high-profile contract killings were carried out in the 3 years up to June 2007. The reaction of many observers that the two countries were admitted prematurely looks all too true. Daniel Cohn-Bendit, joint leader of the Greens in the European Parliament, said in June 2007: 'We decided to let them in too early. We said "yes" before the reforms were implemented.'

Other members agree, but that does not solve the problem. The European Commission has arguably boxed itself into a corner. It is well aware that the largest corruption scandals are an integral part of national party political rivalries with implications for the stability of government. If it presses too hard, there may well be a backlash against the so-called 'reformers' and their replacement by more extreme politicians, making it even more obvious that the two countries were admitted prematurely. If it continues its present mild approach, crime and corruption will have gained the decisive voice: a message which will not be lost on listeners elsewhere in the Balkans and beyond.

It would also be unfair to suggest that the problems being faced by Bulgaria and Romania are unique to them. Slovakia, under the nationalist rule of Vladimir Mečiar, saw a fusion of politics and organised crime which led America and Britain to make clear during the 2002 elections that Slovakia would not be invited to join either the EU or NATO if Vladimir Mečiar participated in government. At one level, that intervention worked, but his Movement for a Democratic Slovakia still won the most seats in the local elections of the December of that year. Not least, the former state security networks remained a powerful focus in a corrupt web of political and business interests. It was alleged by the daily Slovak newspaper, SME, in 2003, that former state security agents or collaborators ran 13 of the country's best-known companies, and informers ran a further 23. It may, of course, be that the newspaper had its own political agenda. One must also be cautious in making deductions. The success of President Putin, who emerged from just such a background in less than transparent circumstances, in restoring Russian confidence and stability, no doubt owes something to those very connections.

Slovak domestic politics, however, remain problematic. Leaders of the principal political groups in the European Parliament expressed their disquiet in September 2006 over incidents involving Slovakia's Hungarian minority, of which the most serious was an assault on a student in August 2006 in the western Slovak city of Nitra. These were associated with inflammatory remarks by Jan Slota, whose nationalist SNS party had been part of the coalition government since June 2006. Jan Slota calls openly for the deportation of ethnic Hungarians and for gypsies (Roma) to be persuaded to join a voluntary sterilisation scheme. For their part, Hungarian nationalists had been daubing xenophobic graffiti on the Slovak Embassy in Budapest. Although particular concern was expressed at the Slovak prime minister's alleged failure to condemn these acts, the European Parliament's leaders could not agree on any specific course of action. The Party of European Socialists went further by suspending the Slovak social democrats (Smer) from membership because of their agreement to enter into coalition with the SNS, which was described by Martin Schulz, the chairman of the European Parliament's group of the Party of European Socialists (PES), as an 'extreme right, racist and intolerant' party along the lines of the *Front National* in France, which stood for 'arguments and ideologies which are opposed to those which Europe is fighting to uphold'. Such words, justified or not, seem all too reminiscent of the proverbial paper tiger. The reality is that the European Parliament itself

then had its own far-right political group with at least 20 members, entitled 'Identity, Tradition and Sovereignty', which included five members from Vadim Tudor's ultranationalist Greater Romania Party and one Bulgarian, together with an Austrian representative of Jörg Haider's Freedom Party and two Italians, including Mussolini's granddaughter.

The basic weakness of the EU's position was made all too clear by the hollowness of the 'safeguard measures' announced in September 2006 as part of the European Commission's declaration that Bulgaria and Romania could indeed join the EU in January 2007 and not be subjected to a delay of 12 months. The last real sanction, that of refusing entry altogether, had been surrendered 2 years earlier. In practice, the Commission has no leverage at all over the key problems, in Bulgaria in particular, of corruption and organised crime, although it has reported that there have been

no successful prosecutions for money laundering ... and no systemic confiscation of assets of criminals ... Contract killings rarely result in successful operations and prosecutions. Illegal possession of firearms remains a problem. The number of cases prosecuted successfully relating to trafficking human beings, drug smuggling, money laundering, counterfeiting of goods, currency and documents is still low.

A number of candidate countries share the problem of weak state structures in addition to their endemic corruption. In December 2005, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), a country of 2 million people, had a backlog of no fewer than 1.2 million cases waiting to be heard in its courts.

Nowhere, though, is the spectre of crime ever far away. The breakdown of Communist order was followed virtually everywhere by an explosion in the influence of criminal gangs (mafiosi) who took advantage of lax regulation to take control of the markets in alcohol, drugs, prostitution and weapons. Such gangs found it easy to recruit the children who had been amongst the biggest victims of the fall of Communism. As the UNICEF report, *After the Fall: the Human Impact of Ten Years of Transition*, admitted in 1999 of the Communist welfare systems: 'Many of their features – cash transfers, maternity and parental leave, pre-school education – promoted child and maternal health, as well as child development.' Their abrupt collapse produced a generation of sickly, drug-abusing and maladjusted children and adolescents who were readily drawn to crime and violence. The Czech town of Cheb became notorious for the availability of child sex. The situation in the more northern states has improved, but in the Balkans, and even in eastern Germany, less so. Romanians, and to a lesser extent Bulgarians and Kosovars, were identified as being prominent in the organised pickpocketing gangs which plagued Berlin and other capital cities for some years. Many of the gang members were children, themselves frequently the victims of violent coercion. The more disadvantaged the ethnic group, the more likely it is that its members will be drawn to the social shadows, if not to outright crime, reinforcing the initial disadvantage. Many of the prostitutes in Cheb,

for example, are alleged by the locals to be Roma (gypsies). Others are Bulgarians and Ukrainians. The Roma in Slovakia often live in ghettos without running water, electricity or proper sanitation, and in 1995 were subjected to eviction from the city of Košice. Their treatment in Romania has been the subject of EU criticism.

In what may be the extreme case of Montenegro, Zoran Piperović, the deputy state prosecutor, was arrested in November 2002 on charges of forcing a Moldovan sex slave to have sado-masochistic sex with senior government officials, businessmen and judges at a brothel in Podgorica.

Less immediately visible, but surely more serious, are the opportunities offered to major crime syndicates by the admission of the central and eastern European states to the EU. Europol warned member states in November 2003 that almost every one of the new members would 'become source, transit and destination countries for criminal goods and services. ... There are indications that international organised crime groups are relocating their activities and members to these countries, which have also become focal points for the investment of illegal funds.' Europol identified the greatest threats as coming from criminal gangs in Estonia, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, the former Yugoslavia and Russia. It also believed that the consequences of trafficking hundreds of thousands of immigrants into the EU were overtaking drugs smuggling as the most serious danger facing the EU, and that financial crime and fraud were set to increase as criminals focused on EU subsidies and money laundering.

Europol identified ethnic Albanians as the most violent criminals, deeply involved in drug and people trafficking and particularly involved in the sex industry in Britain and the Turkish heroin trade. The most powerful gangs, however, were the Russian, which were deeply entrenched in Finland, Sweden, Denmark and the three Baltic states. Estonia and Poland were identified as sources for such synthetic drugs as amphetamines and Ecstasy, prepared on the basis of imports from Russia, Belarus and Ukraine.

The EU's key economic philosophies of competition and the phasing out of subsidies have not always won it friends. The new member states have had to accept that they will enjoy far smaller financial transfers from the EU than were earlier enjoyed by Spain, Portugal and Ireland. Moreover, the Common Agricultural Policy is much more generous to western than to eastern producers. On the other hand, EU competition law insists on access to eastern markets by western concerns. In practice, however, the competition is often unequal because local firms have not had the time to acquire the necessary commercial skills. Competition has often come to mean competition between rival western firms – between, say, Britain's Tesco and Germany's Lidl. This may generate consumer satisfaction, but it also generates bitterness. Public opinion polls on the prospect of EU membership in Poland in July 2002, for example, showed that 26 per cent of respondents were against EU membership. Up to 50 per cent of Czechs the same month were doubtful.

Some of the new freedom of trade is controversial for other reasons. There was major environmental concern in 2006 over the practice whereby domestic

rubbish from Germany was being exported to the Czech Republic for treatment, with damage to the Czech rather than the German environment. (See section 5.2 for further particulars.)

The EU's insistence on its own interpretation of financial discipline has been a further source of unpopularity, both for itself and for the national government concerned. The Hungarian unrest of September 2006 was attributable in part to the government's austerity package, which sought to reduce the budget deficit of 10.1 per cent of gross national product (GNP). It may be noted in passing that the European Commission has criticised the British government for exceeding its strictures on budget deficits, but has been ignored.

Even countries outside the EU have been profoundly affected. Montenegro has voluntarily followed the EU's stabilisation and growth pact, just as it has adopted the euro, and has seen unemployment rise to 30 per cent.

The bitterness of those disadvantaged by such policies has perversely fed into support for the nationalisms which it is the purpose of the EU to overcome. Populists such as Andrzej Lepper in Poland, Vladimir Mečiar in Slovakia and Vadim Tudor in Romania have been able to enjoy disturbingly high levels of support. Andrzej Lepper denounced the Polish government for 'selling out' (in 2002) during its negotiations for EU entry. The populists all know that EU membership has made the poorest parts of their countries even poorer.

The bitterness can also be reinforced by a sense of national worthlessness, part economic, part social, which readily fears foreigners. It has been a problem in the Czech Republic, particularly in the formerly Sudeten areas, where there is apprehension over a German return. The more self-confident Poles appear to have been less prone to such fears. Xenophobia has also raised its head in Slovenia, where the rights of former Yugoslav fellow citizens have been regularly abused, and where the EU had to exercise pressure for restraint.

It must also be said that, although the EU has been successful in securing minority rights in those countries which have by now joined the EU, it has a much more qualified record elsewhere in the Balkans. Its general favouring of the Croat over the Serb and Bosnian Serb cause, and then of the ethnic Albanian over the Serb cause in Kosovo, has generated a nationalist, sometimes ultra-nationalist, response within Serbia which makes any progress towards Balkan cohesion increasingly difficult. The rights and wrongs of the positions taken by the opposing ethnic groups were never as clear cut as they were presented by the western media, and the greater sympathy for the Croats owed much to their use of skilled western public relations firms.

It is obviously not solely the fault of either the EU or NATO, but the fact remains that both Bosnia and Kosovo, and to some extent Macedonia, where the EU has had more success in assuaging ethnic tensions, have succumbed to crime and disorder to which the EU has no answer. The output of the Bosnian economy remains below its pre-civil war level. Moreover, the EU can seem inconsistent. In its general favouring of independence for Kosovo, however 'supervised', at Serbia's expense, it is taking the opposite approach to that it is maintaining

in Transnistria, where Moldova's integrity is considered paramount. It is an inconsistency which Russia is not slow to point out. The EU is also itself divided. Member states such as Cyprus, Greece, Romania, Spain and Slovakia are all nervous of the implications for their own integrity of a precedent in Kosovo.

Whatever may be said about the merits of pure justice, the EU's approach to Serbia and to Bosnian Serbs seems to have been counterproductive. Rather than encouraging Serbia to integrate with its neighbours, it appears to have heightened internal division, strengthened the position of the ultra-nationalists and encouraged separatism in Montenegro and Kosovo. Vojislav Koštunica, seen as a liberal lawyer when he succeeded Slobodan Milošević, was being accused by Carla del Ponte, the UN chief prosecutor at The Hague, in May 2006 of being 'double faced' over the failure to arrest General Mladić. The determined self-defence of Slobodan Milošević, while on trial before the UN tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, until his death, won support and indeed admiration from many in Serbia.

Reconciliation seems to be receding rather than advancing. It may also be noted in passing that the then British prime minister, Tony Blair, who was a firm believer in the UN tribunal, adopted diametrically the opposite approach in Northern Ireland and appears to have achieved peace on the basis of highly controversial amnesties. The UN tribunal itself is subject to criticism from the opposing sides. Ramush Haradinaj, the prime minister of Kosovo, alleged following his indictment in March 2005: 'The international community made a grave mistake when it created The Hague tribunal, which is treating liberation fighters the same as aggressors who destroyed entire nations and turned the region into ruins.'

In general, the member states of the EU as well as of NATO can seem over-ready to condemn those of whose policies they disapprove and to turn a blind eye to the failings of those whose policies they approve. It is rarely appreciated that the favouring of Croatia over Serbia owed much in practice to the expertise of a leading Washington public relations firm, Ruder Finn Global Affairs. The questionable antecedents of Ramush Haradinaj and of Milo Djukanović have been little aired. Although the declaration of an independent Kosovo remains the most likely ultimate outcome, it would be opposed by Russia and other members of the UN Security Council including South Africa which are wary of what South Africa, in an ironic inversion of history, has described as 'tribalism'.

The EU's promotion of democracy, however praiseworthy in theory, is having as unexpected practical consequences as did Woodrow Wilson's nearly a century earlier. Democracy is increasingly having fission as its corollary. The EU has arguably set a train moving which it no longer has the power to stop. Javier Solana, the EU's foreign policy coordinator, pressed Serbia and Montenegro in 2002 to adopt the new Union which came into being in February 2003, because the EU feared that Montenegrin independence would create instability in the Balkans. The EU, however, had from the mid-1990s supported the president's campaign for autonomy from Belgrade, establishing a separate republican government, using the euro as currency rather than the Yugoslav dinar, and forming a para-military

police force. The United States for its part was keen to establish a strategic naval base on the Montenegrin coast. By 2006, Montenegro was independent. An independent Kosovo would be the seventh of the states into which the former Yugoslavia has split and it might not even be the last. It is not a consolation that the process of fission is paralleled across the west. EU member states and their neighbours to the east could be as vulnerable to the twin forces of democracy and ‘tribalism’ as the Great Powers were to those of democracy and liberalism before the First World War. A negatively minded Russia could export the nationalism ascendant within its own boundaries to countries like Estonia, Latvia and Moldova, with their large ethnic-Russian populations, with destabilising effect.

It is one of the many constraints which must continue to fashion the EU’s approach to central and eastern Europe and the possibility of any further eastwards expansion, most obviously to the Ukraine. Russia has been profoundly irked by the west’s espousal of democracy there and in Georgia, mainly in the form of political support but also through the financing of opposition material ‘to provide balance’. Russia interprets it as a deliberate attempt to wean what had been its second largest and traditionally ‘trusted’ partner in the Soviet Union into the western fold. The greatest weakness of the EU’s approach has been its uneven application. Democratic movements have been favoured if they have been thought likely to produce governments attuned to western interests. Those in countries like Azerbaijan, where oil industries might have been challenged, have been quietly dropped.

Its effects in Ukraine have been dangerously close to reopening the division between the Roman Catholic, Poland-leaning west and the Orthodox Russia-inclining east which threatened to split the country in the early 1990s. The divide has been crossed to date by a sufficient sense of national solidarity, but that solidarity remains under strain and can be tested to destruction by some of its more inflammatory politicians and by the practice of a form of street politics which has verged on mob rather than democratic rule.

It is the whole relationship with Russia which may come to be seen as the EU’s key failure in the east. Despite promising beginnings, the steady eastwards expansion of NATO contrary to the implicit understandings with Gorbachev in 1990, America’s unilateral withdrawal from earlier US–Soviet agreements on weapons limitation and, most recently, America’s proposal to situate anti-ballistic defence systems in the Czech Republic and Poland have soured relations to the extent that Russia’s President Putin threatened in July 2007 to deploy missiles aimed at western Europe in the Russian enclave of Kaliningrad in response.

The perception of 2002 that Russia would view the expansion of NATO as a political rather than a military development is looking somewhat dated, as is the belief of that time that the expanded NATO focused on political stability would make Austrian, Finnish and Swedish neutrality look similarly dated.

This is not to agree with the view of those critics who always maintained that the EU was nothing but the civil face of NATO, but the fact remains that the

EU has made little progress in developing its own military capability and has to operate by default through a NATO in which the US remains the dominant partner. Many of the new EU member states are all too willing to show their loyalty to NATO by contributing troops to theatres such as Afghanistan and Iraq in which they have little, if any, direct interest. Some were implicated in the illegal rendition by the American CIA of terrorist suspects to countries where torture was an accepted interrogation procedure. It is hardly surprising that the ambition of some of its politicians for the Ukraine to join both the EU and NATO causes such consternation in Moscow.

This is a reminder also that the EU will sooner or later have to come to an understanding with Russia and with its own central and eastern European members on its final eastern boundary. Poland strongly advocates Ukrainian membership of the EU, conscious of its affinity with the western Ukrainians, many of whom are living in areas which were Polish between 1919 and 1939. Nobody has seriously considered, however, how a new member state of such size could be absorbed in anything but the extremely long term. EU politicians have also become very conscious that the entry of Ukraine would also open the door for other countries of the former Soviet Union such as Belarus and Moldova, together with Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia in the Caucasus, the last of which has already expressed a desire to join. It is highly doubtful that the resulting EU of up to 40 members could function in any recognisable form.

The problem is exacerbated by the possible admission of Turkey, which its government wants to see as soon as possible. This is not to mention facing up to the challenge of absorbing the minimum of six Balkan states which are not yet members but are virtually certain to become so at some stage. It is not surprising that the EU is suffering from 'enlargement fatigue'.

One underlying problem is that the EU is deeply confused, perhaps terminally so, as to its true identity and purpose. The goal of the ever closer integration of its peoples espoused by its founding fathers more than 50 years ago has receded into the background as the number and diversity of member states have grown. At the price of succumbing to cynicism, many of the newer member states from central and eastern Europe have been motivated by what they can get out of the EU, particularly in the way of finance, rather than by what they can put into it. Moreover, some of the older member states, notably but not solely the UK, have promoted expansion as a means of halting and even reversing the integration process.

More widely, however, the European debate since 2005 on the proposed EU constitution has divided the countries of central and eastern Europe every bit as much as those in the west. Wolfgang Schäussel, the Austrian Chancellor, argued that the constitution protected the smaller member states, maintaining: 'If the constitution fails at this point, the big countries will be able to carry out plans that we have been wanting to prevent.' Stanislav Gross, the Czech prime minister, agreed: 'If we say no, we will stand alone.' His political opponent, Václav

Klaus, the Czech president, however, took the diametrically opposite view: 'The constitution is a massive infringement of our sovereignty.'

The argument did, though, have a deeper resonance in central and eastern Europe because, quite apart from the memories of the Soviet invasions of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, the existence of an EU framework, within which small nations can prosper, has encouraged the creation and/or the survival there of some extremely small and potentially vulnerable countries within the EU's actual or likely future boundaries. The latest, Montenegro, has just 600,000 people. In ascending order, it is followed by Estonia with 1.31 million, Slovenia with 1.96 million, Kosovo (if it achieves statehood) with 2.0 million, Macedonia with 2.05 million, Latvia with 2.25 million, Lithuania with 3.36 million, Bosnia-Herzegovina with 3.93 million and Croatia with 4.53 million. The future of many of these without a strong EU can only be described as problematic.

Some would say that the EU is the victim of its own success, or less kindly of its overweening ambition. It has effectively made a moral commitment to Turkey, whose European credentials are, except as an imperial power, extremely modest, and largely ignored Ukraine, which is unquestionably a totally European state. Perhaps the Turks will resolve the problem by losing their enthusiasm for EU membership, but probably not.

Ukraine, however, was part of the Russian Empire and then the Soviet Union for longer than England and Scotland have been a United Kingdom. Their histories have been one. The Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, was a Russianised Ukrainian. If the Ukraine is eligible for EU membership on cultural grounds, then so is Russia. One could hardly find artists more European than, say, Shostakovich, Tchaikovsky or Tolstoy. Reality here intervenes to remind us that Russia is a 'continent' stretching to the Pacific. If Russia were ever minded to join the EU, which seems implausible, it is the EU which might be absorbed rather than the other way round. It is not surprising that the EU is proving rather deaf to Ukrainian aspirations.

In practice, which is a very different matter, the EU's money has gone into strengthening the rather porous frontiers between itself, at the eastern side of Poland, and Belarus and Ukraine, to discourage the unauthorised movement of goods and people. It may not be a new Iron Curtain as some have alleged, but it is certainly a barrier. Europe remains divided – but along a different line.

The final uncertainty, and it is one which receives insufficient attention, is the extent to which the new Russia which is emerging under President Putin and his successors may become a new pole of attraction for central and eastern Europe. Dynamic Moscow is the biggest city in Europe, and wealth has spread far beyond the notorious oligarchs. The Russian currency and economy are strong. Details small in themselves, like the resumption of rail services between the Estonian capital, Tallinn, and St Petersburg, may be indicative of a reappraisal. Brussels should not assume that historic patterns of influence will not reassert themselves in Russia's favour.

V
SPECIAL TOPICS

5.1

THE ECONOMY

5.1.1 The economy 1919–39

The economic history of central and eastern Europe between the Wars closely mirrored its political history: indeed trends in the one reinforced trends in the other and vice versa. Again also, there were deep underlying similarities across the region despite the obvious national differences.

The immediate challenge was to turn the new states into viable economic units. This was far from straightforward. The distribution of natural resources bore no relationship to the distribution of ethnic communities, and economic development had proceeded within imperial frontiers and, if it had had any political purpose, with imperial objectives in mind. Austria–Hungary had built a major railway from Vienna to its important naval base at Fiume (Rijeka), but the new Poland had no port at all, and once it had constructed one at Gdynia, there was no rail connection to it. The new Czechoslovakia inherited a network of railways running north–south, whereas its own needs were for railways running east–west. The one line it did have linking Bohemia and Slovakia ran through what was now Poland.

More generally, economically integrated regions such as Silesia were divided into two or even three parts. This could disadvantage the new victorious nation as much as or more than the defeated one. The Slovak regions of Czechoslovakia, for example, had their own iron ore and textile industries developed under Hungarian auspices, but after 1919 they were in the impossible position of being cut off from their Hungarian markets on the one hand, but of being too remote from the new Czechoslovakia's industrial heartland in Bohemia on the other. The Slovak peasantry were in no better position. Those in the mountain areas had traditionally found agricultural employment on the Hungarian plain but after 1919 were no longer able to do so.

The creation of viable economic units also involved the equally problematic task of creating new stable currencies. This meant not only issuing the new but also withdrawing the old; a complex undertaking in countries like Poland where Austro-Hungarian, German and Russian currencies were all in circulation. Yugoslavia and, to a lesser extent, Romania were in the same position. These problems were compounded everywhere by the inflation engendered by the destruction and dislocation arising from the First World War. The Bulgarian *lev*, which was not even a newly introduced currency, had fallen to one-seventh

of its 1919 value by the middle of 1923. Such inflation was destabilising not just on its own account but because its impact on society was so uneven. The Bulgarian cost of living, as just one example, had increased 12-fold since 1914 but the wages of the urban worker had increased over the same period by only half as much. The corollary was the unemployment and social discontent which were such a feature of the interwar years.

National and international policies alike worked to make these problems harder rather than easier to resolve. The disastrous concept of reparations was extended to all the defeated Central Powers, with Bulgaria being expected under the Treaty of Neuilly to pay 2.25 billion gold francs over a 37-year period. Although these demands were progressively scaled down and then totally abandoned at the 1932 Lausanne Conference, they had a serious effect on confidence. Of nowhere was this truer than Austria where, although no reparations were actually ever paid, it was common ground between the political parties that the country was unviable.

The only real answer to such problems, pending the long-term restructuring of business and industry, was a degree of regional cooperation which would have gone some way to restoring the earlier economic structures. This was sensed at the time by some leaders, like Czechoslovakia's Dr Beneš who acknowledged that the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy had been a sound economic construction, but national and international politics alike pulled in the opposite direction. For the individual states, economic independence, beneficial and realistic or not, was almost as important as political independence. At the international level, any moves towards regional cooperation went against the perceived interests of at least one of the states concerned and of one of the western powers always in the background. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia both feared Hungary, as did Romania, but Hungary was an Italian sphere of interest. Czechoslovakia also feared Austria, but Austria also was an Italian sphere of influence as well as a German one. Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were almost belligerents throughout the 1920s, and economic warfare was the norm everywhere. Telephone and water communications were regularly cut off, and Czechoslovakia tried to starve Austria and Hungary of coal. The only real exception to this negative pattern was Albania, where a National Bank was established with 53 per cent Italian capital in 1925. The following year, the Bank launched a Society for the Development of the Economic Resources of Albania. The price of such economic development, though, was a progressive loss of independence. Albania had to undertake, in return for the loans, that for a 40-year period it would take no action which might reduce income without prior consultation with Italy. In the same year, oil was discovered off Vlorë, and the concession again went to Italy.

Developments, though, were not purely negative. Europe slowly recovered from the dislocation of war although on terms which did not favour central and eastern Europe. The Dawes Plan of 1924 brought some order to the repayment of German reparations. There was a perception that the worst was over and that conditions would continue to improve. The perception

was misplaced. For the first time since Versailles, it was to be America rather than western Europe which had the decisive impact on central and eastern Europe. On 29 October 1929, the American stock market crashed, introducing the Great Depression which was to show no sign of easing until the autumn of 1932. The effect on Europe was immediate. In Poland, as just one example, production fell to just 46 per cent of the 1913 level between 1931 and 1933. Tariffs were increased everywhere in an attempt to protect vulnerable national producers, and national quotas and cartels together with export subsidies reduced international trade even further. Such measures had the further negative effect of enriching some sectors of the population while impoverishing others, notably the smallholders.

Rather than joining together to stimulate trade, the central and eastern European states compounded the problem by opposing any such moves. In 1930, Czechoslovakia denounced a trade treaty with Hungary, but worse was to come. The collapse of Vienna's *Kreditanstalt* Bank confronted Austria with national bankruptcy, but the vociferous opposition of the Little Entente supported by France led to the abandonment of her logical response of concluding a customs union with Germany. Obstructionism was mutual. When France convened the Stresa Conference in an effort to alleviate the problems faced by the Danubian countries, it failed in its attempts to create a Danubian customs union in the face of opposition from Germany and Italy, seconded by Austria and Hungary, who wanted to see neither any threat to their own national interests nor any possibility of political consolidation which might reduce their scope for intrigue.

Such successes as were in due course achieved continued to reflect the shared interests of a small group of nations rather than any wider regional interest. Italy in October 1933, for example, advocated a revised framework for the economic activities of the Balkan nations. The 1934 Rome Protocols (see section 2.2) followed this up by envisaging the development of Italian markets for Austrian industry and for Hungarian agriculture, and the promotion of the largely redundant port of Trieste as an outlet for Austrian and Hungarian exports.

Behind this pattern of national assertion in a dislocated world, however, there loomed a common challenge which long predated the War: that of a disaffected peasantry clamouring for land reform. Although the challenge was old, the youth of the population and its new military experience gave it a much sharper edge. Only in Romania, though, was there a serious approach to it, but even there some 0.5 million families remained landless as the Second World War approached. Moreover, holdings were too small and yields too low. Agricultural underemployment was rife.

Such structural imbalances, though, almost receded into the background as the impact of the Great Depression mounted. Prices plummeted, and the value of the exports of raw materials and food, on which central and eastern Europe was particularly dependent, fell with them. The solution to this disastrous scenario was provided by Germany. The Nazis reversed the previous policy of higher tariffs

on imported agricultural produce, and undertook to buy first Hungarian grain and meat, and then Romanian oil and Yugoslav produce, on initially advantageous terms. In itself, this was constructive, but the true price soon had to be paid. Germany, as the increasingly dominant and exclusive customer, could, and did, dictate the terms of trade to the universally weak central and eastern European nations. By 1938, Germany alone was taking 42 per cent of Hungary's exports. Some historians have even gone so far as to claim that by 1939, Hitler had already won the first phase of the Second World War – the struggle for German economic supremacy across the eastern part of the continent.

That supremacy was to prove short-lived, but one other development at the national level was to help the establishment of the much longer-lived period of Communist rule. Even prewar governments took the initiative in establishing industries in an attempt to meet the difficulties experienced by their own small firms in attracting capital. State-run did not equate with Communist to the extent that later generations would tend to assume.

5.1.2 The impact of the Second World War

The Second World War intensified and extended the prewar pattern of German economic domination across central and eastern Europe, but it also introduced new divisions. Austria, Bohemia and Moravia and those parts of the Baltic nations actually incorporated in the German state benefited from enormous German investment and the widespread development of strategic industries and infrastructure. The conquered territories on the other hand, notably Poland and Ukraine, were seen merely as sources of plunder. Their populations were to be kept at starvation level pending their displacement to provide *Lebensraum* (settlement space) for the Germans. Two million Poles were transported to provide forced labour in addition to that of her 700,000 prisoners-of-war. A quarter of Poland's forests were felled for timber.

In some respects, though, particularly as the War advanced, the economic distinction between Germany's allies and conquered peoples meant little. Seventy-five to 80 per cent of the trade of the allied nations was with Germany, but deliveries were increasingly not paid for. One billion marks was owing to Slovakia, 1.2 billion marks to Bulgaria, 2.5 billion marks to Hungary and 4.6 billion marks to Bohemia and Moravia.

The final consequences were even worse than those of the First World War, and the suffering was most acute in those countries like Germany, Poland and Yugoslavia where ground fighting had been particularly severe. Warsaw had almost ceased to exist, and a quarter of Budapest had been destroyed or heavily damaged. Berlin was thought by some to be beyond reconstruction. The overall level of destruction exceeded 350 per cent of Poland's 1938 gross domestic product (GDP) and 370 per cent of Yugoslavia's. Hungary had lost twice its annual GDP, Czechoslovakia more than its annual GDP, and Bulgaria and Romania about a third of theirs. Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia had all lost one-half of their

railway potential and between one-half and three-quarters of their animal stock. In the worst affected areas, which were often extremely large, communications had returned to the level of 80 years before, and agricultural output and industrial capacity to those of 50 years before. Anything removable or useful was likely to have been removed by the retreating German or advancing Soviet Armies. When it is remembered that some 17 million refugees and displaced persons (see section 5.3.4) were moving over these same areas, it still seems a miracle that central and eastern Europe did not descend into the final anarchy of disease and starvation. It was an achievement of those in power which has not always received due credit and recognition.

5.1.3 Post-war reconstruction under Communist rule

The problems engendered by the level of death and destruction were not, however, the only economic problems facing governments. Just as after the First World War, inflation was rife, and both Hungary and Romania had in addition been placed under an obligation to pay reparations. The practical consequence of all these problems was an early economic dependence on the Soviet Union not so much for ideological reasons as through sheer necessity, as the only source of essential raw materials, as the only market for the little there was to export, and as the only supplier of transportation. Not least, only the Soviet Union had the potential to fill the economic vacuum created by the defeat of Germany. Joint companies were a logical development.

Like Britain in western Germany, the Soviet Union was also soon obliged to ship large quantities of badly needed food to Bulgaria, to the Soviet Zone of Germany and to Romania, to stave off starvation.

Furthermore, the devastation caused by the War was so great across Europe as a whole that governments everywhere had no option but to pursue policies of direction, planning and rationing which had a Communist flavour. That was particularly the case in central and eastern Europe whose prewar capitalist systems, outside Czechoslovakia, had been rudimentary. The entrepreneurial middle class had been small, often largely Jewish and again often German in the north of the region and Greek in the south. Much of it had now simply disappeared, and Czechoslovakia deliberately expelled all its Germans despite their entrepreneurial traditions. Land reform similarly, which had a particularly dramatic effect in the Soviet Zone of Germany, Hungary and Poland, demanded a high level of governmental organisation. In short, circumstances bred a climate of egalitarianism and government intervention without either Communist doctrine or Soviet political influence needing to make itself felt.

Nationalisation of major enterprises was a common policy. Czechoslovakia led in October 1945 by nationalising its mines, natural resources, large iron and steel enterprises, some larger food and drinks businesses, the banks and the insurance companies. Non-Communist Hungary nationalised its mines in 1946 and its large banks in 1947.

The growing political influence of the Communists naturally accelerated this trend. Hungary followed up its earlier nationalisations by placing heavy industry, power generation, food processing and all companies employing more than 100 people under state control. By the end of 1947, 95 per cent of Bulgaria's admittedly very small industrial sector was nationalised, and by 1948, 60 per cent of East Germany's was nationalised. The Czechoslovak government crisis of spring 1948 was part triggered in the February by Communist pressure for more extensive nationalisation. Yugoslavia nationalised all businesses other than small handicrafts. Poland nationalised all businesses employing more than 50 people. By the end of 1949, Romania had nationalised 85 per cent of its industry, assisted by general public hostility to foreign ownership.

Whether promoted specifically by Communists or not, nationalisation was a broadly popular policy echoed in western Europe in the early post-war years. It was only in Czechoslovakia after 1948, where there remained a significant middle class, that the comprehensive nationalisation of commerce and industry met significant opposition. These trends, which would have been powerful in any event, were further reinforced by the unwillingness of the western Allies after the rejection of the Marshall Plan to consider alternative forms of aid or to increase the low level of mutual trade. The Soviet Union willingly filled the gap and provided credit.

The popularity of state planning owed more to Soviet influence, but again it was reflected in western Europe, although more weakly except in France. Again, also, it was often seen, at least initially, as a necessity. The initial plans were modest in both duration and scope. The first East German plan was for only 6 months, the Bulgarian for 2 years and the Hungarian for 3 years. Most failed to meet their targets but were nevertheless positive in their impact.

From 1947 onwards, however, state planning acquired a different flavour. It grew more ambitious and much more directed along Soviet lines at the development of heavy industry at the expense of all other considerations. The motivation was mixed. Marxism–Leninism saw industrialisation and the industrial working class as the future. Even agriculture would be 'industrialised' as much to stamp out (sometimes very real) rural obscurantism as to increase production. Heavy industry, particularly iron and steel, spelt independence for backward countries, and not just in the Soviet bloc. It also meant a capacity to produce munitions and military hardware: a capacity which had hitherto been largely confined to the Czechoslovak Skoda complex in Plzeň. That capacity grew rapidly in importance as the Cold War matured. Not least, the Soviet model enjoyed enormous prestige because on the one hand it had defeated Nazi Germany, and on the other hand it was simply the only model of industrialisation in a backward country available. The development of India and other Third World countries all lay in the future.

The impact of the introduction of this Stalinist style of state planning, focused on the development of heavy industry, was huge in every sense of

the word. The plants themselves were enormous, modelled as they were on Soviet prototypes more in scale with the seemingly unlimited spaces of Russia herself. They were sometimes deliberately placed in sensitive locations to underline the break with the past. The advantages, at least potentially, were also enormous. Output was high on the basis of making maximum possible use of limited managerial and technical resources, and the plants dealt directly with the scourge of virtually all the central and eastern European countries: the great pool of unemployed or underemployed labour in the countryside. They also formed a basis for providing modern education and health care. The disadvantages were similarly enormous. Overly ambitious and lopsided plans led to high production, but also to waste, inflexibility and distortion. Otherwise promising sectors, such as precision tools and electrical goods in Hungary, were needlessly neglected. The impact on the environment was very bad, although it was not an issue which concerned either east or west at the time (see section 5.2.1).

The more obvious victims were the workers in whose name industrial progress was being pursued. Contrary to promises, production norms rose while real wages fell. The standard of living of the Hungarian working population declined by some 18 per cent between 1949 and 1952. As had been the case in the Soviet Union, the peasantry effectively subsidised industrialisation by supplying forced deliveries at low prices. It had become a system which could only be maintained by a discipline so rigorous that it was coercion at best and terror at worst.

It was to meet its end in East Berlin, where the unpopularity of the Soviet Union as the late enemy, and perhaps some encouragement from the west, provided the additional impetus needed for revolt. The new Soviet leadership accepted the need for a move away from the preoccupation with heavy industry and for a greater focus on consumer goods. The political climate progressively relaxed, and by 1956 Gomulka had returned to power in Poland and was reversing the collectivisation of agriculture as being contrary to Polish needs (see section 2.5). It seems clear in retrospect that although the Hungarian revolt of 1956 was infinitely more dramatic than the Berlin riots of 1953, it was less of an actual turning point.

It is, though, a reminder that there was to be constant tension for the next 35 years between Party orthodoxy and economic experimentation. Sometimes the pressure for experimentation came from below; sometimes it came from the leadership. Sometimes it was foiled by a reluctant membership, sometimes by a reluctant leadership. At other times it succeeded. Yugoslavia apart, which broke completely new ground, economic experimentation was pioneered by Hungary. Under the New Economic Mechanism of 1968, economic management was decentralised, and farm and plant managers given greater direct responsibility for their enterprises. The profit motive was recognised if not totally reintroduced. The results were spectacular. Hungary became very visibly the most economically buoyant of the Communist states. Whereas it had seemed backward compared with its neighbour Czechoslovakia, it was now Czechoslovakia which seemed to be beating time. Hungary was also to be comparatively open to the west.

Budapest had its Hilton Hotel: an unimaginable development in, say, East Berlin. Bulgaria trod a similar path in March 1979 by approving the reforms known as the new economic model (NEM), operative from the beginning of 1982.

Other countries were less fortunate. A combination of orthodoxy and Soviet pressure for mutual trade had foiled Erich Apel's comparable 'New Economic System' of 1963 in East Germany.

The East German experience underlined the problems which underlay the Communist experiment across central and eastern Europe. The Soviet Union was by far the largest and most powerful party, and for strategic reasons she wished to bind the economies of the Warsaw Pact countries together through the machinery of COMECON (see section 2.4). Her own scientific and technological resources, however, were limited and disproportionately geared to military purposes. She and her Warsaw Pact partners needed trade and exchange with the west but were inhibited by geopolitical considerations from achieving it to the degree required. All too often, mutual trade within COMECON meant dumping, by mutual barter, substandard or otherwise unwanted manufacturers and produce. The problem of motivation was also always present. In the absence of profit, or the fear and terror of the revolutionary 1940s and early 1950s, workplace morale was dependent on pride in work, self-discipline, social solidarity and status: a difficult though far from impossible climate to achieve. The problems could also be assets. The bond with the Soviet Union which denied western stimulus also meant access to the Soviet Union's enormous natural resources, not least cheap natural gas at low prices. Specialisation within COMECON also brought its advantages, even if there was the risk of losing national economic independence. Romania's nationalistic unwillingness to cooperate has many echoes in more recent western fears as to the powers of the European Union.

Ultimately though, the COMECON countries failed economically, even if the failure was essentially comparative. Living standards had after all soared compared with the 1950s. Apparent advantages such as low energy and materials costs stimulated waste rather than output. Czechoslovakia, for example, used twice as much energy and steel as America or Britain for the same value of output. Technical sophistication, not least automation and computerisation, lagged well behind western levels. Pollution was excessive and tending to destroy crucial environmental assets (see section 5.2.1). They had also perhaps been unlucky. The dramatic increase in the international oil price imposed by OPEC in the 1970s had a highly destabilising impact on all European economies, but it hit countries such as Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia particularly hard because they were exceptionally vulnerable at that time in view of their high levels of borrowing for development. What had appeared a challenging economic strategy became a doomsday scenario. It also needs to be said that even if its factories were generally old-fashioned and its economies uncompetitive, the bloc had its centres of high competence and even excellence. Most important of all perhaps it could bequeath a trained and educated labour force almost unimaginable in 1945.

5.1.4 The impact of 1990

The economic impact of the collapse of the Communist system was in many ways comparable to the impact on the countries of central and eastern Europe of the two successive World Wars. Trading patterns were dislocated, markets collapsed, inflation was a permanent threat, and unemployment rose. Not least, the balance of economic power within many of the countries concerned profoundly changed. Again, as was the case after the First World War at least, these consequences came irregularly and were spread over a considerable period of time. They may be far from over. The Czech economy was again contracting between 1997 and 1999, and Bulgarian inflation soared in January 1997.

The dislocation of trading patterns was associated primarily with the virtual dissolution of COMECON and the internal economic difficulties of the Soviet Union's successor states. Whereas the Soviet Union had been responsible for most of the region's imports, Russia, Belarus and the Ukraine were in no position to import comparably. The former Communist states also saw western links, and the EU's single market in particular, as the key to their economic future. This transition was a great deal simpler for the Visegrad and Baltic states than for those in the Balkans.

Inflation threatened as countries grappled with introducing western banking systems, new concepts of company law, the privatisation of former state enterprises and market prices. It touched an annual rate of 600 per cent in Poland in 1990, 334 per cent in Bulgaria in 1991 and 250 per cent in Romania in 1993. It was still 43 per cent in Poland and 100 per cent in Bulgaria in 1992. Restructuring added further strains.

Not surprisingly, the implications for national economies were severe. By 1995, the GDP of even Poland was still below the 1989 level, although in 1992 the Polish economy had been the first to start growing again. In the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia, it was 14 per cent below the 1989 level, and in Albania and Bulgaria it was some 25 per cent below.

Such economic problems were distressing to an already confused public which had been led to believe that the adoption of western systems would bring western wealth. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) was now imposing disciplines different from but no more welcome than the Soviet Union's. Worse in its impact was the collapse in the framework of the Communist social order, which introduced crime on a major scale, ranging from petty swindling to corruption throughout the whole governmental system. In 1990, some unwary East Berliners were suddenly faced with landlords out of a black farce, who first charged the room rent then followed it up with separate bills for the doors and other fittings. At the other extreme, in 1997 Albania virtually descended into gun law. 'Crony capitalism', whereby the elite benefited disproportionately from privatisation, was widespread.

Such extremes have been overcome or at least controlled, but corruption remains a major problem throughout the Balkan region. In war-torn Bosnia and

Serbia, it has been gravely exacerbated by the profits to be made from sanctions-breaking and the continuing absence of any real relationship between power and responsibility. The ultimate consequences of the US\$50–150 billion cost of damage to Serbian infrastructure caused by the NATO air attacks of 1999 can only be guessed at.

Such challenges aside, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, which all became EU members, appear to have stabilised their economies on the western model. The price, though, has been heavy. Some citizens have become very much richer, and a rather larger number have become appreciably poorer, with uncertain long-term social effects. Wealth is increasing, sometimes rapidly. Average GDP in the Warsaw region grew from 55 per cent of the EU average in 1995 to 65 per cent in 1996. Such progress, though, which was far from the norm, always had to be set against the long fall from the 1989 level and the progress which would have been achieved in most places in any event under the previous system.

5.1.5 The economy: recent developments

The fall of Communism has resulted in a confusing kaleidoscope of contrasting economic effects. The move to a market economy has made some countries more prosperous than they might have been otherwise, but not all. In perhaps the worst case, that of Moldova, almost 80 per cent of the population allegedly lives in poverty, with the tractors of the Soviet era having given way to a limited number of horse and carts. Many villagers are believed to have sold a kidney to illegal organ traffickers who transport them to Turkey where they are sold for some £100,000 each. Even within the more prosperous countries, many regions remain stagnant. Similarly, there are dynamic cities and regions within comparatively moribund nations. The capital of Belarus, Minsk, is one striking example of the latter. Needless to say, the use of statistics is made harder by our inability to know what rates of growth would have been achieved if Communism had not collapsed. What can be said, however, with some certainty is that the move to the market drastically widened the divisions in society and particularly hurt the more vulnerable, notably the elderly. They have yet to recover. This failure would be the more remarked if it were not conveyed by such ‘silent’ statistics as plummeting birth rates, low life expectancy and emigration. Perhaps ironically in view of the Soviet Union’s role in spreading Communism, Russia and Moscow, now Europe’s largest city, are showing these trends in their most extreme form.

To return to central and eastern Europe, however, there are discernible corridors of comparative prosperity along the mainline railways and main roads linking the west with the metropolitan centres of the east, but all too often desolation behind. The most obvious corridor is that from Berlin to Poznań and Warsaw and then on to Brest, Minsk and Moscow, but there is a second across northern Germany and Poland on to the Russian enclave of Kaliningrad, Riga, Tallinn and St Petersburg.

Yet a third runs south from Silesia to Kraków and on to Vienna. The economic geography of the period before 1914 is tending to reassert itself.

It is these discrepancies which help to explain the seemingly contradictory impressions and statistics. For all the bustle of some urban centres and signs of prosperity in corridors of countryside, Poland's GDP in 2002 was only 20 per cent that of Germany, and its overall population was falling, albeit only by 0.03 per cent. While the Slovak capital of Bratislava was enjoying a GDP per head in 2006 of 115.9 per cent of the EU average, the poorest region of the country was registering only 38.8 per cent. The towns and villages in the east of Poland and Slovakia alike are only able to survive on the remittances of relatives working abroad, and it is indeed these areas which are responsible for most of the substantial emigration into the more western member states of the EU. Unemployment in Poland as a whole still stood at 22 per cent in that year, 2006.

To the south, Hungary had similar problems with one-third of the population on or below the poverty line in September 2006.

Some of the contrasts, not surprisingly, are at their most evident at the interface of the old west and the new east, which in central Europe means the line of the old Iron Curtain. The lower prices in the east have drawn in western customers for petrol in the Czech Republic, property in Hungary, half-price dentistry in Hungary and, by no means least, sex, particularly it would seem in the Czech Republic. The border town of Cheb has become noted for its level of prostitution. In 2002, its 36,000 inhabitants were host to 98 brothels, and Prague has joined the ranks of Amsterdam and Hamburg as a venue for stag nights. One of Germany's motives for supporting early EU membership for the Czech Republic and its other immediate neighbours was to bring more order into the border regions and, not least, to stem the associated loss of tax revenues. The demand for property, whether as an investment or for personal enjoyment, is indeed now also being felt much further afield, whether on the Black Sea coast or in the mountains of Bulgaria or, more recently still, on the Adriatic coast of Montenegro.

Property as an investment by absentee landlords or as a second home always has the potential to engender bitterness amongst the normally poorer local resident population, and one does not have to go beyond, say, Cornwall, the Lake District or Wales in the United Kingdom alone for examples. It is a development which may or may not backfire.

The east, however, has made its own investments in the west, particularly in the field of personal private education. Poland is one leader, but it is marked anywhere in central and eastern Europe where, as in for example Croatia, a self-conscious middle class has emerged.

The rise of that middle class has been associated in some countries with the more successful privatisations of former state housing, whereby the flats were sold back to longstanding residents at low prices, thus creating a basis for middle class styles of life. Owner occupation had, nevertheless, been widespread in parts of the old Soviet Union such as Uzbekistan. The success of that style of privatisation

may be better appreciated when compared with the situation in East Berlin after unification, described earlier.

Too often, however, the privatisation of former state enterprises has been associated with corruption and incompetence. The shipyards in Szczecin, for example, which had been hotbeds of anti-government protest in 1970, went bankrupt in 2002 despite outstanding orders for 33 ships.

Privatisation, and the opening of markets to competition as a preliminary to EU membership and then as a condition of it, has, moreover, often been resented by many in central and eastern Europe who have seen it as destroying jobs to the benefit of their western neighbours. At least two of the three shipyards in the Lenin shipyard at Gdąnsk, the birthplace of *Solidarność*, were at risk of closure in 2007 as the result of an EU Commission enquiry into state subsidies, illegal under EU law. Moreover, many assets were almost certainly sold at artificially low prices. On the other hand, foreign investment has created new jobs and opportunities. This again can be interpreted in more than one way. Poland, by far the largest of the new member states, has exported many thousands of its young to the west, at least temporarily, and imported high levels of investment, from Germany in particular. Some see this as neo-colonialism and argue that Germany is retaining all the important design, management and research functions and only promoting second-tier employment opportunities. On the other hand yet again, ambitious and entrepreneurial young Poles are establishing their own networks in the west such as ‘Young Poles in Europe’ based in Brussels.

Membership of the euro zone is a widely shared objective, although both its timing and its desirability can be internally divisive. Such divisions are mirrored in the response to greater integration within the EU. The Czech social democrats, for example, favour both adoption of the euro in 2010 and greater integration, while President Klaus, the founder of the right-wing ODS, declared in May 2006 that being a member of the EU was no longer to the Czech Republic’s advantage.

5.1.6 Comparative GDP

Comparative GDP per head in the richest and poorest regions in each country of central and eastern Europe (excluding Austria and the former Yugoslavia) in 1996

<i>Regional GDP as a percentage of EU average</i>			
Bulgaria			
Richest	Burgas		34
Poorest	Sofia region		24
Czech Republic			
Richest	Prague		120
Poorest	Stredočeský		49

Continued

<i>Regional GDP as a percentage of EU average</i>		
Hungary		
Richest	Budapest city	88
Poorest	Nógrád	27
Poland		
Richest	Warsaw	65
Poorest	Suwalskie	23
Romania		
Richest	Bucharest	44
Poorest	Vaslui	20
Slovakia		
Richest	Bratislava	97
Poorest	Trenčianský	37

Comparative GDP per head in the nations of central and eastern Europe (expressed as purchasing-power parity US\$, 2004)

Albania	4,978
Austria	32,276
Bosnia–Herzegovina	7,032
Bulgaria	8,078
Croatia	12,191
Czech Republic	19,408
Estonia	14,555
Hungary	16,814
Latvia	11,653
Lithuania	13,107
Macedonia	6,610
Moldova	1,729
Poland	12,974
Romania	8,480
Serbia	n.a.
Slovakia	14,623
Slovenia	20,939
Ukraine	6,394

5.2

THE ENVIRONMENT

5.2.1 The Communist legacy

It has to be said at the very beginning that environmental awareness in the modern sense does not predate the 1960s anywhere. Industrial development had advanced throughout the nineteenth and the greater part of the twentieth centuries in western Europe and America with little regard for resource consumption or environmental impact, although outbreaks of cholera and typhoid had stimulated significant public health legislation. Social concern had similarly stimulated radical improvements in public housing and space provision. Major rivers, however, such as the Rhine, were highly polluted, urban air quality, particularly in the more heavily industrialised areas, left much to be desired, and land contamination was widespread. The Soviet Union had followed a very similar path, although at a much more frenetic pace.

The industrial development pursued as a political priority across central and eastern Europe after 1945 was no different, and it had a similar environmental impact. The Elbe and the Danube grew dirty, air quality around the new industrial centres like Sztalinvaros in Hungary was visibly bad, and land disappeared under spoil and chemical wastes. Although Communist development was not qualitatively different, however, it was quantitatively different. Preference was given to extremely large inter-linked plants forming industrial concentrations of remarkable size. Agriculture, similarly, was not only collectivised in most countries but managed along industrial lines. The corollary was that environmental impact was concentrated likewise.

Energy was a particular problem. Supplies of hard coal were limited, and some traditional western sources were now cut off. Industrialisation meant increasing reliance on sub-surface brown coal or lignite, particularly in East Germany where supplies were plentiful. The environmental impact, however, was severe. At the immediate level, huge tracts of countryside disappeared under mining excavators, creating a lunar landscape. The greater impact, though, was much wider. Lignite and other forms of soft coal are highly sulphurous, and their burning results in the production of very large quantities of sulphur dioxide. The sulphur dioxide emitted into the atmosphere combines with water in the air to form dilute sulphuric acid, which returns to earth as 'acid rain'. It causes widespread

damage, and in particular it kills trees and eats into building stone. Alarm was rapidly generated when West Germans observed from the mid-1960s onwards that their forests, particularly those close to the frontiers with Czechoslovakia and East Germany, were literally dying from such transboundary airborne pollution. Environmental impact apart, many of the central and eastern European countries under Communist rule remained seriously short of fuel. The dim street lighting of East Berlin and Dresden in the late 1960s was visible evidence of the extent to which power was an East German luxury.

The answer, as in some western countries, notably France, was the widespread use of nuclear power. Environmentalists remain deeply suspicious of civil nuclear power because of the risks of accident and the problem of radioactive waste disposal, but its advantages in the non-generation of environmentally damaging emissions are equally real. Nuclear power was promoted in east and west alike, however, for geopolitical and strategic rather than environmental reasons. The links with the development of military nuclear power are obvious. Countries such as Bulgaria and the Baltic states became dependent on nuclear power for the greater part of their energy needs. It is a matter of history that the major explosion at the Soviet reactor at Chernobyl in Ukraine turned public opinion against nuclear power to a dramatic degree, in many countries seemingly lastingly. There is nevertheless still room for argument as to whether the explosion should be attributed primarily to management error, to inadequate safety provisions in the design or to the risks inherent in the nuclear option. In any event, it can be accepted that later generations of Soviet-designed reactors were already appreciably safer than the early Chernobyl design.

The overall effect of these trends was somewhat contradictory. Agricultural and industrial concentration meant that environmental degradation was similarly concentrated, although its impact travelled far and wide. Nevertheless, there was a very marked contrast between the almost unimaginable grime of, say, East Germany's Bitterfeld chemicals complex and the great tracts of untouched countryside, even in East Germany but much more so almost everywhere else. Wolves and bears still roamed in Poland and Slovenia.

This contrast must always be borne in mind when assessing environmental data on central and eastern Europe, but this is not to make light of the problems which the Communist style of industrialisation bequeathed. Major industrial complexes were frequently adjacent to large cities which suffered pollution directly. It was increasingly realised in east and west alike that the high chimney stacks which ringed industrial cities like Plzeň did not disperse pollutants harmlessly but merely spread them over a much larger area. The urban fabric was visibly suffering from their attack on brick, stone and stucco. The security of Budapest's water supply was threatened by the level of pollution of the Danube, which was also leaching into the water table and contaminating sources many miles away.

The political climate was unhelpful. The primacy of the industrial proletariat in Marxist–Leninist philosophy discouraged any questioning of industrialisation as a process. It represented evolutionary progress. The general absence of individual

property rights stunted objection on the grounds of personal interest. More perhaps than anything else, the cold war imposed a psychology of production at any cost, inspired by a Soviet Union whose resources and ability to absorb pollution both appeared to be limitless. East Germany's uranium was too valuable militarily and economically for its extraction to be restrained by any consideration and, no doubt for this reason amongst others, environmental data were state secrets. It must also be said that the influence of a west which, well into the 1970s, was still minded to see environmental protection as an economic burden, and as a generator of unemployment, could be unhelpful. The West German city of Hamburg, for example, paid East Germany welcome hard currency to dispose of its domestic waste, which was tipped, adding to East Germany's already substantial problems.

It is a pattern which has not disappeared. In 2006, it was the Czech government, with the support of an alliance of environmentalists from the Czech Republic, Germany, Poland and Slovakia, which was concerned that unless the principle of proximity of waste treatment to point of origin was reiterated in the European Commission's review of its framework directive on waste, the Czech Republic would succumb to mass waste exports from Germany, drawn in by its lower incineration costs. (See also section 4.4.)

Nevertheless, it must again be repeated that the balance was not all negative. Environmental awareness was growing in the east as it had in the west 15–20 years earlier. In East Germany it could escape government control by organising itself under the shelter of the Protestant churches. Governments too, though, were becoming more aware, and increasingly formed links with each other. Czechoslovakia and East Germany initiated cooperation on cleaning up the Elbe and joined with Poland in addressing the problems caused by the burning of lignite. The West German government soon recognised that it would be cheaper to invest in pollution prevention measures at source in Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Poland than to undertake expensive clean-up operations at home. East Germany established a state environmental inspectorate in 1985, one year before West Germany established its own ministry.

The east had its own strengths. Town planning had been taken seriously, and problems like urban sprawl and random development were much less serious than in some western countries. Town centres had not been sacrificed to the car, and Czechoslovakia had declared many of its smaller towns, like Telč, urban reservations, whose care could be immaculate. Public transport was sophisticated, and rail played a leading role in the movement of both goods and people, limiting the emissions of greenhouse gases which are such a disadvantage of road transport.

Not least, there were numerous nature protection zones and national parks, covering some of Europe's most remote countryside outside the Pyrenees.

5.2.2 The impact of 1990

The collapse of the Communist system in 1990 eased some problems but generated others. The economic slowdown and the widespread closure of factories

perceived to be uneconomic drastically reduced the emission of many pollutants, notably sulphur dioxide. In the Czech Republic between 1989 and 1994, as just one example, emissions of sulphur dioxide fell by 36 per cent, of nitrous oxides by 60 per cent and of particulates by 49 per cent. Western investment was sometimes available for cleaning up and modernising polluting plants deemed to have an economic future. Other developments, though, were less benign. Much more emphasis was placed on the flexibility of road transport, and as the number of lorries and cars increased, so did the output of carbon dioxide, the key greenhouse gas. Road building was similarly stimulated and brought its own environmental impact.

One undeniable advance was the impetus given to environmental legislation and policies. Czechoslovakia and Slovenia passed environmental protection acts in 1992 and 1993 respectively, and Poland and Slovakia adopted national environmental policies and strategies in 1991 and 1993 respectively. The EU's new European Environment Agency brought a new understanding of the reality of the eastern, central and western European environments alike with its Dobříš Assessment of 1995, the first ever comparable review of the continent's environment. The countries of the Visegrad group led in applying for EU membership, which entailed ultimate compliance with EU environmental policy. This was a daunting commitment because the cost of bringing air quality, drinking-water, and sewage disposal and similar standards up to EU levels was put by the EU Commission at no less than €120–180 billion for all ten candidate countries for EU membership. Such a sum exceeded the resources of the Commission and of the candidate countries for EU membership alike, and it could only be hoped, somewhat optimistically, that the greater part could be raised from private investment. The challenge was equally great for the EU, but of a different nature. If it insisted on compliance with its own high environmental standards as a precondition of membership, which many including its own environment commissioner wanted, it ran the risk of delaying to an unacceptable degree its commitment to accepting the candidate countries as new members. If on the other hand it accepted them as members on the basis of lower standards, it would be destroying the level playing field for business competition which was the cornerstone of the key concept of the single market. The answer in practice was the compromise of long-term transition periods ('derogations') running from the adherence date of 2004/2007.

Nevertheless, the cost of Poland's adoption of EU environmental standards was placed by the Polish government at €30 billion, even with derogations lasting up to the year 2015.

The EU and the candidate countries have faced comparable challenges over nuclear power, further complicated by the decision of some existing states, notably Germany, to phase out their own capacity. The EU had always insisted that the most hazardous plant in central and eastern Europe, including some of the reactors at Kozloduy in Bulgaria and Ignalina in Lithuania, had to be decommissioned as an absolute precondition of EU membership, and

offered financial help to that end. It also, though, had to accept that energy shortages were such that many reactors of Soviet design with less-than-ideal safety provisions would have to remain in service for a considerable time to come.

Greater controversy has actually surrounded the completion of new nuclear plant to much safer Russian designs. Austria, which is strongly anti-nuclear, strongly opposed the commissioning by Slovakia of Mochovce in Slovakia and by the Czech Republic of the new power station at Temelin, 60 kilometres from the Austrian border, despite assurances from international inspectors that it fully complied with western standards. Austria went so far as to threaten to veto the Czech Republic's admission to the EU if it was not fully satisfied.

The whole issue of nuclear power in central and eastern Europe is, however, intimately connected, as it is elsewhere, with the question of security of energy supply. The particularity of central and eastern Europe is that the alternative in most countries to nuclear, now that the burning of coal is out of favour because of its major contribution to greenhouse gas emissions and thus to global warming, is the import of oil and gas from Russia. Such imports in the Soviet period were effectively subsidised by the Soviet Union, and although prices to countries which were not part of the USSR have slowly risen since 1990 to world market levels, they remain appreciably lower to Ukraine, a form of subsidy to which Russia's President Putin is not slow to draw attention (see section 2.6.1). Russia has also been ready abruptly to suspend exports to Europe as a whole in the event of protracted disputes over supply or transit charges.

The resulting feeling of vulnerability encouraged the Polish government of Jaroslaw Kaczyński, in office after July 2006, to favour the development of civil nuclear energy as well as the import of Norwegian gas. In energy and environmental issues, however, Poland cannot escape its traditional geopolitical experience of lying between the larger powers of Germany and Russia. A major contribution to the thirst of the western member states of the European Union (EU) for energy supplies is to be met by an under-sea pipeline direct from Russia to Germany, bypassing Poland and denying it benefit. It is being built by a subsidiary of Gazprom, the Russian state utility, of which the chairman is Gerhard Schröder, the former German Chancellor. Poland is not amused.

The new non-Communist governments had their own disputes. Hungary and Slovakia inherited a large hydro-electric dam project at Nagymaros on the Danube which Slovakia was anxious to continue, but which Hungary strongly opposed on account of its feared environmental impact. The increasingly acrimonious dispute defeated EU mediators and eventually had to be referred to the International Court of Justice in The Hague, which found in favour of a reduced scheme.

It must also be admitted that although western countries have certainly introduced advice and investment, not least through the EU's Phare programme, they have also introduced some less conscientious plant operators. The poor

management of the Romanian Baia Mare gold mine led in January 2000 to the collapse of a retaining dam, releasing 120 tons of cyanide into the tributaries of the Danube and threatening the water supplies of cities far downstream. Disaster was narrowly averted, but the management of 23 other plants in the region remains a subject of major concern.

5.3 HUMAN STATISTICS

5.3.1 Population statistics

	<i>1921</i>	<i>1939</i>	<i>1946–8</i>	<i>1991</i>
Albania	831,877	1,003,124	1,120,522	3,303,000*
Austria	6,428,000	–	7,062,942	7,800,000
Bulgaria	4,910,000	6,077,939	7,022,026	8,798,000
Czechoslovakia	13,610,000	9,807,096	12,164,661	15,567,666
Czech Republic			–,	
Slovakia			–	
Hungary	7,945,878	11,137,993		10,500,000*
Poland	27,092,025	32,106,400	23,929,757	38,337,000*
Romania	17,303,149	19,585,398	16,409,367	23,276,000*
Yugoslavia	12,017,323	15,630,000	15,751,938	–
Bosnia– Herzegovina				4,366,000
Croatia				4,760,300
Macedonia				2,038,047 [†]
Serbia and Montenegro				10,500,000 [†]
Slovenia				1,962,000

*Estimated.

[†]1992 figure.

UN projections for 2010

	<i>Millions</i>
Albania	3.22
Austria	8.25
Bosnia–Herzegovina	3.93

Continued

	<i>Millions</i>
Bulgaria	7.45
Croatia	4.53
Czech Republic	10.16
Estonia	1.31
Hungary	9.96
Latvia	2.25
Lithuania	3.36
Macedonia	2.05
Moldova	4.16
Montenegro	0.65
Poland	38.36
Romania	21.29
Serbia	7.5
Slovakia	4.5
Slovenia	1.96
Ukraine	44.13

5.3.2 Ethnic minorities

<i>Ethnic Bulgarians</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1930/1</i>	
Romania	–	361,058	
<i>Ethnic Byelorussians</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1930/1</i>	
Poland	–	989,900	
<i>Ethnic Germans</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1930/1</i>	
Czechoslovakia	3,122,892	3,231,688	
Hungary	–	478,630	
Poland	–	741,000	
Romania	–	740,169	
<i>Ethnic Hungarians</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1930/1</i>	<i>2001</i>
Austria			70,000
Czechoslovakia	746,809	691,923	
Romania	–	1,426,178	2,000,000

Continued

Slovakia		600,000
Ukraine		200,000
Yugoslavia		345,000
<i>Jews by nationality</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1930/1</i>
Czechoslovakia	180,337	186,642
<i>Jews by religion</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1930/1</i>
Austria	–	191,481
Bulgaria	–	48,398
Czechoslovakia	353,644	356,830
Poland	–	2,732,600 [†]
Romania	834,344	900,000
Yugoslavia	64,159	68,405
<i>Ethnic Poles</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1930/1</i>
Czechoslovakia	75,705	
<i>Ethnic Russians</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1930/1</i>
Romania	–	415,217
<i>Ethnic Ruthenians</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1930/1</i>
Romania	–	577,693
<i>Ethnic Slovaks</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1930/31</i>
Hungary	–	104,819
<i>Ethnic Ukrainians</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1930/1</i>
Poland	–	3,222,000

*Yiddish and Hebrew speakers in the December 1931 census.

5.3.3 War losses

1939–45

Albania: 22,000.

Czechoslovakia: About 200,000.

Germany: Estimated 3 million killed and 3.4 million permanently wounded as of 1945, many of whom had died prematurely by 1950, together with 1,148,000 soldiers and 190,000 civilians still missing in 1950. Perhaps 6 million in all.

Hungary: 500,000.

Poland: Nearly 3 million.

Romania: 500,000.

Soviet Union: Precise figures are unobtainable, but estimates of some 25 million killed are generally accepted.

Yugoslavia: 1,685,000 killed, representing more than 10 per cent of the population. More than 75 per cent had been shot or lost their lives in concentration camps or death chambers, and the average age of those killed or missing was 22.

(**Jews** from central and eastern Europe as a whole: Perhaps 4 million.)

(1992–5)

Bosnia–Herzegovina: About 200,000

5.3.4 The post-war migrations

The eviction of the Germans

1945–6

From Czechoslovakia:	3 million	– the Sudeten Germans
From East Prussia:	2 million	– from the detached area of prewar Germany centred on Königsberg, annexed by Poland and the Soviet Union jointly in 1945
From Hungary:	0.5 million	
From Poland:	7.5 million	– 2 m from prewar Poland, and 4.5 m from Silesia and 1 m from East Pomerania, both annexed by Poland in 1945 in compensation for her loss of territory in the east to the Soviet Union
From Romania	300,000	

1978–83

From Romania:	55,000 voluntary emigrants	
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The eviction of the Hungarians

1945–6

From Slovakia:	100,000	
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The migration of the Poles

1945–6

From the eastern territories ceded to the Soviet Union and mostly 2–3 million
to the new western territories transferred from Germany:

Displaced and resettled persons

1944–6

Total: 15–17 million

5.3.5 Life expectancy in years (2003)

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Albania	75.4 (average male+female)	
Austria	76.0	81.8
Bosnia–Herzegovina	71.4	76.8
Bulgaria	68.9	75.6
Croatia	71.4	78.4
Czech Republic	72.9	79.1
Estonia	65.6	77.0
Hungary	68.6	76.8
Latvia	65.8	77.0
Lithuania	66.6	77.8
Macedonia	71.3	76.3
Moldova	63.9	71.3
Poland	70.8	79.4
Romania	67.8	75.0
Serbia	n.a.	
Slovakia	70.1	77.9
Slovenia	72.7	80.0
Ukraine	60.1	72.5

5.4

CULTURE

5.4.1 Cosmopolitanism and cultural nationalism

The popular image of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and of its twin capitals of Vienna and Budapest was one of gaiety: of Viennese waltzes, operetta and cream cakes. It was summarised in the familiar Austrian comment that ‘the situation is critical but not serious’. That image persists and is valid on its own terms, but it concealed the Empire’s darker side – its grimly repressive prisons such as the Špilberk in Brno, the grinding poverty of many of its workers which made Vienna ‘Red Vienna’ at an early date and its anti-Semitism. It also did Vienna a grave disservice by distracting attention from the reality that it was one of the most creative cities of the early twentieth century. Indeed, it can be plausibly argued that, as home to Freud, Adler and Jung, Schoenberg, von Webern and Berg, Musil, Kokoschka and Wittgenstein, it was a more vibrant centre than London, Paris or Berlin. Moreover, Freud largely created the science of psychology, just as Schoenberg created the ‘modern’ music which continues to inspire some of music’s most original minds. Although Musil is less well known, his work is compared with that of the great French literary innovator, Marcel Proust. This powerful artistic and scientific tradition not only survived the First World War, but peaked in the new Austrian republic established in 1919. Indeed, some of its greatest achievements immediately preceded the republic’s very darkest years. It was a tradition which was cosmopolitan in its outlook but German-speaking and to no small degree Jewish. It was suspect on all counts. It was out of step with a Europe organised on the nationality principle, with an Austria rendered ‘German’ by the loss of its Imperial territories and with a public opinion which was minded to see Austria’s future as lying in union with Germany. It was a tradition which was faltering throughout the 1930s, and which died in 1938 when the victorious Nazis, Austrian and German alike, suppressed ‘degenerate’ art and science and persecuted and ultimately eliminated that part of the Jewish population which had not already fled. It was a tradition which was not to be reborn in 1945, because too many of its supports had been destroyed. Cosmopolitanism in central and eastern Europe was no more, and more fundamentally, the wealth which had flowed into Vienna from the far corners of the Empire and sustained its administrative, merchant and military classes was no more. Defeat in 1918 had

rendered Austria marginal and Vienna provincial, and the cultural and intellectual Indian Summer of the following 20 years had masked, but could not alter, that underlying reality.

Budapest and Prague had formed part of that intellectual world but were increasingly centres of a specifically national culture. As early as 1867, Liszt had captured national and nationalist sentiment with his Coronation Mass for the Habsburg emperor, now declared king of Hungary. A rich vein of genius, including Bartók in Hungary and Janáček in Czechoslovakia, built on these foundations. Warsaw was, perhaps, less obviously creative, but all in the longer term were to face the continuing challenge of sustaining creativity within what had become a very much narrower environment.

Some composers and writers have succeeded, including the Polish composer Krzysztof Penderecki (see section 6.4), whose best-known works date from the Communist period, and the Hungarian poet Imre Kertész, awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2002. His fellow Hungarian György Ligeti (see section 6.4), however, left Hungary in 1956 to live in the west until his death in 2006. The controversial Austrian feminist novelist, Elfriede Jelinek, won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2003.

5.4.2 The Arts under Fascism and Communism

Not surprisingly, official art and architecture between the Wars reflected the nationalistic strivings of politics and social life. They also reflected, however, an urge to achieve a style which was modern and appropriate for a nation which was seeking to establish itself in the post-war world. These twin urges discouraged work which was individual or experimental in favour of a more conformist approach. Academism prevailed over innovation. In practice this meant a pared down classical style, paralleled in the celebrated town hall of Stockholm and municipal buildings in Britain, including Norwich, Southampton and Walthamstow (London).

In central and eastern Europe, it did not usually mean the grandiloquent monumentalism of Mussolini's Italy, of which Milan Central Station remains the most evocative memorial. Even when the classicism of its new public buildings approached the monumental, it did not verge on the imperial. It also did not mean the sheer scale of Nazi architecture, starting with Berlin's 1936 Olympic Stadium, partly because their inspiration came too late and partly because they were too extravagantly expensive.

Such work was not necessarily bad. It could have qualities of balance and proportion, but it usually lacked inspiration. It did not share the dauntingly inhuman mass of such Nazi buildings as Berlin's Air Ministry (now the Federal Finance Ministry), but its modernism was symbolic. The option of questioning orthodoxy, particularly if it related to fundamentalist nationalism, was excluded. Personal creativity, and the anxieties it addresses, were out of fashion.

These same trends were reflected in the more private arts, although literature and music are harder to control. The nationalist impulse had proved intensely stimulating to composers such as Bartók. Predecessors such as Smetana, Dvořák and Liszt had after all played a major role in the nineteenth century in crystallising the spirit of Czech and Hungarian nationalism. Bartók, however, who had been Commissar for Culture in Béla Kun's short-lived Communist and Social-Democrat-led Hungarian government of 1919 (see sections 2.1 and 6.4), had been able to marry his national melodies with very un-national Viennese modernism and a high level of personal experimentation. Nevertheless, even he found the political climate in Hungary increasingly oppressive and ultimately opted to emigrate to the United States. Vienna itself, as already noted, had turned its back on Berg (see section 6.4) well before the Nazis suppressed all experimental work as 'degenerate'.

It was logical that it was only in liberal Czechoslovakia that the creative theatre flourished. Karel Čapek enjoyed a European reputation for his avant-garde dramas which could not be matched elsewhere. Lyric poetry was similarly rich, and the achievement of Jaroslav Seifert was belatedly recognised in the award of the Nobel prize for literature in 1984. Budapest could retain its polish and style with the later operettas of Franz Lehár, but they did not aspire to be high art.

The Communist approach to the arts was in some respects very similar to the Fascist approach. There was the same fondness for the heroic and the monumental, for the public against the private. In the one spot where there was ever a direct confrontation between the two, the 1937 Paris exhibition, the German and Soviet pavilions mirrored each other. Profound differences in philosophy could generate comparable results. Lenin had taught that all endeavour, including artistic endeavour, had to serve the people and their revolution. Fascism maintained that all endeavour was for the good of the corporate state. Neither left any room for 'art for art's sake'.

Communist art and architecture, though, was a much more complex subject than Fascist art and architecture. It was inspired by Soviet art, itself rooted in a revolution initially as radical artistically as it was politically. The Soviet poster was to retain some of that artistic radicalism until 1990, and it inspired imitation throughout Communist central and eastern Europe. Soviet influence after 1945, however, was also much more tangible. Wartime devastation demanded urgent repair and rebuilding, and austere office and apartment blocks born of necessity were a common European response. They were, though, not the only response. The reconstruction of historic cities is discussed in the next section, but the surprising response was the widespread adoption of the lavish palatial style associated with Stalin himself and sometimes dubbed 'wedding cake' style. It could even perhaps be described as 'Moscow Metro' style. The best-known example in central and eastern Europe is probably the 'Palace of Culture' in Warsaw, presented by Stalin as an (unwanted) gift to Poland in the early 1950s, which gives part of the Warsaw skyline a decidedly Soviet feel – no doubt the intention. The same style was favoured for the early reconstruction of the centre of

Magdeburg in East Germany. The most remarkable example, though, remains the development of Stalinallee, now Karl-Marx-Allee, in East Berlin. The new East German state, declared in 1949, planned and executed the total redevelopment of some 2.5 kilometres of the humble Frankfurter Allee with mansion blocks which truly deserved the description of ‘people’s palaces’. Some of the detailing is undoubtedly Russian in inspiration, as is the choice of road width, but the supervising architect was Hermann Henselmann, the Berlin city architect. It was widely derided by the west at the time, largely for political reasons, but is now officially recognised as one of Europe’s most significant building ensembles. Recently rehabilitated with the aid of finance from the EU Regional Development Fund, it can reveal vistas of real urban beauty.

The more personal arts were kept under strict control, particularly after the notorious Soviet Zhdanov decree of 1948 insisting on socialist realism. Although it provoked a great deal of poor work, it was also bypassed to a remarkable degree by more independent spirits and was also very erratically applied in both time and place. Ludmilla Zhivkova, as minister of culture, introduced considerable artistic freedom in Bulgaria. Poland was always regarded as extremely liberal by East German standards, although writers like East Germany’s Christa Wolf succeeded in producing excellent work. Nevertheless, the works of the emigré Polish poet, Professor Czeslaw Milosz, were only officially published in Poland after he had been awarded the Nobel prize for literature in 1980. Dissidents everywhere, like Václav Havel in Czechoslovakia, seemed to feel restraint almost as a stimulus. Nevertheless, both he and Kundera saw their works banned after 1968.

Communist rule, though, had its positive side. Wider educational opportunities produced a much larger audience for literature and stimulated writers, particularly in the Balkans, in a way that had not previously been the case.

5.4.3 Post-war rebuilding of the national heritage

One of the most remarkable features of post-war rebuilding was the willingness of the new Communist regimes to restore, and even rebuild from nothing, historic buildings and centres with which, in some cases, they could have felt only limited sympathy. They were reflecting the same impulse as was felt in the Soviet Union, where the great Tsarist palaces of Petrodvorets (Peterhof/Peterhof) and Tsarskoe Selo, devastated during the siege of Leningrad, were to be painstakingly restored and reconstructed over decades.

The most celebrated example is the historic centre of Warsaw which was rebuilt with the aid of paintings by the eighteenth-century Venetian painter, Bellotto. Little less remarkable, though, was the recreation one by one of most of the devastated monuments of Dresden in East Germany, which long remained isolated from each other in a wasteland of destruction.

It was a reaction which gained a further impetus from German unification. After considerable controversy it was decided to reconstruct the great *Frauenkirche* in Dresden, rather than leave the rubble as a permanent war memorial. It is

a reaction, also, which has not yet run its course. The media conglomerate, Bertelsmann, has constructed headquarters offices on the Unter den Linden, which was Berlin's, and then East Berlin's, and now reunited Berlin's, grandest street, and has built anew from original drawings and photographs the splendid neo-classical façade. Most remarkable, and most open to criticism, of all is the decision to rebuild from nothing the façades of the royal palace in eastern Berlin which was totally demolished by the Soviet occupation authorities after heavy damage in the Second World War. The only preserved fragment is the balcony from which Karl Liebknecht (q.v.) declared the German Communist Republic after the First World War, which was built into the former East German Palace of the Republic (*Palast der Republik*).

5.4.4 Linguistic politics

The concept of linguistic politics may have an unfamiliar sound to English readers but will be much more familiar to any reader from an ethnically contested region. It is the process whereby language is self-consciously used to assert and to cultivate national identity, often in the face of assimilation by a larger or more dominant adjacent group. Linguistic assimilation is associated with cultural and political assimilation, and to be countered and, if possible, reversed accordingly as one facet of national self-determination.

The first stage in the process has to be codification of a standard language with a reasonably common grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary out of a number of conflicting dialects which may be mutually incomprehensible. It will coexist with dialects, and will probably be rooted in one, but will usually have more prestige as the speech of the better educated and increasingly of literature. It is a process which had been completed in England and France by the early seventeenth century, if not before, but which had to wait until the nineteenth century in parts of central and eastern Europe, and remains incomplete in Albania. It is, though, an ambiguous process. If the creation of a common language facilitates the process of nation building, then the corollary is also true. The existence of a common language hinders the pursuit of different national aspirations within the same language area. What this means in practice is that dialects are promoted to languages, and languages demoted to dialects, to fit changing political circumstances. Europe has a range of examples. Croatian nationalists, including the later president, Franjo Tudjman, sought to establish from the 1970s onwards that Croatian was a specific language and not just a national variant of the Serbo-Croat shared with Serbia. The Slav speech of the Czech Republic and of Slovakia is sufficiently similar for it to have been customary to speak until 1992/3 of a Czechoslovak language, but that is no longer the case. Languages like Byelorussian, Polish, Ruthenian and Ukrainian merge into each other and are defined by cultural and historic considerations as much as by linguistics. Similarly, languages can be deliberately distinguished from one another in an attempt to justify a particular political allegiance. The former Yugoslavia described Macedonian as a distinct language,

as does the current FYROM, but many would argue that Macedonian is only a Bulgarian dialect. Likewise, the former Soviet Union insisted that Moldavian was a separate language rather than a dialectal version of Romanian. Such disputes can be very bitter. It was not until February 1999, for example, that the Bulgarian government first recognised Macedonian as a separate language. Some 5 years before, on 13 April 1994, the Bulgarian minister of science and education, Marko Todorov, had broken off his visit to Macedonia, having refused to acknowledge the existence of Macedonian as a separate tongue. Similar motives can affect spelling. Romania's post-war allegiance to the Soviet Union was reflected in a spelling reform which emphasised the Slav elements in the Romanian language. Its reassertion of independent nationalism was then followed by a further reform which emphasised the language's Romance roots.

Above all, though, linguistic politics is about the promotion of the 'national' language at the expense of the 'imperial' language, on the one hand, and of minority languages on the other. The former process can prove the simpler. It is difficult to remember now, for example, that Prague in the middle of the nineteenth century was a German-speaking city. The Germans in Poland during the Second World War attempted to reverse the process. The Poles were deprived of education in the belief that an illiterate people ceased to exist as a nation. The exclusion of minority languages, though, is a much more sensitive issue. It raises issues of human rights, like the right to education in one's own language, the possibility of pressures for frontier changes, and the advance of a multiculturalism which may be seen as threatening and divisive. The three Baltic states have all since 1991 seen moves to make the national languages the only official ones, to the disadvantage of their large Russian minorities. These have been liberalised under EU pressure as a precondition of EU membership, not least the Estonian law which until 1998 required all elected officials to speak Estonian.

At the time of writing (2007), the issue of language appears to be at its most sensitive in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and in Romania and Slovakia, where the use of Hungarian for official purposes, including higher education, seems likely to remain subject to repeated challenge.

Language can also be important to outside powers who may be seeking to extend their influence and to counter the influence of others. Russian was taught to all central and eastern European schoolchildren throughout the period of Soviet influence. The growth in the use of English as a second language is a worldwide phenomenon which owes little to the direct efforts of the governments of either America or Britain, but it provoked France to organise the biennial Francophone summit in Bucharest, Romania, in 2006, the first time it had been organised outside France. Romanian intellectuals had traditionally looked to France for inspiration (see section 1.1), and Bucharest had modelled itself on Paris. On 26 September, President Chirac of France called on the leaders of the 53 nations represented to unite against globalisation, understood as the expansion of American cultural and economic power.

VI
PEOPLE

6.1

OFFICE HOLDERS

6.1.1 Heads of State

Albania

1919–24	Council of Regents drawn from the Baktashi Muslim, Sunni Muslim, Catholic and Orthodox religious communities
1925–8	Ahmed Bey Zogu (<i>President</i>)
1928–39(46)	[above as] Zog I (<i>King</i>)
1946–53	Dr Omer Nichani (<i>Head of State</i>)
1953–82	Haxhi Lleshi (<i>Head of State</i>) (<i>Presidents</i>)
1982–92	Ramiz Alia
1992–7	Dr Sali Berisha
1997–2002	Rexhep Meidani
2002–7	Dr Alfred Moisiu
2007–	Bamir Topi

Austria

	(<i>Presidents</i>)
1920–8	Dr Michael Hainisch
1928–38	Wilhelm Miklas
1946–51	Dr Karl Renner
1951–7	Dr Theodor Körner
1957–65	Dr Adolf Schärf
1965–74	Franz Jonas
1974–86	Dr Rudolf Kirschschräger
1986–92	Kurt Waldheim
1992–2004	Dr Thomas Klestil
2004–	Dr Heinz Fischer

Bosnia–Herzegovina

	(<i>President</i>)
1992–5	Alija Izetbegović

OFFICE HOLDERS

(A three-member rotating presidency functioned after 1995)

1995–8	Alija Izetbegović
1998–9	Ejup Ganić (Muslim)
1998–2002	Zivko Radišić (Serb)
1999–2001	Ante Jelavić (Croat)
2001–2	Jozo Krizanović (Croat)
1998–2000	Alija Izetbegović (Muslim)
2000–1	Halid Genjać (<i>interim</i>) (Muslim)
2001–2	Beriz Belkić (Muslim)
2002–6	Sulejman Tihić (Muslim)
2002–6	Dragan Cavić (Croat)
2003	Mirko Šarović (Serb)
2003–6	Borislav Paravać (Serb)
2006–	Željko Komsić (Croat)
2006–	Nebojša Radmanović (Serb)
2006–	Haris Silajdžić (Muslim)

Bosnian Serb Republic (*Republika Srpska*)

(Presidents)

1992–6	Dr Radovan Karadžić
1996–8	Biljana Plavsić
1998–9	Nikola Poplasen
2000–2	Mirko Šarović
2002–	Dragan Cavić

Bulgaria

1918–43	Boris III (<i>King</i>)
1943–6	Simeon II (<i>King</i>)
1943–4	Prince Kiril, Professor Filov and General Mihov (<i>Regency Council</i>)
1944–6	Professor Venelin Ganev, Zvetko Boboshevsky and Todor Pavlov (<i>Regency Council</i>)
1946–7	Vassil Kolarov (<i>Acting president</i>)
1947–50	Dr Mincho Nechev (<i>President of the Presidium of the Republic</i>)
1950–8	Lt-Gen. Georgi Damianov (<i>President of the Presidium of the Republic</i>)
1958–64	Dimiter Ganev Varbanov (<i>Head of State</i>)
1964–71	Georgi Traikov Girovski (<i>Head of State</i>)

PEOPLE

1971–Nov. 1989

Todor Zhivkov (*Chairman of the Council of State*)
(*Presidents*)

Nov. 1989–Jul. 1990

Peter Mladenov

Aug. 1990–7

Zhelyu Zhelev

1997–2001

Petar Stoyanov

2001–

Georgi Parvanov

Croatia

1941–5

Dr Ante Pavelić (*Head of State*)
(*Presidents*)

1991–9

Franjo Tuđman

2000–

Stipe Mesić

Czechoslovakia

(*Presidents*)

1918–35

Professor Tomáš Masaryk

1935–5 Oct. 1938

Dr Edvard Beneš

5 Oct. 1938–30 Nov. 1938

General Sirový (*interim head of state*)

30 Nov. 1938–15 Mar. 1939

Dr Emil Hacha*

1945–8

Dr Edvard Beneš

1948–53

Klemens Gottwald

1953–7

Antonin Zápotocký

1957–68

Antonin Novotný

1968–75

General Ludvík Svoboda

1975–89

Dr Gustav Husák

1989–92

Václav Havel

1992

Jan Stráský (*acting*)

* Remained formally in office during the ensuing Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

Czech Republic

(*Presidents*)

1993–2003

Václav Havel

2003–

Václav Klaus

East Germany

1949–60

Wilhelm Pieck (*President*)

1960–73

Walter Ulbricht (*Chairman of the Council of State*)

1973–6

Willi Stoph (*Chairman of the Council of State*)

1976–89

Erich Honecker (*Chairman of the Council of State*)

OFFICE HOLDERS

1989	Egon Krenz (<i>Chairman of the Council of State</i>)
1989–90	Manfred Gerlach (<i>Chairman of the Council of State</i>)
1990	Sabine Bergmann-Pohl (<i>President</i>)
Estonia	
1921–2	Konstantin Päts
1923	Konstantin Päts
1932–3	Konstantin Päts
1934–40	Konstantin Päts
1991–2	Arnold Rüütel (<i>Chairman of the Supreme Council</i>) (<i>Presidents</i>)
1992–2001	Lennart Georg Meri
2001–6	Arnold Rüütel
2006–	Toomas Hendrik Ilves
Hungary	
16 Nov. 1918–22 Mar. 1919	Count Mihaly Karolyi (<i>provisional President</i>)
1 Mar. 1920–16 Oct. 1944	Admiral Miklós Horthy (<i>Regent</i>)
16 Oct. 1944–45	Colonel-General Karoly Beregfay, Dr Ferenc Rajniss and Dr Sandor Csia (<i>Regency Council</i>)
1946–8	Rev. Zoltan Tildy (<i>President</i>)
1948–50	Arpad Szakasits (<i>President until 1949, thereafter Chairman of the Presidium of the Republic</i>)
1950–2	Sandor Ronai (<i>Chairman of the Presidium of the Republic</i>)
1952–67	István Dobi (<i>Chairman of the Presidium of the Republic</i>)
1967–87	Pál Losonczi (<i>Chairman of the Presidium of the Republic</i>)
1987–8	Karoly Németh (<i>Chairman of the Presidium of the Republic</i>)
1988–9	Bruno Ferenc Straub (<i>Chairman of the Presidium of the Republic</i>) (<i>Presidents</i>)
1990–2000	Arpád Göncz
2000–5	Ferenc Mádl
2005–	László Sólyom

Latvia

1918	Dr Kārlis Ulmanis (<i>President</i>)
1929–36	Albert Kviesis (<i>President</i>)
1936–40	Dr Kārlis Ulmanis (<i>President</i>)
1990–3	Anatolijs Gorbunovs (<i>Chairman of the Supreme Council</i>) (<i>Presidents</i>)
1993–9	Guntis Ulmanis
1999–	Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga

Lithuania

1926–9	Professor Woldemaras
1931–40	Antanas Smetana
1990–2	Vytautas Landsbergis (<i>Chairman of the Supreme Council</i>)
1992–3	Agirdas Brazauskas (<i>Chairman of the Seimas (Parliament)</i>) (<i>Presidents</i>)
1993–8	Agirdas Brazauskas
1998–2003	Valdas Adamkus
2003–4	Rolandas Paksas
2004–	Valdas Adamkus

Macedonia (FYROM)

	(<i>Presidents</i>)
1992–9	Kiro Gligorov
1999–2004	Boris Trajkovski
2004–	Branko Crvenkovski

Moldova

	(<i>Presidents</i>)
1991–6	Mircea Snegur
1997–2001	Petru Lucinschi
2001–	Vladimir Voronin

Montenegro (*Crna Gora*)

	(<i>Presidents</i>)
1991–8	Momir Bulatović
1998–2002	Milo Djukanović
2003–	Filip Vujanović

Poland

	<i>(Presidents)</i>
1918–Dec. 1922	Jozef Piłsudski
14–16 Dec. 1922	Gabriel Narutowicz
20 Dec. 1922–14 May 1926	Stanisław Wojciechowski
1926–30 Sep. 1939	Professor Ignacy Mósćicki
30 Sep. 1939–45	Władysław Raczkiewicz (<i>in exile</i>)
1945–52	Bolesław Bierut (<i>provisional 1945–7</i>)
1952–90	(15-person Council of State)
Nov. 1985–90	General Wojciech Jaruzelski <i>(Chairman of the Council of State and President from Jul. 1989)</i>
22 Dec. 1990–5	Lech Wałęsa (<i>President</i>)
1995–2005	Aleksander Kwaśniewski (<i>President</i>)
2005–	Lech Kaczyński (<i>President</i>)

Romania

(1914)–27	Ferdinand I (<i>King</i>)
1927–30 (supplanted)	Michael (<i>Prince under a Council of Regency</i>)
1930–40 (abdicated)	Carol II (<i>King</i>)
1940–7 (abdicated)	Michael (<i>King</i>)
1948–52	Professor Constantin Parhon (<i>President of the Presidium of the Republic</i>)
1952–8	Dr Petru Groz(e)a (<i>President of the Presidium of the Republic</i>)
1958–61	Ion Gheorge Maurer (<i>President of the Presidium of the Republic</i>)
1961–5	Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (<i>President of the Presidium of the Republic</i>)
1965–7	Chivu Stoica (<i>President of the Presidium of the Republic</i>)
1967–74	Nicolae Ceaușescu (<i>President of the Presidium of the Republic</i>)
	<i>(Presidents)</i>
1974–89	Nicolae Ceaușescu
1990–6	Ion Iliescu
1996–2000	Emil Constantinescu
2000–5	Ion Iliescu
2005–	Traian Băseșcu (<i>temporarily suspended Apr.–May 2007</i>)
Apr.–May 2007	Nicolae Văcăroiu (<i>interim</i>)

Serbia

	<i>(Presidents)</i>
1989–97	Slobodan Milošević
1998–2002	Milan Milutinović
30 Dec. 2002–3 Mar. 2004	Natasa Micić (<i>acting</i>)
4 Mar. 2004–9 Jul. 2004	Predrag Marković (<i>acting</i>)
10 Jul. 2004–	Boris Tadić

Slovakia

	<i>(Presidents)</i>
28 Oct. 1939–45	Mgr Jozef Tiso
1991–2 Mar. 1998	Michal Kovac
29 May 1999–2004	Rudolf Schuster
2004–	Ivan Gašparovič

Slovenia

	<i>(Presidents)</i>
1991–2002	Milan Kučan
2002–07	Janez Drnovšek
2007–	Danilo Türk

Ukraine

	<i>(Presidents)</i>
1991–4	Leonid Kravchuk
1994–2005	Leonid Kuchma
2005–	Viktor Yushchenko

Yugoslavia (Union of Serbia and Montenegro 2003–6)

1918–21	Peter I (<i>King, previously only of Serbia</i>)
1921–34	Alexander (<i>King</i>)
1934–45	Peter II (<i>King</i>)
1934–41	Paul (<i>Regent</i>)
1945–53	Dr Ivan Ribar (<i>President</i>)
1953–80	Marshal Tito (<i>President</i>)
	<i>(Presidents of the Presidency of the Republic)</i>
4–15 May 1980	Lazar Kolisevski (<i>Macedonia</i>)
1980–1	Cvijetin Mijatović (<i>Bosnia–Herzegovina</i>)
1981–2	Sergej Kraigher (<i>Slovenia</i>)
1982–3	Petar Stambolić (<i>Serbia</i>)
1983–4	Mika Spiljać (<i>Croatia</i>)
1984–5	Veselin Džuranović (<i>Montenegro</i>)

OFFICE HOLDERS

1985–6	Radovan Vlačković (<i>Vojvodina</i>)
1986–7	Sinan Hasani (<i>Kosovo</i>)
1987–8	Lazar Mojsov (<i>Macedonia</i>)
1988–9	Raif Dizlarević (<i>Bosnia–Herzegovina</i>)
1989–90	Janez Drnovšek (<i>Slovenia</i>)
1990–1	Borisav Jović (<i>Serbia</i>)
1991	Stipe Mesić (<i>Croatia</i>)
	(<i>Presidents</i>)
1992–3	Dobrica Čosić
1993–7	Zoran Lilić
1997–2000	Slobodan Milošević
2000–3	Vojislav Koštunica
2003–4	Svetozar Marović
2004–6	Boris Tadić

6.1.2 Heads of government (prime ministers/premiers, unless otherwise indicated)

Students are reminded that except in the Communist period, and for some of the time even then, almost all central and eastern European governments are, and have been, broad coalitions, and that descriptions such as ‘liberal’ and ‘socialist’ can have wide and even contradictory meanings. Their use below is only to provide the most general of guides.

Albania

Dec. 1921–2	Hassan Prishtina
1922	Djaffer Ypi
Dec. 1922–Jun. 1923	Ahmed Bey Zogu
1923–4	Mgr Fan Noli
Dec. 1924–36	Ahmed Bey Zogu (<i>Presidential and then royal regime</i>)
1936–9	Constantine Kotta
1942	Shevket Vrlaci (<i>Collaborationist</i>)
3 Dec. 1942–19 Jan. 1943	Mustafa Merlika
	Kruja (<i>Collaborationist</i>)
19 Jan.–13 Feb. 1943	Ekrem Libohova (<i>Collaborationist</i>)
13 Feb.–12 May 1943	Malik Bushati (<i>Collaborationist</i>)
12 May 1943–44	Ekrem Libohova (<i>Collaborationist</i>)
1944–54	Colonel-General Enver Hoxha (<i>Communist</i>)
1954–81	Colonel-General Mehmet Shehu (<i>Communist</i>)
1982–91	Adil Çarçani (<i>Communist</i>)
1991	Fatos Nano (<i>Socialist</i>)

PEOPLE

Dec. 1991–Mar. 1992
1992–7
Mar.–Jul. 1997
1997–8
1998–9
1999–2002
Feb.–Jul. 2002
Jul. 2002–5
2005–

Vilson Ahmeti
 Aleksander Meksi
 Bashkim Fino (*Socialist*)
 Fatos Nano (*Socialist*)
 Pandeli Majko (*Socialist*)
 Ilir Meta (*Socialist*)
 Pandeli Majko (*Socialist*)
 Fatos Nano (*Socialist*)
 Dr Sali Berisha (*Centre-right*)

Austria

(*Chancellors*)

Nov. 1918–Jun. 1920
1921–2
1922–9

1929–30
1930–2
1932
1932–4

1934–11 Mar. 1938

11–13 Mar. 1938

Apr.–Dec. 1945
1946–53

1953–9

1959–64

1964–70

1970–83
1983–6
1986–97
1997–2000
2000–7

2007–

Dr Karl Renner (*Social Democrat*)
 Dr Johann Schober (*non-party*)
 Mgr Dr Ignaz Seipel (*Christian Socialist*)
 Dr Johann Schober (*non-party*)
 Dr Otto Ender (*Christian Socialist*)
 Dr Karl Buresch (*Christian Socialist*)
 Dr Engelbert Dollfuss (*Christian Socialist – Fascist*)
 Dr Kurt von Schuschnigg (*Christian Socialist*)
 Dr Arthur Seyss-Inquart (*Nazi*) (The *Anschluss*)
 Dr Karl Renner (*Social Democrat*)
 Dr Leopold Figl (*People’s Party (Conservative)*)
 Dr Julius Raab (*People’s Party (Conservative)*)
 Alfons Gorbach (*People’s Party (Conservative)*)
 Dr Josef Klaus (*People’s Party (Conservative)*)
 Dr Bruno Kreisky (*Social Democrat*)
 Fred Sinowatz (*Social Democrat*)
 Franz Vranitzky (*Social Democrat*)
 Viktor Klima (*Social Democrat*)
 Wolfgang Schüssel (*People’s Party (Conservative)*)
 Dr Alfred Gusenbauer (*Social Democrat*)

Bohemia-Moravia (Protectorate of)

1939–19 Jan. 1945 Professor Jaroslav Krejci
 19 Jan.–14 May 1945 Rudolf Bienert

Bosnia–Herzegovina

Jun.–Nov. 1992 Jure Pelivan
 Nov. 1992–Oct. 1993 Mile Akmadžić
 Oct. 1993–Jan. 1996 Haris Silajdžić
 1996 Hasan Muratović (*interim*)
 1996–8 Haris Silajdžić (*Co-prime minister*)
 1996–8 Boro Bosić (*Co-prime minister*)
 1999–2000 Haris Silajdžić (*Co-prime minister*)
 1999–2000 Svetozar Mihajlović (*Co-prime minister*)
 2000 Spasoje Tusevljak
 2001 Bozidar Matić
 Jul. 2001–Mar. 2002 Zlatko Lagumdžija
 Mar.–Dec. 2002 Dragan Mikerević
 Dec. 2002–6 Adnan Terzić
 2007– Nikola Špirić

Bosnian Serb Republic (*Republika Srpska*)

1996 Rajko Kasagić (*non-party experts*)
 1996–8 Gojko Kličević
 18 Jan. 1998–2000 Milorad Dodik (*non-party experts*)
 2001–2 Mladen Ivanić (*non-party experts*)
 2003– Dragan Mikerević

Bulgaria

1919–23 Aleksandur Stamboliyski (*Radical Agrarian*)
 1923–5 Professor Aleksandur Tsankov (*Fascist*)
 1926–31 André Liapchev
 1931–3 Nicholas Mushanov
 1934–5 Colonel Kimon Georgiev (*Militarist*)
 Jan.–Apr. 1935 General Peter Zlatev
 Apr.–Nov. 1935 Andreas Toshev
 Nov. 1935–15 Feb. 1940 Dr Georgi Kiossevanov
 16 Feb. 1940–9 Sep. 1943 Professor Bogdan Filov (*Fascist*)
 14 Sep. 1943–21 May 1944 Dr Dobri Bojilov (*Fascist*)
 1 Jun.–1 Sep. 1944 Ivan Bagrianov

2–8 Sep. 1944	Konstantin Muraviev (<i>Agrarian-led coalition</i>)
9 Sep. 1944–6 1946–9	Colonel Kimon Georgiev (<i>Zveno</i>) Georgi Dimitrov (<i>Communist</i>)
Jul. 1949–Jan. 1950	Vassil Kolarov (<i>Communist</i>)
Feb. 1950–4 1954–62	Vulko Chervenkov (<i>Communist</i>) Anton Yugov (<i>Communist</i>)
1962–71	Todor Zhivkov (<i>Communist</i>)
1972–81	Stanko Todorov (<i>Communist</i>)
1981–6	Grisha Filipov (<i>Communist</i>)
1986–90	Georgi Atanasov (<i>Communist</i>)
Feb.–Nov. 1990	Andrei Lukanov (<i>Communist</i>)
1990–1	Dimitur Popov (<i>Independent</i>)
1991–2	Filip Dimitrov (<i>Right-wing-led coalition</i>)
1992–4	Professor Lyuben Berov (<i>non-party experts</i>)
1994	Reneta Indzhova (<i>non-party experts</i>)
Jan. 1995–6	Zhan Videnov (<i>Socialist-led coalition</i>)
Feb.–May 1997	Stefan Sofiyanski (<i>interim</i>)
1997–Jun. 2000	Ivan Kostov (<i>Centre-right coalition</i>)
24 Jul. 2001–5	Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (<i>National Movement Simeon II</i>)
2005–	Sergei Stanishev (<i>Socialist</i>)
Croatia	
1941–5	Dr Nikola Mandić (<i>Nationalist</i>)
1991–3	Hrvoje Sarinić (<i>Nationalist</i>)
1993–5	Nikica Valentić (<i>Nationalist</i>)
1995–2000	Zlatko Matesa (<i>Nationalist</i>)
2000–3	Ivica Racan (<i>Social Democrat</i>)
2003–	Ivo Sanader (<i>Conservative</i>)
Czechoslovakia	
1918–19	Dr Karel Kramář (<i>National Democrat</i>)
1919–20	V. Tusar (<i>Social Democrat</i>)
1920–1	Dr Jan Černý (<i>non-party</i>)
1921–2	Dr Edvard Beneš
1922–5	Antonin Švehla (<i>Agrarian</i>)
1925–6	Dr Jan Černý (<i>non-party</i>)
1926–9	Antonin Švehla (<i>Agrarian</i>)
1929–32	František Udrzal (<i>Agrarian-Socialist coalition</i>)
1932–5	M. J. Malypetr (<i>Agrarian</i>)

OFFICE HOLDERS

1935–Sep. 1938	Dr Milan Hodža (<i>Agrarian</i>)
Sep.–Nov. 1938	General Jan Sirovy
Dec. 1938–Mar. 1939	Rudolf Beran
1945–6	Dr Zdenek Fierlinger (<i>non-party provisional</i>)
1946–8	Klement Gottwald (<i>Communist-led coalition</i>)
20 Feb.–13 Jun. 1948	Klement Gottwald (<i>Communist</i>)
14 Jun. 1948–53	Antonin Zapotocky (<i>Communist</i>)
1953–64	Viliam iroky (<i>Communist</i>)
1964–8	Jozef Lenart (<i>Communist</i>)
1968–9	Oldřich ernik (<i>Communist</i>)
1969–88	Lubomir Strougal (<i>Communist</i>)
1988–9	Ladislav Adamec (<i>Communist</i>)
Dec. 1989–92	Marian Calfa
1992	Jan Strasky
Czech Republic	
1993–Nov. 1997	Vaclav Klaus (<i>Conservative</i>)
Dec. 1997–Jul.	1998 Josef Tošovsky (<i>caretaker administration</i>)
Jul. 1998–2002	Miloš Zeman (<i>Social-democrat minority administration</i>)
2002–4	Vladimir Špidla (<i>Social-democrat led coalition</i>)
2004–5	Stanislav Gross (<i>Social-democrat led coalition</i>)
2005–6	Jiři Paroubek (<i>Social-democrat led coalition</i>)
2006–	Mirek Topolanek (<i>Centre led coalition</i>)
East Germany	
1949–64	Otto Grotewohl (<i>SED</i>)
1964–73	Willi Stoph (<i>SED</i>)
1973–6	Horst Sindermann (<i>SED</i>)
1976–7 Nov. 1989	Willi Stoph (<i>SED</i>)
13 Nov. 1989–18 Mar. 1990	Hans Modrow (<i>SED</i>)
18 Mar. 1990–3 Oct. 1990	Lothar de Maiziere (<i>Christian Democrat</i>)
Estonia	
1990–2	Edgar Savisaar
1992	Tiit Vahi (<i>non-party</i>)
1992–4	Mart Laar

1994–5	Andres Tarand (<i>non-party</i>)
1995–7	Tiit Vähi
1997–9	Mart Siimann
1999–2002	Mart Laar
2002–3	Siim Kallas (<i>Centre-right</i>)
2003–5	Juhan Parts
2005–	Andrus Ansip (<i>Centre-right</i>)
Hungary	
2 Nov. 1918–22 Mar. 1919	Count (<i>Grof</i>) Mihaly Károlyi (<i>Radical</i>)
20 Mar. 1919–1 Aug. 1919	Béla Kun (<i>Communist</i>)
Aug. 1919	Peidl (<i>Socialist</i>)
Aug.–Nov. 1919	István Friedrich (<i>Royalist</i>)
Nov. 1919–Jan. 1920	Karoly Huszár (<i>Clerical</i>)
Mar.–Jul. 1920	Sandor Simonyi-Semadam
1920–1	Count (<i>Grof</i>) Pal Teleki (<i>Conservative nationalist</i>)
1921–31	Count (<i>Grof</i>) István Bethlen (<i>Conservative nationalist</i>)
22 Aug. 1931–21 Sep. 1932	Count (<i>Grof</i>) Gyula Károlyi
4 Oct. 1932–6	General Gyula (von) Gömbös (<i>Fascist</i>)
1936–8	Dr Kaloman de Darányi
1938–9	Dr Béla de Imrédy (<i>pro-Nazi economist</i>)
15 Feb. 1939–3 Apr. 1941	Count (<i>Grof</i>) Pal Teleki (<i>Conservative nationalist</i>)
3 Apr. 1941–9 Mar. 1942	László de Bardossy (<i>Fascist</i>)
9 Mar.–22 Mar. 1943	Nicolas de Kallay
23 Mar.–29 Aug. 1944	Major-General Doeme Sztojai (<i>Nazi</i>)
31 Aug.–15 Oct. 1944	Colonel-General Lakatos
16 Oct. 1944–5	Major Ferenc Szalassi (<i>Nazi Arrow Cross</i>)
23 Dec. 1944–5	General Béla Miklosz (<i>the Debrecen government</i>)
15 Nov. 1945–3 Feb. 1946	Rev. Zoltan Tildy (<i>Smallholders</i>)
4 Feb. 1946–7	Ferenc Nagy (<i>Smallholders</i>)
1947–8	Lajos Dinnyés (<i>Smallholders</i>)
1948–52	István Dobi (<i>Smallholders</i>)
1952–3	Mátyás Rákosi (<i>Communist</i>)
1953–5	Imre Nagy (<i>Communist</i>)
1955–6	Andras Hegedus (<i>Communist</i>)
1956	Imre Nagy (<i>independent Communist</i>)
1956–8	János Kádár (<i>Communist</i>)
1959–61	Ferenc Münnich (<i>Communist</i>)

OFFICE HOLDERS

1961–5	János Kádár (<i>Communist</i>)
1965–76	Jenő Fock (<i>Communist</i>)
1976–87	György Lazár (<i>Communist</i>)
1987–8	Károly Grósz (<i>Communist</i>)
1988–9	Miklós Németh
1990–3	Jozsef Antall (<i>Hungarian Democratic Forum</i>)
1993–4	Peter Boross (<i>Hungarian Democratic Forum</i>)
1994–8	Gyula Horn (<i>Socialist</i>)
1998–2002	Viktor Orbán (<i>Centre-right</i>)
2002–4	Péter Medgyessy (<i>non-party – Socialist</i>)
2004–	Ferenc Gyurcsány (<i>Socialist</i>)
Latvia	
1990–3	Ivars Godmanis
1993–4	Valdis Birkavš (<i>Liberal</i>)
1994–5	Māris Gailis (<i>Liberal</i>)
1995–7	Andris Škele (<i>non-party</i>)
1997–8	Guntars Krasts (<i>Conservative nationalist</i>)
1998–9	Vilis Krištopāns (<i>Liberal</i>)
1999–2000	Andris Škele (<i>Centre-right</i>)
2000–2	Andris Bērziņš (<i>Liberal</i>)
2002–4	Einars Repše (<i>Centre-right</i>)
2004	Indulis Emsis
2004–	Aigars Kalvītis (<i>Centre-right</i>)
Lithuania	
1990–1	Kazimiera Prunskienė (<i>Communist/ Liberal</i>)
1991	Albertas Simenas
1991–2	Gediminas Vagnorius
1992	Aleksandras Abišala (<i>non-party</i>)
1992–3	Bronislovas Lubys (<i>Liberal</i>)
1993–6	Adolfas Sleževičius (<i>Liberal</i>)
1996	Mindaugas Stankevičius (<i>Liberal</i>)
1996–9	Gediminas Vagnorius (<i>Conservative</i>)
1999	Rolandas Paksas (<i>Conservative</i>)
1999–2000	Andrius Kubilius (<i>Conservative</i>)
2000–1	Rolandas Paksas (<i>Liberal</i>)
2001–6	Algirdas Brazauskas (<i>Social Democrat</i>)
2006–	Gediminas Kirkilas (<i>Social Democrat</i>)

Macedonia**1992–8**Branko Crvenkovski (*Socialist*)**1998–2002**Ljubko Georgievski (*Macedonian Nationalist Party and Democratic Party of Albanians coalition*)**2002–4**Branko Crvenkovski (*Social Democrat*)**2004–6**Vlado Buckovski (*Social Democrat*)**2006–**Nikola Gruevski (*IMRO – National Unity*)**Moldova****1991–6**

Andre Sangheli

1997–8

Ion Ciubuc

1999–2001

Dumitru Braghis

2001–Vasile Tarlev (*Communist*)**Montenegro (*Crna Gora*)****1991–8**

Milo Djukanović

1998–2002Filip Vujanović (*Democratic Socialist*)**2003–5**

Milo Djukanović

2006–Željko Šturanović (*Socialist*)**Poland****Nov. 1918–Jan. 1919**

Jedrzej Moraczewski

Jan.–Dec. 1919

Ignacy Paderewski

Dec. 1919–Jun. 1920

Leopold Skulski

Jun.–Jul. 1920

Władysław Grabski

Jul. 1920–Sep. 1921

Wincenty Witos

Sep. 1921–Jun. 1922

Antoni Ponikowski

Jun.–Jul. 1922

Artur Śliwiński

Jul.–Dec. 1922

Julian Nowak

16 Dec. 1922–May 1923

General Władysław Sikorski

May–Dec. 1923

Wincenty Witos

Dec. 1923–Nov. 1925

Władysław Grabski

Nov. 1925–May 1926

Aleksander Skrzyński

10–15 May 1926

Wincenty Witos

May–Sep. 1926

Professor Kazimierz Bartel

Oct. 1926–Jun. 1928

Marshal Józef Piłsudski

Jun. 1928–Apr. 1929

Professor Kazimierz Bartel

Apr.–Dec. 1929

Kazimierz Świtalski

Dec. 1929–Mar. 1930

Professor Kazimierz Bartel

Mar.–Aug. 1930

Colonel Walery Slawek

Aug.–Dec. 1930

Marshal Józef Piłsudski

OFFICE HOLDERS

Dec. 1930–May 1931	Colonel Walery Slawek
1931–3	Aleksandr Prystor
1933–4	Janusz Jdrzejewicz
May 1934–Mar. 1935	Leon Kozlowski
Mar.–Oct. 1935	Colonel Walery Slawek
Oct. 1935–May 1936	Marjan Zyndram Koscialkowski
May 1936–39	Felician Slawoj Skladkowski
30 Sep. 1939–43	General Wladyslaw Sikorski (<i>in exile</i>)
1943–4	Stanislaw Mikolajczyk (<i>in exile</i>)
1944–5	Tomas Arciszewski (<i>in exile</i>)
1944–7	Eduard Osubka Morawski (<i>Socialist</i>)
1947–74	Jozef Cyrankiewicz (<i>Socialist/ Communist</i>)
1974–80	Piotr Jaroszewicz (<i>Communist</i>)
Feb.–Aug. 1980	Edward Babiuch
1980–81	Jozef Pinkowski
Feb. 1981–5	General Wojciech Jaruzelski
1985–8	Zbigniew Messner
1988–Aug. 1989	Mieczslaw Rakowski
2–14 Aug. 1989	Czeslaw Kiszczak
24 Aug. 1989–Dec. 1990	Tadeusz Mazowiecki
Jan.–Dec. 1991	Jan Bielecki
Dec. 1991–Jun. 1992	Jan Olszewski
Jul. 1992–May 1993	Hanna Suchocka
Sep. 1993–Feb. 1995	Waldemar Pawlak (<i>Polish Peasant Party – PSL</i>)
1 Mar. 1995–Jan. 1996	Jozef Oleksy (<i>Socialist – SLD</i>)
Feb. 1996–Oct. 1997	Wlodsimerz Cimoszewicz (<i>Socialist – SLD</i>)
Oct. 1997–2001	Jerzy Buzek
2001–4	Leszek Miller (<i>Social Democrat</i>)
2004–5	Marek Belka (<i>Social Democrat</i>)
2005–6	Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz (<i>Law and Justice (Conservative nationalist)</i>)
2006–7	Jaroslaw Kaczyński (<i>Law and Justice (Conservative nationalist)</i>)
2007–	Donald Tusk (<i>Centre-right</i>)
Romania	
1918–19	Ionel Brătianu (<i>Liberal</i>)
1919–20	Dr Alexandru Vaida-Voevod (<i>Liberal</i>)
1920–2	General Averescu
1922–6	Ionel Brătianu (<i>Liberal</i>)
1926–7	General Averescu

Jun. 1927	Ionel Brătianu (<i>Liberal</i>)
1927–30	Dr Iuliu Maniu (<i>National Peasant</i>)
1930–1	Mironescu (<i>National Peasant</i>)
1931–2	Professor Nicholas Iorga (<i>National Peasant</i>)
1932	Dr Alexandru Vaida-Voevod (<i>Liberal</i>)
1932	Dr Iuliu Maniu (<i>National Peasant</i>)
Jan.–Nov. 1933	Dr Alexandru Vaida-Voevod (<i>Liberal</i>)
Nov.–Dec. 1933	Ion G. Duca (<i>Liberal</i>)
1933–28 Dec. 1937	Gheorghe Tatărescu (<i>Monarchist</i>)
28 Dec. 1937–11 Feb. 1938	Octavian Goga (<i>National Christian</i>)
12 Feb. 1938–6 Mar. 1939	Patriarch Dr Miron Cristes
6 Mar. 1939–21 Sep. 1939	Armand Calinescu
21 Sep. 1939–28 Sep. 1939	General Argescu
28 Sep. 1939–23 Nov. 1939	Constantin Argetoianu
24 Nov. 1939–4 Jul. 1940	Gheorghe Tatărescu (<i>Monarchist</i>)
4 Jul. 1940–3 Sep. 1940	Ion Gigurtu (<i>pro-German</i>)
3 Sep. 1940–44	General Ion Antonescu (<i>Fascist</i>)
Aug.–Dec. 1944	General Sanatescu
2 Dec. 1944–27	Feb. 1945 General Nicola Radescu
6 Mar. 1945–52	Dr Petru Groz(e)a (<i>Ploughmen's Front</i>)
1952–5	Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (<i>Communist</i>)
1955–61	Chivu Stoica (<i>Communist</i>)
1961–74	Ion Gheorghe Maurer (<i>Communist</i>)
1974–9	Manca Manescu (<i>Communist</i>)
1979–82	Ilie Verdeț (<i>Communist</i>)
1982–9	Constantin Dascalescu (<i>Communist</i>)
1989–92	Petre Roman
1992–6	Nicolae Văcăroiu
1996–30 Mar. 98	Victor Ciorbea (<i>Centre-right</i>)
31 Mar.–14 Apr. 1998	Gavril Dejeu (<i>caretaker administration</i>)
15 Apr. 1998–13 Dec. 1999	Radu Vasile (<i>Centre-right</i>)
Dec. 1999	Alexandru Athanesiu (<i>interim</i>)
Dec. 1999–2000	Mugur Isarescu (<i>interim</i>)
Dec. 2000–4	Adrian Năstase
2004–	Călin Popescu-Tăriceanu (<i>Centre-right</i>)
Serbia	
1941–4	General Milan Nedić (<i>Collaborationist</i>)
1991–3	Dragutin Zelenović (<i>Socialist</i>)
1993–4	Nikola Sainović (<i>Socialist</i>)
1994–2000	Mirko Marjanović (<i>Socialist</i>)
2001–3	Dr Zoran Djindjić

OFFICE HOLDERS

2003 Zoran Zivković
 2004– Vojislav Koštunica

Slovakia

(29 Sep. 1938) 14 Mar.–27 Oct. 1939 Mgr Jozef Tiso
 28 Oct. 1939–45 Dr Bela Tuka
 1993–4 Vladimir Mečiar (*Nationalist*)
 Mar.–Dec. 1994 Jozef Moravcik
 Dec. 1994–8 Vladimir Mečiar (*Nationalist*)
 1998–2006 Mikulas Dzurinda (*Left-right coalition*)
 2006– Robert Pico (*Coalition of radical left
 and radical right*)

Slovenia

1990–2 Lojze Peterle (*Christian Democrat*)
 1992–2000 Janez Drnovšek (*Liberal*)
 2000 Andrej Bajuk
 2000–2 Janez Drnovšek (*Liberal*)
 2002–4 Anton (Tone) Rop (*Liberal*)
 2004– Janez Janša (*Conservative*)

Ukraine

1990–2 Vitold Fokin
 1992 Valentyn Symonenko
 1992–3 Leonid Kuchma
 1994–5 Vitalij Masol
 1995–6 Yevhen Marchuk
 1996–7 Pavlo Lazarenko
 1997–9 Valeriy Pustovoytenko
 1999–2001 Viktor Yushchenko
 2001–2 Anatolii Kinakh
 2002–5 Viktor Yanukovych
 2005 Yuliya Tymoshenko
 2005–6 Yuriy Yekhanurov
 2006–7 Viktor Yanukovych
 2007– Yuliya Tymoshenko

Yugoslavia (Federation restricted to Serbia and Montenegro from 1992)

1919–20 Stojan Protić
 1921–4 Nikola Pašić (*Radical*)
 Jul.–Oct. 1924 Ljubomir Davidović
 1924–6 Nikola Pašić (*Radical*)
 1927 Nikola Uzunović
 1928 Velje Vukicević

1929–4 Apr. 1932	General Petar (Pera) Zivković
4 Apr.–29 Jun. 1932	Dr Vojislav Marinković
2 Jul. 1932–23 Jan. 1934	Dr Milan Serškić
27 Jan.–18 Dec. 1934	Nikola Uzunović
21 Dec. 1934–20 Jun. 1935	Bogoljub Jevtić
24 Jun. 1935–Feb. 1939	Dr Milan Stojadinović (<i>Yugoslav Radical Union (Fascist)</i>)
Feb. 1939–Mar. 1941	Dragiša Cvetković (<i>Fascist</i>)
Mar.–Apr. 1941	General Dušan Simović (<i>latterly in exile</i>)
11 Jan. 1942–26 Jun. 1943	Professor Slobodan Jovanović (<i>Royal government-in-exile</i>)
27 Jun.–6 Aug. 1943	Miloš Trifunović (<i>Royal government-in-exile</i>)
7 Aug. 1943–31 May 1944	Dr Bozidar Purić (<i>Royal government-in-exile</i>)
1 Jun. 1944–5	Dr Ivan Šubašić (<i>Royal government-in-exile</i>)
1943–53	Marshal Tito
1969–70	Mika Špiljak
1970–2	Mitja Ribičić
1972–7	Djemal Bijedić
1977–80	Veselin Djuranović
1982–6	Miika Planinć
1986–9	Branko Mikulić
1989–91	Ante Marković
1991–Dec. 1992	Milan Panić
Dec. 1992 –Feb. 1993	Nikola Sainović
Feb. 1993–May 1998	Radoje Kontić
May 1998–2000	Momir Bulatović
Nov. 2000–Jul. 2001	Zoran Zizić
Jul. 2001–Mar. 2003	Dragiša Pesić
Mar. 2003–	Svetozar Marović

6.1.3 Heads of the Communist Party Politburo

Albania (Albanian Party of Labour)

1944–85	Enver Hoxha
1985–90	Ramiz Alia

Bulgaria

1945–9	Georgi Dimitrov
1950–6	Vulko Chervenkov

OFFICE HOLDERS

1956–89
Nov. 1989–Feb. 1990

Todor Zhivkov
Petur Mladenov

Czechoslovakia

1946–53
1953–68
1968–9
1969–87
1987–9

Klement Gottwald
Antonin Novotný
Alexander Dubček
Dr Gustav Husák
Miloš Jakeš

East Germany (Socialist Unity Party – *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* – SED from 1946)

1950–71
1971–89
Oct.–Nov. 1989

Walter Ulbricht
Erich Honecker
Egon Krenz

Hungary (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party from 1948)

1944–56
1956
1956–88
1988–9

Mátyás Rákosi
Ernö Gerö
János Kádár
Károly Grósz

Poland (Polish United Workers' Party from 1948)

1945–8
1948–Mar. 1956
Apr.–Oct. 1956
1956–70
1970–5 Sep. 1980
5 Sep. 1980–18 Oct. 1981
1981–9

Władysław Gomułka
Boleslaw Bierut
Edward Ochab
Władysław Gomułka
Edward Gierek
Stanisław Kania
General Wojciech Jaruzelski

Romania

1952–65
1965–89

Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej
Nicolae Ceaușescu

Yugoslavia

(1939)–80

Marshal Tito

6.2

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP STATISTICS

(It should be noted that, except in Czechoslovakia, Communist Parties were illegal everywhere for most of the interwar period. Estimates of their strength in 1939 should therefore be treated with care. Figures by 1950 relate to the combined Communist, Socialist and other Parties formed after the War which were not always formally Communist Parties, although they usually behaved as such and were always described as such in the west. The East German figures relate to the SED throughout.)

Albania

1939	1,000*
1950	70,000*

Bulgaria

1939	8,000*
1945	300,000
1947	500,000 [†]
1950	460,000*
1981	825,876

Czechoslovakia

1939	85,000 [†]
1947	1,250,000 [†]
1950	2,300,000*
1951 (Feb.)	1,677,433 [‡]
1981	1,550,000

East Germany

1946	1,298,412
1950	1,750,000
1987	2,328,331

Hungary

1939	30,000*
1950	950,000*

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP STATISTICS

Poland

1939	20,000 [†]
1947	800,000 [†]
1948 (Dec.)	1,200,000 full and 300,000 candidates [‡]
1950	1,360,000*

Romania

1944	1,000 [†]
1947	700,000 [†]
1950	1,000,000*

Yugoslavia

1940	7,000 and 17,200 in the Young Communist League
1947	400,000 [†]

Sources:

* Soviet journal 'Bolshevik' (Apr. 1950).

† Soviet journal 'Party Life' (Nov. 1947).

‡ Official Party statistics.

Early Communist parliamentary representation

Bulgarian *Sobranje*

Election of 28 March 1920: 49 seats out of a total of 227 (25 per cent of the vote)

Election of 18 November 1923: 99 seats out of a total of 362

Yugoslav *Skupština*

Election of 1921: 54 seats

6.3

MAJOR ASSASSINATIONS, SUICIDES AND POLITICAL EXECUTIONS

- 16 Dec. 1922** President Gabriel Narutowicz of Poland (A)
18 Feb. 1923 Finance minister Alois Rašin of Czechoslovakia (A)
14 Jun. 1923 Prime minister Alexandur Stamboliyski of Bulgaria (E)
29 Dec. 1933 Prime minister Ion G. Duca of Romania (A)
15 Jun. 1934 Interior minister Colonel Pieracki of Poland (A)
25 Jul. 1934 Chancellor Dr Engelbert Dollfuss of Austria (A)
9 Oct. 1934 King Alexander of Yugoslavia (A)
10 Oct. 1938 Major-General Jordan Peeff, Chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army (A)
30 Nov. 1938 Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, leader of the Romanian Iron Guard (A)
21 Sep. 1939 Prime minister Armand Calinescu of Romania (A)
27 Nov. 1939 General Argescu and Professor Iorga, former Romanian prime ministers (A)
3 Apr. 1941 Prime minister Count Teleki of Hungary (S)
28 Aug. 1943 King Boris III of Bulgaria (S perhaps)
1 Feb. 1945 Prince Kiril, Professor Filov and General Mikhov, former Bulgarian regents, together with subsequently Dr Bojilov and Ivan Bagrianov, former Bulgarian prime ministers, and 20 other ministers (E)
10 May 1945 Konrad Henlein, former Sudeten German leader (S)
10 Jan. 1946 László de Bardossy, former Hungarian prime minister (E)
6 Feb. 1946 General Milan Nedić, former prime minister of Serbia (S)
28 Feb. 1946 Bela de Imredy, former Hungarian prime minister (E)
12 Mar. 1946 Ferenc Szalassi, former Hungarian prime minister and leader of the Arrow Cross, together with subsequently nine members of his cabinet including Dr Sandor Csia, former member of the Regency Council (E)
22 May 1946 Karl Hermann Frank, former Reichs-Protector of Bohemia and Moravia (E)
1 Jun. 1946 General Ion Antonescu, former *conducator* of Romania (E)
17 Jul. 1946 Colonel Draža Mihajlović, former leader of the Četniks (E)
16 Oct. 1946 Dr Arthur Seyss-Inquart, leader of the Austrian Nazi Party (E)

MAJOR ASSASSINATIONS, SUICIDES AND POLITICAL EXECUTIONS

- 18 Apr. 1947** Former President Msgr Jozef Tiso of Slovakia (E)
23 Sep. 1947 Nikola Petkov, leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (E)
10 Mar. 1948 Jan Masaryk, Czechoslovak foreign minister (S/A)
15 Oct. 1949 László Rájk, former Hungarian foreign minister (E)
16 Dec. 1949 Traicho Kostov, former Secretary-General of the Bulgarian Communist Party (E)
3 Dec. 1952 Rudolf Slánský, Former Secretary-General of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (E)
14 Apr. 1954 Lucretiu Patrascanu, former Romanian minister of justice (E)
18 Dec. 1981 Mehmet Shehu, Albanian prime minister (S)
25 Dec. 1989 President Nicolae Ceaușescu of Romania and his wife Elena (E)
25 Jun. 1998 Marek Papala, former head of the Polish police (probably A, by criminal interests)
12 Sep. 1998 Azem Hajdari, a leading member of the Albanian opposition (A)
11 Jan. 1999 Jan Ducky, former Slovak economics minister (A)
15 Jan. 2000 Arkan, Serbian warlord (A)
8 Feb. 2000 Pavle Bulatović, Yugoslav defence minister (A)
12 Mar. 2003 Prime minister Dr Zoran Djindjić of Serbia (A)

(A) Assassination

(E) Execution

(S) Suicide

6.4

BIOGRAPHIES

A

ADLER, ALFRED Born 7 February 1870, Penzing, Austria. One of the fathers of modern psychology, associated in particular with the concept of the inferiority complex. Initially closely associated with Sigmund Freud (q.v.), but disagreed with him over the role of sexuality in human personality, and severed ties after 1911. Established his first child-guidance clinic in Vienna, 1921, which was soon followed by a further 30. Visiting professor, Long Island College of Medicine, New York, 1932. His clinics were closed by the Austrian government, 1934. Died Aberdeen, Scotland, 28 May 1937.

ALEXANDER I, KING (ALEXANDER KARADORDEVIĆ) Born Cetinje, Montenegro, 16 December 1888. Second monarch of the Triumvirate Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and, from 1929, of Yugoslavia. Spent his youth with his exiled father at the Russian imperial court in St Petersburg. Returned to Serbia as heir apparent in 1909, a noted commander in the Balkan Wars 1912–13, and commander-in-chief of the Serbian Army throughout the First World War. He retained complete control of the Army throughout his reign. Able to mix with his countrymen at all levels, but autocratic in personality

and lacking patience with parliamentary procedure and democratic methods. Finding his country virtually ungovernable, he proclaimed a royal dictatorship in January 1929. Assassinated by Croat *Ustaša* extremists, Marseilles, 9 October 1934.

ANTONESCU, GENERAL ION Born Pitești, Romania, 15 June 1882. Pro-German Romanian dictator (*conducator*) during the Second World War. Minister of defence, 1937–8, but dismissed for his Iron Guard sympathies. Appointed prime minister, 4 September 1940, following Romania's substantial territorial losses to the Axis powers and the Soviet Union. His domestic reforms and declaration of war on the Soviet Union brought him initial support, but the tide of war turned, and he was ousted in a *coup d'état* led by King Michael in August 1944. Executed by Romania near Jihlava as a war criminal, 1 June 1946.

B

BARTÓK, BÉLA Born Nagyszentmiklós, then Hungary, now Sînnicolau Mare, Romania, 25 March 1881. One of the greatest of twentieth-century composers. An ethnic Hungarian, he was inspired by the historic folk music of Hungary, rather

than by the Gypsy music which had been popularised by Liszt, as well as by the folk music of Slovakia and of Romanian Transylvania which was part of Hungary until 1920. He was Commissar for Culture in Béla Kun's brief Communist and Social-Democrat-led Hungarian government of 1919. The nature of the tunes he collected, in collaboration with Zoltán Kodály (q.v.), as well as the inspiration of the Viennese twelve-note school, led him to largely abandon traditional harmonies in his own compositions. He is particularly famous for his works for strings, of which the violin concerto (1938) may be the greatest, and his works for the piano, notably *Mikrokosmos* (1926–39), which progressively spans the range from the very easy to the very difficult. His most popular work, however, is the concerto for orchestra of 1944, written in a more traditional style. Emigrated to America in 1940. Died New York, 26 September 1945.

BENEŠ, EDVARD Born Kozlany, then Austria–Hungary, now Czech Republic, 28 May 1884. A founder, and in due course president, of the Czechoslovak state. Doctor of laws, 1908, and a lecturer at the Czech University of Prague before 1914. Followed Tomáš Masaryk (q.v.) to Switzerland during the First World War, and a co-organiser of the Czechoslovak National Council. Foreign minister 1918–35, and six times chairman of the council of the League of Nations. Opposed Austro-German unification in 1919 and again in 1931, as a threat to Czechoslovak independence. President 1935 to 5 October 1938, when he resigned and went into exile. Established a Czechoslovak National Committee in Paris in 1939 and then in London in 1940. Re-elected president, 1945, but refused to sign the new 1948

constitution and resigned, 7 June 1948. Died Sezimovo Ustí, Czechoslovakia, 3 September 1948.

BERG, ALBAN Born Vienna, 9 February 1885. A major composer of the atonal, twelve-note school associated primarily with Schoenberg (q.v.) of whom he was a pupil. His operas *Wozzeck* (1925) and *Lulu* (perf. 1937), and his violin concerto (perf. 1936) are amongst the greatest compositions in twentieth-century music, but his work was dismissed as 'degenerate' by the Nazis in Germany and denied performance there. Despite his residence in Vienna throughout his life, his work was little appreciated by his fellow Austrians. Died Vienna, 24 December 1935.

BORIS III, KING (TSAR) Born Sofia, 30 January 1894. Ascended the Bulgarian throne on 4 October 1918, following the abdication of his father. An opponent of the authoritarian Aleksandur Stamboliyski (q.v.), leader of the Agrarian Party and possibly involved in the coup which displaced him in June 1923. The object of a number of assassination attempts. His marriage to an Italian princess symbolized Bulgaria's links with Italy. Progressively reasserted his personal power after the formation of the military dictatorship in 1934 and installed his personal favourite, Kiosseivanov, as prime minister in 1935. Effectively dictator from 1938 onwards.

A political opportunist but also a man of considerable and varied talents. A brilliant linguist, a keen naturalist and botanist, and a highly enthusiastic engine driver, who was a member of the Bulgarian Railwaymen's Union and frequently drove the Royal Train in his own country.

Despite earlier seeking better relations with Yugoslavia, he aligned Bulgaria with Germany and took his country into the

Second World War on the German side in March 1941. He nevertheless refused to declare war on the Soviet Union and was not totally subservient to Hitler. He may have been assassinated. Died Sofia, 28 August 1943.

BRANCUSI (ROMANIAN BRINCUSI), CONSTANTIN Born Hobîța, Romania, 21 February 1876. Major Romanian sculptor and a pioneer of abstraction. His marble 'The Beginning of the World' in the shape of an egg, described by Brancusi as 'sculpture for a blind man' (1924), is considered by many to be his greatest achievement. His career was international, although he was often inspired by his earlier life in Romania, and he became a French national in 1952. Died Paris, 16 March 1957.

BRĂȚIANU, CONSTANTIN Born Florica, Romania, 13 January 1866. Brother of Ionel (q.v., following). Leader of the Romanian Liberal Party after the assassination of Ion G Duca in December 1933, and an opponent of King Carol's growing authoritarianism. At first supported war against the Soviet Union, but opposed the Antonescu regime after the recovery of Romanian territory from the Soviet Union. A conspirator in the successful anti-fascist plot of August 1944, and a member of two liberation cabinets. Adopted a pro-western and anti-Soviet position, and declined to join Petru Groz(e)a's left-wing government in March 1945. Imprisoned without trial 1950, and died in prison, probably in 1952.

BRĂȚIANU, IONEL Born Florica, Romania, 20 August 1864. Six times Romanian prime minister, son of the co-founder of modern Romania, and champion of the concept of a greater Romania at the

post-World War I peace negotiations. The concept was realised with the transfer of Bessarabia and Transylvania. Responsible 1922–6 for Romania's new constitution and for agrarian reform. Died Bucharest, 24 November 1927.



ČAPEK, KAREL Born Malé Svatonovice, then Austria–Hungary, now Czech Republic, 9 January 1890. Leading Czech avant-garde writer, probably most remembered for his plays *R.U.R. Rossum's Universal Robots* (1920) which gave the world the word 'robot' and with his brother Josef *Ze života hmyzu* (*The Insect Play*) (1921) with its celebrated lines:

Big fleas have little fleas
Upon their backs to bite 'em,
And little fleas have smaller fleas,
And so ad infinitum.

His play *Vec Makropoulos* (*The Makropoulos Case*) forms the basis of the opera by Janáček (q.v.) of the same name. Died Prague, 25 December 1938.

CAROL II, KING OF ROMANIA Born Sinaia, Romania, 15 October 1893. His colourful life as crown prince in which he successively contracted a morganatic marriage with a commoner, an unhappy marriage with the daughter of King Constantine I of Greece, and a liaison with a Jewish adventuress, Magda Lupescu (whom he finally married in 1947), obliged him to renounce his claim to the throne in 1925 and contributed in no small degree to the western perception of the Balkans as a latter-day Ruritania. He nevertheless returned in 1930 to become king, ruling

for the next 10 years in an increasingly authoritarian style modelled on that of Mussolini. He declared a corporatist dictatorship in February 1938 in an attempt to counter the growing power of the fascist Iron Guard (see section VII, Glossary) and in the December created the *Frontul Renasterii Nationale* (Front of National Rebirth) led by himself to replace the dissolved political parties. Following the extensive losses of Romanian territory to the Axis powers (see 'Vienna Award' in section VII, Glossary) and the Soviet Union at the beginning of the Second World War, he was forced to abdicate in favour of his son, Michael, on 6 September 1940. Died in exile, Estoril, Portugal, 4 April 1953.

CEAUȘESCU, NICOLAE Born Scornicesti, Romania, 26 January 1918. Romanian Communist leader. Joined the Party's youth movement in the early 1930s. Imprisoned 1936 and 1940 for Communist activities, where he was a cell mate of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (q.v.). Escaped 1944, secretary of the Union of Communist Youth, 1944–5, and minister of agriculture, 1948–50. Deputy minister of the armed forces, 1950–4. Rose through the Politburo to succeed Gheorghiu-Dej as First Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party in 1965, a post he held until his death. President of the State Council, 1967–74, and President, 1974 until his death.

Pursued a highly nationalistic and independent policy which led to tension with the Soviet Union but to warmer relations with the western nations. He condemned both the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact and the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union. He strictly suppressed dissent, but was primarily undone by his decision to repay at any price the large foreign debt

incurred through ill-considered industrialisation during the 1970s.

Disposed to large and extravagant schemes, he proposed to demolish thousands of villages and urbanize their inhabitants, and was in the course of creating a vast palace for himself and his wife in Bucharest as part of their personality cult. Their personal tastes nevertheless remained modest. Overthrown in the uprising of December 1989, and tried and shot with his wife, 25 December 1989.

CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA Born Iași, Romania, 13 September 1899. Founder and leader of the Romanian Iron Guard (q.v.). Helped establish the Association of Christian Students, 1922, affiliated, 1923–7, with the anti-Semitic League of National Christian Defence. Imprisoned, 1923, for threats to kill 'traitors', and accused of murder, 1925, but acquitted. Founded the Legion of the Archangel Michael, later the Guard, 1927. Garrotted and/or shot near Bucharest, 30 November 1938.

CURIE, MARIE SKŁODOWSKA Born Warsaw, Russian Poland, 7 November 1867. The first great woman scientist, and the daughter of a professor of physics at Warsaw. Wife of Pierre Curie (1859–1906), professor of physics at the Sorbonne in Paris, with whom she collaborated to discover radium, sharing with him in consequence the Nobel prize for physics in 1903. Received the Nobel prize for chemistry in 1911. Although her most creative period preceded the creation of the Polish state in 1919, her achievements were a matter of great national pride. She was appointed to the International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation by the council of the League of Nations and her sister, Bronia, became director of the Radium Institute

in Warsaw on its inauguration in 1932. Her daughter, Irène Joliot-Curie, shared with her husband the 1935 Nobel prize for chemistry for their discovery of new radioactive elements prepared artificially. Died near Sallanches, France, 4 July 1934.

D

DIMITROV, GEORGI MIKHAILOVICH Born Kovachevtsi, Bulgaria, 18 June 1882. Bulgarian Communist leader. A printer and trade union leader, who was secretary of the Bulgarian Trades Union Federation from 1905 until its dissolution in 1923, and a co-founder of the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1919. Elected to the *Sobranje*, 1913, and conducted a violent anti-nationalist and anti-militarist campaign during the First World War for which he was twice court-martialled. Deprived of his seat in the *Sobranje* by the Stamboliyski regime. Elected to the executive committee of the Comintern (Communist International), Moscow, 1921. Leader of the 1923 Bulgarian Communist uprising for which he was sentenced to death in absentia. Head of the central European section of the Comintern in Berlin from 1929. Accused by the Nazis of conspiring with other Communist leaders to burn down the Reichstag on 27 February 1933, but acquitted after a brilliant self-defence. Adopted Soviet citizenship, 1934. Secretary-general of the executive committee of the Comintern in Moscow, 1935–43, from where he encouraged the formation of popular front governments. Directed resistance to Bulgaria's pro-German government, 1944, returning to Bulgaria, 1945, where

he reassumed Bulgarian nationality and immediately became prime minister in the Fatherland Front government. Presided over Bulgaria's transformation into a People's Republic. Died near Moscow, Soviet Union, 2 July 1949. His funeral in Sofia on 10 July was attended by some 500,000 people

DOHNÁNYI, ERNÖ (ERNST VON) Born Bratislava, then Hungary, now Slovakia, 27 July 1877. Hungarian composer, particularly for the piano, in the more traditional style. His *Variations on a Nursery Song* for piano and orchestra is well known. He left Hungary as a political exile in 1948, settling in America the following year, and his music was banned in Hungary for more than 10 years. Died New York, 9 February 1960.

DOLLFUSS, DR ENGELBERT Born Texing, Austria–Hungary, 4 October 1892. A leading member of the conservative and clerical Austrian Christian Social Party. Austrian Chancellor, 1932–34. Increasingly authoritarian under the influence of Mussolini, whom he saw as a defender against Nazi Germany, and absolute fascist dictator from May 1934. Assassinated in the Chancellery, Vienna, by the Austrian Nazis, 25 July 1934.

DUBČEK, ALEXANDER Born Uhrovec, Czechoslovakia, now Slovakia, 27 November 1921. Czechoslovak reformist Communist Party leader. Educated in Kyrgyzstan, then Soviet Central Asia, but returned to Czechoslovakia with his parents, 1938. A member of the wartime resistance. A Communist Party official, and chief secretary of the Bratislava regional committee and a member of the Central Committee of both the Czechoslovak and Slovak Communist Parties, 1958. A full

member of the presidium, 1962. Led the economic and political reformers as well as the Slovak nationalists to replace Antonin Novotný as First Secretary of the Party on 5 January 1968. Granted greater press freedom and pursued the rehabilitation of victims of the purges. Responsible for the reform programme entitled 'Czechoslovakia's Road to Socialism', better known as 'socialism with a human face', which alarmed the leaderships of both the Soviet Union and the other neighbouring Communist states. Proved unable to reassure the Soviet leaders at Cierna, Slovakia, between 29 July and 2 August, and the other leaders at subsequent meetings, that he was in control of the situation. Following the invasion by the 'Group of Five' on 20–21 August, forcibly taken to Moscow, and obliged on his return to withdraw many of his reforms. Progressively marginalised and replaced as First Secretary of the Party, 17 April 1969. Initially president of the Federal Assembly, and ambassador to Turkey, January 1970, but later expelled from the Party and appointed an inspector of the forestry administration.

Returned to influence in 1989 with his election on 28 December as chairman of the Federal Assembly. Leader of Slovakia's Social Democratic Party, 1992. Died from a car accident, Prague, 7 November 1992.

E

ENESCO, GEORGES (ROMANIAN, ENESCU, GEORGE) Born Liveni, near Dorohoi, Romania, 19 August 1881. Romania's only composer with a European reputation. Also a celebrated virtuoso violinist. Died Paris, 4 May 1955.

F

FREUD, SIGMUND Born Freiberg, Austria–Hungary, now Příbor, Czech Republic, 6 May 1856. Effectively the creator of the modern science of psychology. First stimulated by working with the French neurologist, Jean-Martin Charcot, in Paris, he pioneered the concept that mental disease could be caused by totally non-organic factors. Back in Vienna, he developed theories of the subconscious, the nature of neuroses and of human sexuality, and the creation of the Oedipus complex, which have profoundly changed modern man's perception of the human condition. He also pioneered the technique of psychoanalysis. Died London, 23 September 1939.

G

GHEORGHIU-DEJ, GHEORGHE Born Birlad, Romania, 8 November 1901. Romanian Communist leader. Joined the outlawed Communist Party, 1930, and sentenced to 12 years' hard labour for his involvement in the Grivița railwaymen's strike, 1933. Escaped from prison, August 1944, with the aid of Ion Gheorghe Maurer, later Romanian prime minister. Secretary-General of the Party, virtually immediately. Minister of communications, 1944–6, and effective in securing a government dominated by the Communists and their allies by 1945. Thereafter promoted governmental economic planning and the development of industry. Prime minister, 1952, having ousted rivals identified with the interests of the then Soviet leadership. Pursued policies

deemed to promote Romanian rather than Soviet interests, but in a manner which threatened neither the loss of Communist Party control nor the danger of Soviet intervention. Resigned as prime minister, 1955, but returned in the equivalent role of president of the State Council, 1961. Pursued an increasingly independent course and overrode the objections of the other members of the Soviet bloc to make Romania an increasingly industrialised, rather than an essentially agricultural, country. Also successfully courted both China and countries outside the Soviet bloc from the mid-1960s. Died Bucharest, 19 March 1965.

GIEREK, EDWARD Born Porabka, Austrian Poland, 6 January 1913. First Secretary of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party, 1970–80. Emigrated to France with the rest of his family following the death of his father in a mining accident, 1923. First an agricultural labourer and then a miner. Joined the French Communist Party, 1931, but deported for organising a sit-down strike. Undertook his military service in Poland, and then worked again as a miner near Limburg, Belgium. Active in the Resistance during the War, becoming by 1945 the head of the special Polish section of the Belgian Communist Party.

Returned to Silesia, Polish from 1945, and First Secretary of the Communist Party Committee in Katowice, south-western Poland, 1951. Obtained an engineering degree, and head of the heavy industry section of the Central Committee in Warsaw, 1954. Recognised as a brilliant industrial organiser. Chaired the commission of enquiry into the 1956 Poznań riots, concluding that the Party had failed to keep in touch with the workers. Briefly a member of the Politburo, 1956, and then again from

1959. A highly successful regional leader of Silesia, and elected First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, 1970, largely for that reason and for his considerable personal popularity in the country.

Although he is remembered positively for the much greater social and political liberalism he introduced, for his willingness to adapt the Soviet party line to national circumstances, and for the new stress on consumer goods, he was hindered by a conservative Party machine. Essentially, though, he was undermined by his policy of ‘kick-starting’ the economy with huge investment in industry financed by western loans. A high-risk strategy even in favourable times, it proved disastrous in the worldwide recession of the 1970s ultimately attributable to the dramatic increases in the price of oil imposed by OPEC. Attempts to cope with Poland’s spiralling mountain of debt quickly eroded his popularity, and he was removed as Party leader on 5 September 1980. Expelled from the Party and interned for 1 year under the Jaruzelski regime. Subsequently retired to Silesia, where he died, 29 July 2001.

GOMULKA, WŁADYSŁAW Born Białobrzegi, near Krosno, then Austrian Poland, 6 February 1905. First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, 1956–70. A locksmith by trade. Joined the underground Polish Communist Party, 1926, and thereafter a professional trade union organiser. Seriously wounded in the leg by police during a textile strike at Łódź in 1932. Sentenced to 4 years’ imprisonment, but released, 1934, on medical grounds. Student at the International Lenin School, Moscow, 1934–5. Returned to Poland as a revolutionary agitator in Silesia, and sentenced to 7 years’ imprisonment, 1936. Released in 1939 and joined in the defence of Warsaw.

Resumed political activity on the German invasion of the Soviet Union, first in Krosno and then in Warsaw, where he became district secretary and a member of the Central Committee of the *Polska Partia Robotnicza* (PPR) (Polish Workers' Party), as well as an organiser in the anti-Nazi resistance movement. General Secretary of the PPR from November 1943, and deputy prime minister in the Communist-dominated provisional Polish government in Lublin from January 1945. Assumed responsibility for all Polish lands acquired from Germany in June 1945. Elected to the Politburo, December 1945.

Determined to ensure Communist domination, he led the attack on the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) and strongly supported the merger of his PPR with the Polish Socialist Party in 1948 to create the *Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza* (PZPR) (Polish United Workers' Party). Nevertheless, independent in his thinking and opposed both agricultural collectivisation and the formation of the Cominform in September 1947. Consequently distrusted by Stalin as a Titoist, he was deposed as General Secretary of the PPR, September 1948, dropped from the Politburo, December 1948, dismissed from his ministerial posts, January 1949, expelled from the PZPR, November 1949, and finally arrested, July 1951. Released, late 1954, politically rehabilitated, 1956, and readmitted to the PZPR in the August. Re-elected to the Politburo, and First Secretary of the Central Committee, October 1956. Soon thereafter also elected to the collective presidency.

Despite initially enjoying almost total popular backing, his failure to execute sufficiently radical reforms until too late a stage, particularly in the economic and intellectual spheres, progressively reduced his support. He was ousted as First

Secretary on 20 December 1970 following workers' riots in Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin. Died Warsaw, 1 September 1982.

GOTTWALD, KLEMENT Born Dedice, then Austria–Hungary, now Czech Republic, 23 November 1896. Czechoslovak Communist prime minister and president. Trained as a carpenter and cabinet maker in Vienna, and a socialist at 16. Deserted to the Russians from the Austro-Hungarian army during the First World War. Joined what became the Czechoslovak Communist Party, 1918, soon editor of the party newspapers, *Hlas Ludu* (Voice of the People) and *Pravda* (Truth). Member of the Party Central Committee, 1925, and secretary-general, 1927. Member of the Czechoslovak parliament, 1929. Left Czechoslovakia for Moscow after Munich. Deputy prime minister in the 1945 provisional government. Chairman of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, March 1946, and prime minister, 3 July 1946. Led a purely Communist government from 1948. The successful rival of Rudolf Slánský (q.v.), the First Secretary of the Party. Caught a chill at Stalin's funeral in Moscow on 9 March 1953 and died of pneumonia, Prague, 14 March 1953.

GROTEWOHL, OTTO Born Brunswick, 11 March 1894. A printer by trade. Joined the trade union movement and the SPD in 1912. Active in the province of Brunswick after 1918 as a journalist, deputy, minister and regional chairman of the SPD. Elected to the Reichstag, 1925. Persecuted and imprisoned by the Nazis on several occasions. Chairman of the SPD Central Committee after the War. Joint chairman of the SED, 1946–54. Head of the constitutional committee of the German People's Council, 1947, a member of

the SED Politbüro and Chairman of the East German Council of Ministers (prime minister), 1949–64. Signatory of the 1950 Görlitz agreement between East Germany and Poland, recognising the Oder–Neisse line as their mutual frontier. Intelligent and a good speaker, he probably anticipated that the SPD element in the SED would play a more positive role than proved possible in the Cold War climate of the late 1940s and the 1950s.

Died 21 September 1964.

GYURCSÁNY, FERENC Born Papa, Hungary, 4 June 1961. The only Hungarian incumbent prime minister to win a second term. A Communist youth leader. Later a political adviser to Peter Medgyessy, and subsequently youth and sports minister in his Socialist government. A business tycoon and by 2006 one of the richest men in Hungary, worth an estimated £10 million. Leader of the Socialist Party and Hungarian prime minister, 25 August 2004. He modelled his political approach on that of the British prime minister Tony Blair, who spoke at a rally during his 2006 election campaign. Peter Mandelson is another friend.

His third wife, Klara Dobrev, is the granddaughter of Antal Apró, an organiser of the repression after the failed 1956 uprising.

H

HAVEL, VÁCLAV Born Prague, Czechoslovakia, 5 October 1936. Czech playwright, dissident and politician. Of middle-class parentage. Initially a stagehand, but by 1968, resident playwright at Prague's Theatre of the Balustrade. Prominent in the

liberal climate of the 1968 'Prague Spring', which led after the Soviet invasion to the banning of his plays and the withdrawal of his passport. Thereafter repeatedly arrested and imprisoned, 1979–83, for his dissident promotion of human rights. His best-known play, *Vyrozumeni* (The Memorandum) of 1965, explores the breakdown of human relationships in the face of bureaucratic artificiality, and contains echoes of Kafka. Later plays explore the self-delusions and moral compromises induced by totalitarianism.

Returned to political prominence in the demonstrations of 1989 and became the leader of the umbrella grouping, Civic Forum, which entered into an interim coalition government with the Communists. Elected interim president, 29 December 1989, and re-elected as president, July 1990. Resigned as the Czechoslovak state approached voluntary dissolution, 1992, but elected president of the new Czech Republic on its inception in 1993. His political skills in office have been the subject of criticism from some.

HENLEIN, KONRAD Born Maffersdorf bei Reichenberg, then Austria–Hungary, now Liberec, Czech Republic, 6 May 1898. Leader of the Sudeten German Home Front (*Sudetendeutsche Heimatfront*) from 1935. Formerly a bank clerk and head of the German gymnastics movement (*Deutsche Turnbewegung*) in Czechoslovakia, 1923–33. Unsuccessfully demanded Sudeten autonomy, 24 April 1938, and following a later demand for cession of the Sudetenland to Germany fled there to escape arrest, his party having been suspended for treasonable activities. Founded a Sudeten German legion (*Freikorps*), and following the cession of the Sudetenland to Germany at Munich appointed *Reichskommissar* for the territory, 1 October 1938, and subsequently

Gauleiter and *Reichsstatthalter* of Sudetenland. Committed suicide in Allied custody, Plzeň, Czechoslovakia, 10 May 1945.

HLINKA, FATHER ANDREJ Born Stará Černová, then Austria–Hungary, now Slovakia, 27 September 1864. Leader of the movement for Slovak autonomy within Czechoslovakia in the interwar years. Roman Catholic priest of Ružomberok from 1905. As leader of the clerical Slovak People's Party supported union with the Czechs in 1918 but soon cooled and entered into opposition to the Prague government in 1922, alleging in the Žilina Memorandum that the Czechs had denied the Slovaks their autonomy. His relations with the Czechs fluctuated, but were characterised in his last years by an intense hostility which was exploited by the Germans and the Hungarians, and which made a considerable contribution to the destruction of Czechoslovakia in 1939. Died Ružomberok, then Czechoslovakia, now Slovakia, 16 August 1938.

HONECKER, ERICH Born Neunkirchen, Saarland, 25 August 1912. A roof tiler by trade. Joined KPD, 1929. In Moscow, 1930–1. An official of the Young Communist League of Germany from 1931. Imprisoned, 1935–45. Chairman of the Free German Youth (FDJ), 1946–55. An alternate member of the Politbüro, 1950, and full member, 1958. First Secretary of the SED, 1971–6, and General Secretary, 1976–89. Chairman of the Council of State, 1976–89. Directly involved in the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961, he was also believed to be a key figure in the fall of Dubček in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Although intolerant and narrow in outlook, and little loved, he was in some respects a genuinely tragic figure. Proud of

his creation and blind to its deficiencies, he lived to see it disintegrate around him in the events of 1989–90. He moved initially to the Soviet Union, but with its collapse he took refuge in the Chilean embassy in Moscow in December 1991 to avoid extradition. On his returning to Germany, he was charged with manslaughter in May 1992. He made just one statement to the court on 3 December 1992 denouncing the proceedings, which had opened on 12 November 1992, as a political spectacle and defending the decision to build the Berlin Wall. He accepted political responsibility for the killings at the border, although he regretted them, but felt no 'legal and moral guilt'. Following criticism of his detention by the Constitutional Court (see section 2.8 for fuller particulars), the charges against him were dropped on 13 January 1993, and he was allowed to join his wife in Chile. That decision was itself annulled by a higher court on 27 January, before the charges were definitively suspended on 7 April 1993. There was widespread suspicion that the government did not wish the trial to proceed because it feared embarrassing revelations about the intimacy of earlier inter-German relations. He had claimed to be looking forward to it. Died in exile in Chile, 29 May 1994.

HORTHY, (ADMIRAL) MIKLÓS (NAGYBÁNYAI) Born Kenderes, Hungary, 18 June 1868. Of Protestant, aristocratic origin. Trained as a naval officer at the Austro-Hungarian naval academy at Fiume, now Rijeka, Croatia. Aide-de-camp to Emperor Franz Josef, 1909–14, and a successful naval commander in the First World War. Admiral, 1918. Supervised the transfer of the Imperial fleet to Yugoslavia, October 1918. Raised an army to defeat the Communist regime of Béla Kun (q.v.) 1919, at the request of the counter-revolutionary government based

in Szeged. Elected regent of Hungary, March 1920, by the Parliament elected that January, which had opted for the restoration of the monarchy. Nevertheless prevented his king, Karl IV, from ever ascending the throne. Hungarian head of state until 1944, but did not run the government until the 1930s and in particular after 1937 when his powers were considerably extended. Personally antipathetic to Hitler, but took Hungary into the Second World War on the German side to help the 'crusade against Bolshevism'. Later attempts to take Hungary out of the War resulted in his compulsory abdication and detention by the Germans in 1944. Released by the Allies, May 1945, and in exile in Portugal until his death. One of the few captured collaborators with the Germans never to face war crimes charges. Died Estoril, Portugal, 9 February 1957.

HOXHA, ENVER Born Gjirokastër, Albania, then Turkish Empire, 16 October 1908. Communist ruler of Albania. Of Muslim middle class origin. Studied in the French school at Korçë, and then in France and Belgium, where he read law. Professor of French at his former school in Korçë, 1936. Organised resistance to the Italians, who sentenced him to death in absentia, after 1939, and then to the Germans. Helped found the Albanian Communist Party (later Party of Labour) and the 1942 Peza Convention, where he was placed in charge of all military and political activities. First Secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee, 1942 until his death, and prime minister, 1944–54. A lifelong admirer of Stalin. His rule made Albania largely self-sufficient in agricultural products and achieved much progress in education, health and industrial development, but at the expense of making Albania a closed society

characterised by government brutality and control and increasing isolation from the rest of the world. Died Tiranë, 11 April 1985.

HUSÁK, DR GUSTAV Born Bratislava, then Austria–Hungary, now Slovakia, 10 January 1913. Czechoslovak Communist Party leader. Joined the Communist Party, 1933. A lawyer. Imprisoned by the wartime Slovak government, 1940–43. A member of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party and an organiser of the Slovak national uprising, 1944. Interior minister and then chairman of the Slovak Board of Commissioners, 1945–50. Purged, 1950, and detained, 1951, as a member of an 'organised anti-Party gang' plotting to establish a separate Slovak republic. Imprisoned, 1954–60. Rehabilitated, 1963. Attacked the Party's prevalent neo-Stalinism and a deputy prime minister, April 1968, under the liberalising Alexander Dubček. Alarmed by Dubček's liberalism, however, he increasingly urged caution and, after the 1968 Soviet invasion, a reversal of policy. Leader of the Slovak Communist Party, 28 August 1968, and First Secretary (after 1971 General Secretary) of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, April 1969. President 1975–89. An outwardly dour and humourless figure, who firmly suppressed dissent and who neither won nor seemed to seek popularity. Nevertheless a competent manager under whom Czechoslovak prosperity grew steadily though slowly. It was almost the only Soviet bloc country in the late 1980s not to be burdened by external debt. Unsympathetic to the mood of reform launched by Gorbachev in the Soviet Union, he retired as Communist Party General Secretary, 1987. Resigned as president, 1989. Died Bratislava, 18 November 1991.

J

JANÁČEK, LEOŠ Born Hukvaldy, Moravia, then Austria–Hungary, now Czech Republic, 3 July 1854. Celebrated Czech composer, he remained closely associated with the area of his birth, settling in the city of Brno at the age of 30 and concentrating his activities there until his death. His creative genius reached its peak when he was in comparatively advanced years, perhaps inspired by his passion for Kamilla Stösslová, a married woman 38 years his junior whom he met in 1917. His music is strongly influenced by the rhythms of Czech speech, and he is particularly celebrated for his operas *Jenufa* (1916), *Kat'a Kabanová* (1921), *Příhody Lišky Bystroušky* (The Cunning Little Vixen) (1923), *Vec Makropulos* (The Makropulos Affair) (1925), *Z Mrtvého Domu* (From the House of the Dead) (1928) and for his *Mša Glagolskaja* (Glagolitic Mass) (1927), which uses an Old Slavonic text. His stature has been rising steadily in recent decades, and he is now esteemed by many as one of the greatest of twentieth-century composers. Died Ostrava, Czechoslovakia, 12 August 1928.

JARUZELSKI, GENERAL WOJCIECH WITOLD Born Kurow, Poland, 6 July 1923. Polish military and Communist Party leader. Deported with his family to the Soviet Union on the outbreak of the Second World War. Joined the Polish army established in the Soviet Union, 1943, and graduated from the Polish General Staff Academy. Joined the Polish Workers' Party, 1947. Steadily advanced to become a member of the Party's Central Committee, 1964, minister of defence, 1968, and a member of the Politburo, 1971. Prime minister, February 1981,

and First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' (Communist) Party, October 1981, against a background of unrest associated with *Solidarność* (Solidarity). Declared martial law, 13 December 1981, almost certainly to avert the threat of Soviet invasion. Lifted martial law in July 1983. Resigned as prime minister, to become chairman of the Council of State, 1985. Executive president, July 1989–December 1990. Resigned all his senior Party posts, July 1989, and transferred the vestiges of Communist power to the new government, December 1990. A skilful and flexible politician but unable to surmount Poland's economic difficulties. Since charged at law with responsibility for the deaths of anti-government protesters while minister of defence. Possibly saved many more lives through his declaration of martial law.

JOHN PAUL II, POPE Born Karol Wojtyła, Wadowice, Poland, 18 May 1920. Studied Polish literature in the University of Kraków before the War, briefly a worker in the chemicals industry, and ordained, 1 November 1946. Doctor in ethics of the Angelicum University in Rome, and professor of philosophy at the Catholic University, Lublin, and at Kraków. Auxiliary bishop of Kraków, 1958, archbishop, 1964, and cardinal, 1967. Fluent in English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish, as well as in Latin and his native Polish. Elected pope, 16 October 1978, the first Polish pope, and the first non-Italian pope for 456 years. The victim of an assassination attempt in 1981. Celebrated for his charisma, his pioneering missionary journeys pursued into his eighties despite his suffering from Parkinson's disease, and his dedication, but also strongly criticised for his doctrinal conservatism and authoritarianism, particularly on such subjects as abortion and contraception.

He also courted controversy with his declaration by 2002 of 447 saints, more than declared by the total of all his predecessors. Another 1,237 candidates had been beatified, which is the first step to sainthood, and the official count of twentieth-century martyrs to totalitarianism published in 2000 included 13,000 names, although not all would be candidates for sainthood. The merits of some were contested. Moves to canonise Pope Pius XII faltered under outside criticism of his failure to condemn the Nazis and the persecution of the Jews, and Bishop Voytassak of Slovakia had been implicated in war-time Nazi administration.

The Roman Catholic Church concluded the first phase in the preparation of its dossier on his proposed beatification in April 2007. It included details of an allegedly miraculous curing of a French nun from Parkinson's disease following her prayers to him.

Died Rome, 2 April 2005.

K

KACZYŃSKI, JAROSLAW AND LECH Born Warsaw, 18 June 1949. Polish prime minister and president. Identical twins whose mother was a nurse in the Warsaw Uprising and inculcated a marked hostility to German and Russian alike. Virtually identical in their views, they are antipathetic to foreigners, ultra-nationalistic and deeply loyal to traditional Roman Catholic teaching on such issues as abortion, homosexuality and marriage. Lech Wałęsa once described them as polarizers with a destructive energy, but they may be obliged to moderate their positions by the necessities of coalition government.

Lech elected president 2005; Jaroslaw appointed prime minister, 19 July 2006.

KÁDÁR, JÁNOS Born János Czermanik (Csermanek), Fiume, then Austria-Hungary, now Rijeka, Croatia, 26 May 1912. Hungarian Communist leader. A skilled mechanic by training. Joined the then-illegal Hungarian Communist Party, 1931. A member of its Central Committee, 1942, and its Politburo, 1945. Minister of the interior, 1949, but expelled from the Party by its Stalinist faction and imprisoned, 1951–3, when he may have suffered torture. Rehabilitated, 1954, and appointed First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' (Communist) Party, 25 October 1956. A member of Imre Nagy's brief liberalising government, but left him on 3 November 1956 to establish a new government friendly to the Soviet Union. Served as prime minister until 1958 and then again from 1961 to 1965. His motivation seems to have been primarily a sense of duty. He was to write later, 'I have been working as an organised Communist since 1931 ... I have been working ever since that time, because it is the rule for man to work. Yet I feel that, if you have nothing else to say for yourself except that in 1956, in a critical period, and in the following few years, you were of some use – you can say you have not lived in vain'.

Allegedly asked Khrushchev somewhat despairingly in 1956 what he should do and was told 'make yourself popular'. Apocryphal or not, it was what after an initial period of repression he set out to do on the basis that 'he who is not against us is with us'. He proved remarkably successful, achieving in due course a real measure of public esteem and genuine popularity based on comparatively liberal and pragmatic approaches in all fields. Progress faltered, however, and in 1988 Kádár was ousted as

First Secretary, as the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party embarked on a programme of reform which was to turn it the next year into the modern Hungarian Socialist Party: an evolution he strenuously opposed. Party president until May 1989. Died Budapest, 6 July 1989.

KAFKA, FRANZ Born Prague, then Austria–Hungary, now Czech Republic, 3 July 1883. Great German-language novelist, most of whose work was neither finished nor published at his death. A nominal Jew, whose three sisters were to die in the concentration camps. His famous novels *Der Prozess* (The Trial) (1925), *Das Schloss* (The Castle) (1926) and *Amerika* (America) (1927) foreshadow both the rise of European totalitarianism and the sense of alienation and helplessness widely experienced by twentieth-century man. His work has exercised extensive influence particularly on the surrealists. Virtually unknown in his lifetime, he had instructed that all his unpublished work be destroyed. It was, however, edited and published after his early death from tuberculosis by his friend and biographer Max Brod, who also corresponded regularly with Janáček (q.v.). Died Kierling, near Vienna, Austria, 3 June 1924.

KODÁLY, ZOLTÁN Born Kecskemét, Hungary, 16 December 1882. Hungarian composer and a collaborator with Bartók (q.v.) in the collection of Hungarian folk tunes. Similarly national in inspiration and modern in harmony. Probably his finest work, the sonata for unaccompanied cello (1915), predates our period, but he is more popularly known for the choral *Psalms Hungaricus* (1923) and in particular for the *Háry Janós* suite (1927), the Dances of *Marosszék* (1927) and the Dances of *Galanta* (1933). Died Budapest, 6 March 1967.

KUN, BÉLA Born Szilágyocseh, Transylvania, then Hungary, now Romania, 20 February 1886. Of Jewish origin. Prisoner of war in Russia, 1916, where he joined the Bolsheviks and attracted Lenin's attention. Trained in revolutionary tactics and returned to Hungary after the War where he founded the Hungarian Communist Party on 20 December 1918. Imprisoned by Count Károlyi's government in February 1919, but remained politically active. Released 20 March 1919, to become next day commissar for foreign affairs and effective leader of a new Communist–Social Democrat coalition government. His government won considerable support for its creation of a national Red Army which reconquered substantial tracts of national territory lost to Czechoslovakia and Romania, but then lost support for its suppression of its less revolutionary elements, its failure to secure promised military help from the Russian Red Army, and its nationalisation rather than redistribution of the landed estates. Fled to Vienna, August 1919, and then Russia, from where, as a leader of the Third International, he sought to provoke revolution in Germany and Austria. Ultimately succumbed to one of Stalin's purges. Energetic and a good organiser, but skilled in neither the arts of government nor the tactics of survival within the wider Communist movement. Died Soviet Union, about 30 November 1939.

KUNDERA, MILAN Born Brno, Czechoslovakia, 1 April 1929. Celebrated Czech writer in a range of genres. Although generally a member of the Communist Party, his works were always subject to political criticism and suppression. His finest work may be his first novel, *Zert* (The Joke) of 1967, which explores with comic irony Czech lives in the Stalinist years. Active in the 'Prague Spring' of 1968, after which his works were banned

and he was expelled from the Communist Party. Allowed to emigrate to France, 1975, but stripped of his Czechoslovak citizenship, 1979. He has remained a prolific writer.

L

LEHÁR, FERENC (FRANZ) Born Komarno, then Hungary, now Slovakia, 30 April 1870. Perhaps the most successful of all operetta composers, works such as *Die lustige Witwe* (The Merry Widow) (1905) complemented the Viennese waltzes of the Strauss family to define the popular image of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in its final phase. He remained highly productive after 1919, and his work is influenced in part by the folk music of what had become Yugoslavia. Died Bad Ischl, Austria, 24 October 1948.

LIEBKNECHT, KARL Born Leipzig, 13 August 1871. German Social Democrat who with Rosa Luxemburg founded the revolutionary *Spartakusbund* (Spartacus League) which was to become the German Communist Party (KPD). He had been the first deputy in the Reichstag to vote against war credits. Sought to turn the German revolution of November 1918 into a Bolshevik revolution along Soviet lines but was soon arrested by counter-revolutionary volunteers and, with Rosa Luxemburg, summarily shot. Both were to become icons of the East German state founded in 1949. Died Berlin, 15 January 1919.

LIGETI, GYÖRGY Born Diciosânmartin (now Tirnaveni), Transylvania, Romania, 28 May 1923. Leading avant-garde

composer. An ethnic Hungarian, he taught there until 1956, after which he moved to western centres of musical experimentation such as Cologne, Darmstadt, Stockholm and Vienna. Some of his music is electronic, and in general he obliterates traditional harmonies, rhythms, and intervals, and the difference between vocal and instrumental sounds. His work attracts respectful attention, but any consensus on its true musical value seems unlikely for a considerable time.

Died 12 June 2006.

LUXEMBURG, ROSA Born Zamość, Russian Poland, 5 March 1871. A founder of both the Polish Social Democratic Party, which was to become the Polish Communist Party, and of the Spartacus League which was to become the German Communist Party. Her emphasis on democracy and revolutionary mass action rather than Lenin's tight party discipline and democratic centralism made her a heretical figure in Marxist circles, but also gave her a sympathetic image, aided by her good looks, which contributed to her lasting influence. Like her associate Liebknecht (q.v.) she tried to turn the German revolution of November 1918 to the left, when she was known as *die blutige Rosa* (bloody Rosa), but was soon arrested with him by counter-revolutionary volunteers and summarily shot. They were to become icons of the East German state founded in 1949. Died Berlin, 15 January 1919.

M

MASARYK, JAN (GARRIGUE) Born Prague, then Austria-Hungary, now Czech Republic, 14 September 1886. Son of Professor

Tomáš Masaryk (q.v., following). Foreign minister in the Czechoslovak émigré government in London during the Second World War, and in the restored Czechoslovak government, 1945–8. Sought to retain the friendship of both the Soviet Union and the West. Remained in office after the Communists assumed power until his death shortly afterwards. It has never been satisfactorily established whether he committed suicide or whether he was murdered by either the Czech or the Soviet secret service. Died Prague, 10 March 1948.

MASARYK, PROFESSOR TOMÁŠ (GARRIGUE) Born Hodonin, then Austria–Hungary, now Czech Republic, 7 March 1850. ‘The father of Czechoslovakia’. Son of a Slovak father and a Germanised Czech mother, both of humble origin. Appointed professor of philosophy at the Czech university of Prague, 1882. Entered into politics, 1889, by editing a political review, and a member of the Austro-Hungarian Reichsrat 1891–3 for the Young Czech Party. Founded his own Realist Party, 1890, and a leading figure of the left-wing Slav opposition in the reformed Reichsrat.

Escaped Austria, 1914, to become a professor at Kings College, University of London, and to agitate for the Czechoslovak idea in western Europe and then in America during the First World War. Sentenced to death by the Austrians ‘in absentia’ for his nationalist activities, but returned 1918 to become president of the new Czechoslovak Republic. Re-elected 1920, 1927 and 1934, benefiting from the constitutional provision that he alone could serve more than one presidential term. Widely admired as a humanist and a democrat in a continent and period when both were under savage attack, he must nevertheless bear some responsibility for the new state’s failure to meet its

promises to its Slovak inhabitants. Died Lány, Czechoslovakia, 14 September 1937.

MILOŠEVIĆ, SLOBODAN Born Pozarevac, Yugoslavia, 22 August 1941. President of Serbia, 1989–97, president of Federal Yugoslavia, 1997–2000. Son of an Orthodox priest, who like his mother committed suicide. Joined Communist Party, 1959, and married Mira Marković, the daughter of Tito’s mistress, 1965. President of the United Bank of Belgrade, 1978–83. President of the Serbian regional Communist Party from 1986, and president of Serbia from 1989. Stepped down in 1997 to become Federal Yugoslav president.

Indicted by the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia as a war criminal, 27 May 1998, and handed over by the Yugoslav government on 28 June 2001 in return for a promise of international aid which was described as substantial but bore little relationship to the cost of the damage caused by NATO bombing. Unquestionably autocratic and intransigent, but never quite the dictator he was often painted.

He conducted a determined self-defence throughout his trial, which opened in February 2002, but succumbed to heart problems before it had finished. Although he would probably have been found guilty on a number of counts, he might not have been found guilty of genocide. Died Scheveningen, Netherlands, 11 March 2006.

MUSIL, ROBERT Born Klagenfurt, Austria, 6 November 1880. Austrian novelist, whose best-known, but unfinished, novel, *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* (The Man Without Qualities), describing life in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, has been compared with the work of the great French novelist, Proust. The First Book of the novel was published 1930, part of the

Second Book 1933, and a further part of the novel after his death, 1943. Fled to Switzerland after the 1938 *Anschluss*. Died Geneva, Switzerland, 15 April 1942.

N

NAGY, IMRE Born Kaposvár, Hungary, 7 June 1896. Hungarian Communist leader. Captured as an Austro-Hungarian soldier by the Russians in the First World War and became a Communist, fighting with the Soviet Army. Lived in Moscow, 1929–44, as a member of the Institute for Agrarian Sciences. Returned to Hungary at the end of 1944, and repeatedly a government minister before becoming prime minister, 1953. Forced to resign because of his independent line, 1955, but returned to power in the October 1956 uprising. Captured, tried and executed after its suppression, but posthumously rehabilitated by the Hungarian Supreme Court, 1989. Died Budapest, 16 June 1958.

P

PADEREWSKI, IGNACY JAN Born Kurilówka, Podolia, Russian Poland, 18 November 1860. A dazzling pianist with an audience appeal akin to that of Liszt and, like his father who had been exiled to Siberia, an ardent Polish nationalist. A member of the Polish National Committee during the First World War and their representative in the United States, where he worked to secure President Woodrow Wilson's support for Polish independence. His lasting

achievement was to see it included as the 13th of the president's 14 Points on 8 January 1918. Called upon by Piłsudski (q.v.), as provisional head of state after the War, to form a government of experts free from party affiliation, which was duly established on 17 January 1919. He served as his own foreign minister and represented 'Poland' at Versailles. Accustomed as a pianist to adulation and resentful of criticism, however, he proved a failure as prime minister and resigned on 27 November 1919. Similarly unsuccessful in his desire to be elected president, for which he lacked the support of any political party, he returned to Switzerland never to revisit Poland. That did not, however, prevent his being offered the chairmanship of the Polish National Council by the Polish government-in-exile established by General Sikorski (q.v.) in Paris in October 1939. That Council met under Paderewski in Angers but on the fall of France in 1940 he moved to the United States. Died New York, 29 June 1941.

PAŠIĆ, NIKOLA Born Zajecar, Serbia, 31 December 1845. Five times prime minister of Serbia up to 1918 and one of the founders of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918–19. Responsible as prime minister of the new kingdom, 1918, 1921–4 and 1924–6 for the unitary constitution of 1921 which entrenched Serb supremacy and a powerful monarchy. Until his resignation in March 1926 he pursued policies of increasing centralisation in a none-too-scrupulous manner. Died Belgrade, 10 December 1926.

PAUL, PRINCE (PAVLE KARADORDEVIĆ) Born St Petersburg, Russia, 27 April 1893. Regent of Yugoslavia from the assassination of Alexander I in October 1934 until his deposition by the Yugoslav

military on 27 March 1941, but almost pathologically ill at ease with all but the most cultivated and westernised of his fellow countrymen. Allegedly pro-British and French, he nevertheless allied Yugoslavia with the Axis powers. Fled to Greece following his deposition in 1941 where he was ultimately captured by the British and for a time interned in Kenya. He had been deprived of membership of the Yugoslav royal family in January 1942. Settled thereafter in Paris. Died Paris, 14 September 1976.

PAVELIĆ, DR ANTE Born Bradina, Bosnia, then Turkish Empire, 14 July 1889. Croat fascist leader. A lawyer. An early member of the nationalist Croatian Party of Rights and a member of the Yugoslav *Skupština*, 1927–9. Fled to Italy in 1929 where he founded the Croat terrorist movement, *Ustaša* (Insurgence), which developed its own terrorist training centres in Italy and Hungary. The movement was responsible for King Alexander's assassination in 1934. Installed by the Axis powers as *poglavnik* (head) of the new independent Croat state, which also included all Bosnia–Herzegovina and some of Serbia, in 1941. His regime was responsible for a degree of oppression of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies which appalled even the Germans and provoked intermittent Italian intervention. His reputation did not prevent him from being received by the Pope. Fled Croatia in 1945, and reached Argentina in 1948 via Austria and Italy. A failed assassination attempt in 1957 led him to move to Paraguay and ultimately Spain. Died Madrid, 28 December 1959.

PENDERECKI, KRZYSZTOF Born Debica, Poland, 23 November 1933. Acclaimed Polish composer. His advanced style features the use of quarter-tone clusters, glissandi and whistling harmonics as well

as other radical innovations, and is well to the fore in his impressive opera, *The Devils of Loudun* (1968). His best known works however, the *Stabat Mater* (1962) and the *Passion according to Saint Luke* (1963–6), are somewhat more traditional in their approach.

PETER I, KING (PETAR KARADORDEVIĆ) Born Belgrade, 11 July 1844. King of Serbia from 1903 and a strong advocate of constitutional government. Declared the first monarch of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Yugoslavia) on 1 December 1918. Died Topcider, near Belgrade, 16 August 1921.

PETER II, KING (PETAR KARADORDEVIĆ) Born Belgrade, 6 September 1923. Nominally monarch of Yugoslavia at the age of 11 on the assassination of his father Alexander I in 1934, but only ruled in practice for the few weeks in 1941 between the deposition of the regent, his uncle Paul (q.v.) and the Axis invasion. Fled to London, where he led the emigré government until the abolition of the monarchy by Tito in 1945, and then settled in America. Died Los Angeles, 3 November 1970.

PILSUDSKI, MARSHAL JÓZEF Born Zulow, Russian Poland, now Lithuania, 5 December 1867. First head of state of the independent Poland declared in November 1918. In exile in Siberia, 1887–92, on the unfounded charge that he had plotted the assassination of Tsar Alexander III. On his return, joined and soon became a leader of the Polish Socialist Party, and was again imprisoned by the Russians, first in Warsaw, then in St Petersburg. Sought to secure Japanese assistance for a Polish uprising during the Russo-Polish War of 1904–5. Organising the nucleus of a future Polish army, initially financed

by robbery, 1908 onwards. Following the proclamation of Polish independence by Austria–Hungary and Germany on 5 November 1916, appointed head of the military department of the Polish council of state. Again imprisoned in 1917, this time by the Germans, for refusing to agree that the Polish military units swear ‘fidelity in arms with the German and Austrian forces’.

Released at the armistice and unani- mously chosen as Polish head of state and commander-in-chief of the Polish army in Warsaw on 14 November 1918. Renounced any party affiliation. Dreamed of a Polish–Lithuanian–Ukrainian federal state, and disappointed that his counter- attack against the Soviet Army in 1920 was not allowed to continue much further east. Relinquished the post of president in 1922, but remained chief of the general staff until the assumption of power by a right- wing government in 1923. Disillusioned with parliamentary democracy, he led the march by military units on Warsaw, May 1926, which brought down the government and led to his being elected president by parliament. Although he declined the post in favour of another associate, Ignacy Móścicki, he became minister of defence and effectively directed Polish, foreign and military policy until his death in 1935. Intolerant of opposition from the left-wing circles with which he had originally been associated, and who mounted a campaign against his alleged dictatorship in 1930, he temporarily arrested the leaders, although he did not suspend the parties. His protégés, notably Colonel Jozef Beck, foreign min- ister from 1932, were to dominate Polish politics until 1939 and beyond.

Reminiscent in his charisma and romanticism of Garibaldi in nineteenth- century Italy, the course of his career more nearly paralleled that of Mussolini.

In essence, he remained a revolutionary conspirator, impatient of compromise, reckless and unpredictable. For all his achievements, his lack of attention to economic problems, including the proper equipping of the Polish army, and his inability to come to terms with either of his great neighbours, lent a certain inevitability to Poland’s second partitioning in 1939–40. Died Warsaw, 12 May 1935, and buried amongst Polish kings in Wawel Cathedral, Kraków.

R

RADIĆ, STJEPAN Born Trebarjevo, then Austria–Hungary, now Croatia, 11 July 1871. Co-organiser of the Croat Peasant Party from 1904 and cooperated with the National Council in Zagreb from March 1918 to found a Yugoslav union with equal rights for Croats and Serbs and with recognised autonomy for Croatia. Imprisoned by Belgrade 1919–20, and again in 1924–5. Unsuccessfully sought foreign support for a Croat peasant republic, 1923–4. Accepted the centralist 1921 Yugoslav constitution, 1925, and partici- pated in government until 1927. Ebullient in personality, he was known to describe his governmental colleagues as ‘tyrants, gangsters and swine’. Shot during a heated debate in the *Skupština*, 20 June 1928. Died Zagreb, 8 August 1928.

RÁKOSI, MÁTYÁS Born Ada, Serbia, 14 March 1892. Hungarian Communist leader of Jewish origin. A Communist on his return to Hungary in 1918 after a spell as a prisoner of war in Russia, and commissar for socialist production in Béla Kun’s

(q.v.) brief Communist government. Fled to Moscow, but returned, 1924, to reorganise the Hungarian Communist Party. Arrested, 1925, and re-arrested on his release in 1934 to be sentenced to life imprisonment. Nevertheless permitted to go to Moscow, 1940. Returned, 1944, to become First Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party until 1948. A convinced Stalinist and amongst the shrewdest and least scrupulous of the Party leaders in the Soviet bloc. The term 'salami tactics' to describe the progressive exclusion of elements hostile to the Communists is his invention. First Secretary of the Hungarian United Workers' Party, 1948–53, and prime minister, 1952, which post he was obliged to relinquish to Imre Nagy (q.v.) in 1953 following the death of Stalin. Remained Party First Secretary until 1956, and ousted Nagy in 1955, but was then himself removed by the Soviet Union at the behest of Marshal Tito. Particularly unpopular for his Stalinist policies and unquestioning loyalty to Moscow, as well as for his personal qualities, he fled to Moscow when the Hungarian revolt broke out in October 1956. Died Gorky, Soviet Union, 5 February 1971.

S

SCHÖNBERG, ARNOLD Born Vienna, 13 September 1874. The creator of the twelve-note school of musical composition, and as such one of the most influential figures in twentieth-century music. A number of his better known works predate the First World War, including the *Gurrelieder* (first performed 1913) which with Mahler's Eighth Symphony, or Symphony of a

Thousand, represent the culmination and the conclusion of the Austro-German monumental musical tradition. Totally broke with that tradition by creating the twelve-note style of composition which dispenses with harmony and the familiar scales, 1921, and achieved wide recognition, being based in Berlin from 1925. As a Jew and promoter of 'degenerate' music, however, he lost his post in 1933 and emigrated to America the same year. His impressive opera, *Moses and Aron*, dates from his residence there. Died Los Angeles, 13 July 1951.

SCHUSCHNIGG, KURT VON Born Riva del Garda, Trento, then Austria–Hungary, now Italy, 14 December 1897. Austrian Chancellor prior to the Anschluss (q.v., in section VII, Glossary). A member of the Christian Social Party, and minister of justice, 1932, and of education, 1933, in the cabinet of Dr Dollfuss (q.v.). Appointed Chancellor on the assassination of Dollfuss. Asserted his authority with the ousting in May 1936 of the Vice-Chancellor, Prince von Starhemberg, the leader of the paramilitary *Heimwehr*, and the dissolution of the *Heimwehr* itself in the October.

Proved unable, however, to mount an effective resistance against Hitler, capitulating to him at Berchtesgaden in February 1938. His final attempt to reassert Austrian independence by a plebiscite scheduled for 13 March 1938 was overtaken by the *Anschluss*. Imprisoned by the Nazis until 1945. Lecturer in America, 1948–67, when he returned to Austria. Died Mutters, Austria, 18 November 1977.

SLÁNSKÝ, RUDOLF Born Nezvestice, near Plzeň, then Austria–Hungary, now Czech Republic, 31 July 1901. Communist leader and victim of one of the most notable 'show trials'. Of Jewish origin. Member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, 1921, and

editor of its newspaper, *Rudé Právo*, 1924. Member of the Party's Central Committee, 1929, and elected to the National Assembly, 1935. In Moscow during the War, but also served on the Ukrainian front and in the 1944 Slovak uprising. Secretary-general of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, 1945, and a Czechoslovak vice-premier, 1948. Dismissed from the Party Secretariat, September 1951, and arrested, November 1951, on charges of espionage. Tried with 13 others, November 1952, in a markedly anti-Semitic atmosphere. Pleaded guilty and quickly executed. Posthumously exonerated, 1963, and restored to Party membership, 1968. Died Prague, 3 December 1952. (See 'The purges and the show trials', section 3.5.2.)

STAMBOLIYSKI, ALEKSANDUR Born Slavovitsa, Bulgaria, 1 March 1879. Reformist Bulgarian prime minister and leader of the Agrarian Party after the First World War, in which he had supported the Allies. Sentenced to life imprisonment in 1915 for threatening the life of his pro-German king. Freed in September 1918, he led a rebellion which forced the king's abdication and proclaimed a republic. He nevertheless joined the government on the restoration of the monarchy under Boris III (q.v.), becoming prime minister in October 1919. A political firebrand, he favoured the agricultural over the urban and industrial interests and his regime has been described as a peasant dictatorship. He once maintained that 'city people live by deceit, by idleness, by parasitism, by perversion', and on another occasion that they were 'verminous parasites'. He redistributed land to the peasantry, reformed the legal system, promoted universal suffrage and democratisation, and favoured peasant cooperatives. His hopes of creating a peasant 'Green International' to oppose

the Communist 'Red International' were, however, disappointed, as were his hopes of establishing a South Slav federation with 'Yugoslavia'. Nevertheless he remains a hero figure to many.

Both his domestic and foreign policies were opposed by the army, and although he won the 1923 elections triumphantly he was deposed in a military coup on 9 June 1923. He was arrested near his home village of Slavovitsa and executed there, 14 June 1923.

Konstantin Muraviev, Bulgarian prime minister in 1944, was his nephew and former secretary.

STOJADINOVIĆ, DR MILAN Born Cačak, Serbia, 23 July 1888. Prime minister and foreign minister of Yugoslavia, 1935–39. Reorientated Yugoslav foreign policy away from France and Czechoslovakia and towards Germany. Negotiated treaties with Bulgaria and Italy in 1937 with German support. Mistrusted by the Croats. Arrested in 1940 amongst fears that he was about to establish a pro-German puppet regime. Smuggled out of Yugoslavia, 1941, and resident in Argentina from 1949. Died Buenos Aires, 24 October 1961.

T

TERESA, MOTHER OF CALCUTTA Born Agnes Gonxha Bojaxhu, Skopje, then Turkish Empire, now Macedonia, 27 August 1910. Ethnic-Albanian nun celebrated for her work with the poor of India. Joined the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Ireland, 1928, and sent to India as a teacher 6 weeks later. Following nursing training, established her own

Order of the Missionaries of Charity in the slums of Calcutta, 1948, which soon acquired its own dispensaries and schools. Adopted Indian citizenship. Her Order, which became subject only to the pope in 1965, maintained a wide range of facilities for the old and the disabled and for lepers and the dying. Awarded the 'Padmashri' by the Indian government for her services to the people of India, 1963, the first Pope John XXIII Peace Prize, 1971, and the Nobel Peace Prize, 1979. By that date, her Order comprised more than 1,000 nuns, focused on Calcutta but also operating worldwide. Fervently admired by many for her compassion, she was also savagely criticised for the impact on India's poor of her total hostility to birth control. She is likely to be declared a saint. Died Calcutta, 5 September 1997.

TISO, MONSIGNOR JOZEF Born Velká Bytča, then Austria-Hungary, now Slovakia, 13 October 1887. Slovak dictator 1939-45. A priest like his mentor Father Hlinka (q.v.), a member of the Czechoslovak government 1927-9, and Hlinka's successor as leader of the clerical Slovak People's Party from 1938. Prime minister of autonomous Slovakia in the newly federated Czechoslovakia from 6 October 1938 and Slovak president on independence under German auspices from 1939. His government enjoyed a modest freedom of manoeuvre but collapsed with the Soviet liberation of Czechoslovakia in April 1945. Convicted of treason, the suppression of freedom and crimes against humanity, he was executed Bratislava, Slovakia, 18 April 1947.

TITO, MARSHAL Born as Josip Broz, Kumrovec, near Zagreb, then Austria-Hungary, 7 May 1892, of a Croat father and Slovene mother, both of peasant

stock. Yugoslav Communist statesman. Trained as a locksmith. Joined the Social Democratic Party of Croatia-Slavonia in Zagreb, 1910. Served in the Austro-Hungarian Army on first the Serb and then the Russian front in the First World War. Seriously wounded and a prisoner of war of the Russians, 1915-17, whereafter he participated in the Revolution, joining the Red Guards in Omsk. Returned to the new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, October 1920, and joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Operated underground after the banning of the Party in December 1920, becoming political secretary of its Zagreb branch, 1929. Arrested and sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment, 1928, for planning insurrection and possessing bombs. A member of the Yugoslav Party Politburo in exile in Vienna on his release and adopted the pseudonym of Tito by which he was later always to be known, although it was but one of his pseudonyms. With the Comintern in Moscow, 1935-6, and its choice as the Yugoslav Party's new Secretary-General, 1939. He held the post, later known as the Party presidency, until his death.

Shot to fame as the inspired guerilla leader of the Yugoslav Communist Partisans following the German/Hungarian/Italian invasion of 1941, who were the only group with the discipline and organisation to mount uncompromising resistance across the whole country. Assumed the title Marshal and recognised by the western Allies, 1943, as their wartime partner in preference to the compromised Mihajlović and the ineffectual royal government in exile. Effectively prime minister, 1943, and formally in office, 1945-53, when he became president until his death.

Pursued orthodox Communist policies at home after 1945, but increasingly annoyed

Stalin even during the War by his pursuit of foreign policies tailored to Yugoslavia's perceived needs rather than to those of the Soviet Union. His assertive nationalism, bolstered by his international prestige and personal popularity well beyond Yugoslavia's borders, led the Soviet Union to break off relations and have Yugoslavia expelled from the Cominform in 1948.

Tito's response was complex. Initially he made overtures to the west which received a ready response in the climate of fear of Russian expansionism of the time. These were balanced, though, by a willingness to build bridges to the new Soviet leadership of Nikita Khrushchev following the death of Stalin in 1953. These bore fruit in Khrushchev's visit of apology to Belgrade in 1955, a highlight in Tito's already remarkable career. His thirst for real independence, though, left him dissatisfied with a position of rather negative equidistance from both power blocs, and he initiated a foreign policy of active non-alignment which sought, with the cooperation of kindred spirits like Nasser in Egypt and Nehru in India, to promote a constructively different third way.

Even more creatively original in his domestic policy, the break with Stalin was followed by a complete break with the orthodox Communist policies pursued in the immediate post-war years. Central planning was abolished in favour of a system of direct worker management and control, which attracted international interest. (See Titoism, section 1.8.)

A man of enormous courage, charisma and originality as well as a showman who revelled in his public image, he was arguably the most remarkable of all the European statesmen of the twentieth century, not least for the length of time over which he held power. Perhaps he stayed in power too long: for certain he proved

indispensable. His funeral in Belgrade was attended by an almost unparalleled galaxy of world leaders. Died Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, now Slovenia, 4 May 1980.

TSANKOV, PROFESSOR ALEKSANDUR Born Oriakhova, Bulgaria, 1879. An opponent of Aleksandur Stamboliyski (q.v.) and his successor as Bulgarian prime minister after the military coup of 1923, until 1926. Leader of the Bulgarian fascist movement in the 1930s and head of a Bulgarian government in exile in Austria under German auspices following the Soviet entry into Bulgaria in 1944. Temporarily interned by the Americans in 1945, after which he emigrated to Argentina. Died Belgrano, Argentina, 17 July 1959.

TUDJMAN, FRANJO Born Veliko Trgovišće, then Yugoslavia, now Croatia, 14 May 1922. A Communist Partisan during the War, after which he attended the Yugoslav Higher Military Academy in Belgrade. His father, a firm nationalist and previously a local leader of the Croat Peasant Party, was shot dead in 1946 in suspicious circumstances. A general in the Yugoslav National Army before the age of 40, but left it, 1961, to obtain a doctorate in Croatian history from the University of Zadar. It has been alleged that it was largely plagiarised. Abandoned Communism in the late 1960s and embraced a Croatian interpretation of recent history which partly rehabilitated the *Ustaša*, and maintained that the number of Jews and Serbs killed in the notorious Jasenovac concentration camp was far lower than the official Yugoslav figure of 700,000. Expelled from the Yugoslav League of Communists for maintaining that Croatian was a language separate from Serbo-Croat. Sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment, 1971, for anti-Yugoslav activity in that year's expression of Croat

national sentiment, later commuted to 9 months. Again imprisoned, 1981, for 3 years for nationalist agitation but again released, after less than 9 months.

Founded the nationalist Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), 1989, and established links with the Croatian diaspora, particularly in Australia and Canada, aided by Gojko Susak, incongruously the owner of a pizza bar in Toronto, whom he later appointed as minister of defence. Swept to power as president of Croatia, 1990, following an election campaign in which the HDZ had adopted an openly secessionist stance. Persecuted Croatia's Serb minority who, having become second-class citizens under a new constitution and in many cases lost their jobs, responded by declaring their loyalty to Belgrade. Nevertheless won the media battle in the west against Serbia's Slobodan Milošević (q.v.), and was rewarded with EU recognition of Croatian independence at German insistence in December 1991. Enjoyed American assistance in training his army to recover Western Slavonia in May 1995 and the Krajina in August 1995 despite UN appeals, which resulted in the flight of up to 300,000 Serb refugees. Failed, however, to realise his dream of incorporating the Croats of Bosnia–Herzegovina in his own state.

Corrupt and personally vain, he ruled autocratically, playing down the unsavoury nature of Croatian nationalism under Dr Pavelić, whose remains he considered bringing back from Argentina for state burial, and guilty of a nepotism which engendered growing public resentment. He reversed some of his more extreme opinions under American pressure in his last years. Died in office, Zagreb, 10 December 1999. His state funeral was attended by some 100,000 Croat mourners, but shunned by virtually all world leaders.

U

ULBRICHT, WALTER Born Leipzig, 30 June 1893. A carpenter. Joined SPD, 1912, served in the War, 1915–18, a Spartacist, then a member of the KPD. KPD official, 1921–3. Studied, Moscow, 1924. Member of the Reichstag, 1928–33. In exile in Paris, 1933–8, and in Moscow, 1938–45. Returned to Berlin to organise the KPD, 1945. Elected SED deputy chairman, 1946. General Secretary of the SED from July 1950, a deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, 1949–55 and First Deputy Chairman, 1955–60. First Secretary of the SED, July 1953 to May 1971. Chairman of the SED, May 1971 to August 1973. Chairman of the Council of State, 1960–73.

An orthodox Stalinist with a talent for organisation, but neither an orator nor a theoretician, he appears to have triumphed over his more liberal rivals in 1957 by persuading Khrushchev after the 1956 Hungarian revolt that he was both totally in control of East Germany and totally committed to the interests of the Soviet Union. His fall came when he tried to discourage the rapprochement between West Germany and the Soviet Union by asserting East German interests.

A dour and seemingly humourless figure, he appears to have been increasingly deceived by his own propaganda, losing much of his contact with reality in the process. This was not perhaps totally surprising in view of his life history. Even his beard was alleged by some to be modelled on Lenin's. Little was known of the private man except for his enthusiasm for amateur sport including table tennis.

He enjoyed a muted state funeral after his death. Died East Berlin, 1 August 1973.

V

VAIDA-VOEVOD, DR ALEXANDRU Born Olpret, then Austria–Hungary, now Romania, 1872. Romanian prime minister 1919–20, 1932 and 1933, and a proponent before 1919 of the union of Transylvania with the ‘Old Kingdom’ (Regat) of Romania, comprising Moldavia and Walachia. Entered the Hungarian parliament in 1906 where he was one of the leading opponents of the Magyarisation of national minorities. A member in December 1918 of the Transylvanian directing council which united the province with Romania. Following his final dismissal from office, he founded the ultra-nationalist, semi-fascist Romanian Front. Died Bucharest, 19 March 1950.

W

WALDHEIM, KURT Born Sankt Andrä-Wördern, Austria, 21 December 1918, of an ethnic-Czech father and Austrian mother. Austrian diplomat and president. A German Army officer in the Balkans, 1942–5. A professional diplomat from 1945, Austrian ambassador to the United Nations, 1964–8 and 1970–1, and Austrian foreign minister (People’s Party), 1968–70. UN secretary-general, 1972–81, where he was seen as remote, and Austrian president, 1986–92. Dogged from the campaign onwards and throughout his presidency by revelations, previously denied, that he had been deeply involved in reprisals against Yugoslav Partisans and in the deportation of Greek Jews to German concentration camps. Accusations

of specific war crimes, however, remained unproven. The end of his presidency was met with a measure of national and international relief.

WAŁĘSA, LECH Born Popowo, near Włocławek, Poland, 29 September 1943. Polish trade union leader and politician. Initially an electrician in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdąnsk. A union activist in the 1976 anti-government riots, which cost him his job. Nevertheless, joined the 14 August 1980 protests in the Shipyard and elected leader of a negotiating strike committee. Although the Shipyard strikers’ demands were met within 3 days, maintained his strike as leader of the Interfactory Strike Committee covering all enterprises in the Gdąnsk–Sopot–Gdynia region. The Committee claimed and won on 31 August the right for workers to organise themselves freely and independently. When the Committee was formed into a national trade unions’ federation as *Solidarność* (Solidarity), he became its chairman and leading negotiator, but was arrested and imprisoned for nearly a year when martial law was declared and *Solidarność* banned on 13 December 1981. Remained leader of the underground movement and regained open influence when *Solidarność* was again legalised in 1989. Elected president, 1990, by a large margin in direct elections, but his confrontational style and reluctance to compromise, notably over abortion, fitted ill with the presidential role. Defeated, 1995, and again in 2000. His poor showing led him to withdraw from politics on 15 October. Awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace, 1983.

WEBERN, ANTON VON Born Vienna, 3 December 1883. A leading composer of the atonal school associated with his teacher Schönberg (q.v.) and his friend Berg (q.v.).

Largely neglected in an increasingly right-wing Austria, the publication of his works was banned after the *Anschluss* in 1938. They have nevertheless been claimed as an inspiration by later advanced composers such as Boulez and Stockhausen. Accidentally killed by a soldier of the American occupation forces in the village near Salzburg in which his family had taken refuge. Died Mittersill, Austria, 15 September 1945.

Z

ZHIVKOV, TODOR Born Pravets, near Botevgrad, Bulgaria, 7 September 1911. Bulgarian Communist Party leader. Of poor peasant origin. Joined the youth league of the outlawed Communist Party in the late 1920s and helped organise the People's Liberation Insurgent Army during the Second World War. After the Communist assumption of power, commanded the People's Militia. A full member of the Politburo, 1951, and First Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee, 1954. As such, the youngest national leader in the Soviet bloc. A protégé of Khrushchev. Prime minister, 1962–71, and President of the State Council, established under the new constitution, 1971–89. Survived an

attempted coup, unique in the Soviet bloc, 1965. Loyal to the Soviet line throughout, but an able manager under whom Bulgarian living standards improved substantially. Gorbachev described him as the Chinese Emperor of Bulgaria. Resigned, November 1989, to make way for a more moderate Communist leadership, expelled from the Bulgarian Communist Party in the December, and sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment for the misappropriation of state funds and embezzlement, 1992. Reportedly released from house arrest, January 1997. Died 6 August 1998.

His daughter, Ludmilla, was a notable minister of culture.

ZOG I (AHMED BEY ZOGU, PREVIOUSLY ZOGOLLI), KING OF ALBANIA Born Castle Burgajet, Albania, then Turkish Empire, 8 October 1895. A supporter of Austria–Hungary during the First World War, and thereafter leader of the reformist Popular Party. Exiled in June 1924, but returned with Yugoslav help in the December, and elected president on 1 February 1925. Proclaimed king on 1 September 1928. His rule was characterised by comparative stability and ever closer links with Italy. Despite his efforts after 1932 to restrain it, Italian influence grew ever more pervasive and he was ousted by Mussolini in 1939. Formally abdicated, 2 January 1946. Died Suresnes, France, 9 April 1961.

VII
GLOSSARY OF SPECIALIST
TERMS

C

CHARTER 77 The petition signed by Czechoslovak intellectuals in January 1977 expressing their grievances against the Communist regime of President Gustav Husák.

COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES (CIS) A community of independent states first established by Russia, Belarus and Ukraine (q.v.) under the Minsk Agreement of 8 December 1991, as the Soviet Union approached dissolution. The community was proclaimed open to such other former Soviet republics as shared its objectives, and a further declaration was signed with Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova (q.v.), Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan in Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan, on 21 December 1991. Signatories were committed to respecting human rights, including those of national minorities, and to the observance of existing boundaries, and although all members of the community were independent and sovereign, the principle was endorsed of unitary control of strategic nuclear arms, as was the concept of a 'single economic space'. Georgia decided to join on 9 December 1993.

The Council of Heads of State meets every 6 months and of Heads of Government every 3 months. There are also Councils of Defence and of Finance Ministers. An Inter-State Bank was established in December 1993. The headquarters of the CIS is located in Minsk.

Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan agreed in September 1993 to form an Economic

Union, with Georgia and Turkmenistan following in January 1994. Ukraine became an associated member in April 1994. An Inter-State Economic Committee based in Moscow was established in October 1994 to coordinate energy, transport and communications policies.

The CIS is essentially a vehicle for inter-state cooperation and does not have the goal of integration which has always driven the EU. Such integration within the CIS is promoted by bilateral agreements like those between Russia and Belarus of 1995–7. Only history can judge which of the approaches will prove the more lasting. It is presumably possible that a nation which was never a constituent part of the Soviet Union could join the CIS, just as the British Commonwealth has attracted former colonies of other European empires, but joining the European Union (EU) would probably be incompatible with membership of the CIS.

CURZON LINE The line proposed by the British foreign secretary, Lord Curzon, in 1919, as the eastern frontier of Poland. Although the border had been some 150 miles further east between 1920 and 1939, the Line was agreed by the Allies at the 1943 Tehran Conference as the frontier of post-war Poland. With some adjustments, it was adopted in 1944–5 and has remained the border ever since.

F

FOURTEEN POINTS The Fourteen Points formulated the ideas of President Woodrow Wilson of America on the proper nature of a post-First World War settlement,

and were first announced in his address to the joint session of the US Congress on 8 January 1918. Those points of particular relevance to central and eastern Europe were number 3 urging the removal of national economic barriers and the establishment of equal international trade conditions, number 6 urging the evacuation of all Russian territory, number 9 accepting a readjustment of Italy's borders in accordance with the nationality principle, number 10 urging autonomous development for the peoples of Austria–Hungary, number 11 requiring the evacuation of Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and the provision for Serbia of free and secure access to the sea, number 13 requiring the establishment of an independent Poland and number 14 arguing for an international association to guarantee independence and security.

A general point number 1 on the need for open diplomacy ran counter to the numerous private understandings and undertakings entered into during the War.

I

INTERNAL MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION (IMRO) A terrorist organisation originally founded in 1893 to free Macedonia (q.v.) from the Turks. It opposed the inclusion of (northern) Macedonia within Yugoslavia, but functioned almost as a state within a state in Bulgaria, where it was for a time used as an agent of the government prior to being forcibly crushed. It maintained shadowy relations with Mussolini's Italy and the Croat *Ustaša*.

Its most prominent victim was Aleksandur Stamboliyski, the Bulgarian prime minister, whom it bloodily executed in association with the Bulgarian military. It sent his decapitated head to Sofia in a box.

In the 21st century, it has become a mainstream national organisation in what is now the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM).

IRON GUARD (*GARDA DE FIER*) The pre-War Romanian fascist organisation. Founded as the Legion of the Archangel Michael in 1927 by Corneliu Codreanu and later known as the Legion or Legionary Movement, the Iron Guard was 'Christian', anti-Semitic, racist and mystically nationalistic in its outlook. Its concept of the nation included 'the souls and tombs of the dead', and the organisation regarded the resurrection from the dead as the nation's highest and most sublime goal. Although the name of 'Iron Guard' was popularly applied to the movement as a whole, it strictly applied only to its armed wing. The Guard was responsible for campaigns of murder and terror, and received funds from Germany after the Nazi accession to power. Banned in December 1933, it reappeared as *Totul Pentru Tara* (All-for-the-Fatherland) and enjoyed some support for a time from King Carol. It was nevertheless again banned in December 1938 when the king proclaimed a royal dictatorship, but promptly resurfaced. In 1940–1, it split between the extreme Romanian nationalist faction and the faction supporting General Antonescu and cooperation with Germany and Italy. The movement came to an end when the former rebelled against General Antonescu in January 1941 and was suppressed with German assistance.

L

LUSTRATION (LAW) A law banning former Communist officials from holding public office. Such laws of varying degrees of severity were passed in a number of previously Communist countries, including the Czech Republic and Poland, during the 1990s and after. They have been criticised as infringements of human rights, and been difficult to implement when a significant number even of presidents and prime ministers have a Communist past.

M

MAGYAR The Hungarians' own word to identify themselves and their culture, and more widely used to distinguish between ethnic-Hungarian and Gypsy, Jewish, or other strands in Hungarian life and culture.

N

NATO The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, originally established in 1949 by America, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Luxembourg and the Netherlands for mutual defence against the possibility of military attack, implicitly by the Soviet Union. An attack on one was to be deemed an attack on all, and Spain, Turkey, West Germany and others joined in the following years. It was the admission of West Germany which provoked the

formation of the Warsaw Pact (q.v.) in 1955. Although NATO formed a key pillar in the American policy of 'containment' of the Soviet Union throughout the cold war, its first military actions were to be against Serbian and Bosnian Serb forces in 1994. Those culminated in the bombing campaign against Serbia during the Kosovo crisis of 1999 (see section 2.6.2).

The Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland were formally admitted to membership on 12 March 1999, and Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia followed on 29 March 2004. All except Slovenia had been members of the Warsaw Pact (q.v.) during the Soviet period.

America invoked the NATO commitment of mutual defence to attack Taleban Afghanistan following the terrorist attack on New York's Twin Towers in September 2001, and military contingents from the new NATO member states have been deployed in Afghanistan in the years since.

This extension of NATO activity, including the leasing of bases in some of the former Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union, has been deeply troubling to Russia and probably China as well, although both have problems with Islamic separatism in Chechnya and Xinjiang respectively.

Some see the development by China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) as a deliberate military response to the expansion of NATO's reach.

Underlying the military manoeuvring is the strategic struggle for advantage in the supply and distribution of oil and gas to Europe, central and eastern as much as western, from Russia, Central Asia, Iran and Turkmenistan through the Caucasus, Turkey and not least Russia itself.

O

ODER–NEISSE LINE The line formed by the courses of the Rivers Oder and Neisse which in 1945 became the provisional German–Polish border. It was accepted with some reluctance as the permanent border by the German government in the ‘Treaty on the Final Settlement with respect to Germany’, signed on 12 September 1990.

ORANGE REVOLUTION The name given to the events in Ukraine of November–December 2004 when the reformist pro-western candidate, Viktor Yushchenko, secured the presidency after mass street demonstrations in Kyiv against alleged vote-rigging by his opponent, the pro-Russian Viktor Yanukovich (see section 2.6.1). The ‘orange’ referred to the colour adopted by Viktor Yushchenko’s supporters and was an echo of the parallel Rose Revolution in Georgia in 2003 (see section 4.3).

ORSZAGGYÜLÉS The unicameral Hungarian National Assembly.

ORTHODOX CHURCH The eastern branch of the Christian faith, the identity of which dates back to the fourth-century administrative division of the Roman Empire into a western half dependent on Rome and an eastern half dependent on Byzantium, later Constantinople, now Istanbul. The eastern half of the Empire had Greek as its ‘lingua franca’ as against the Latin of the western half. Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy saw themselves as rivals from the beginning, and totally split asunder in the Great Schism of 1054. The division was reinforced by the western crusaders

pillaging Constantinople on their return from the unsuccessful Fourth Crusade in 1204. The great carved horses now in front of St Mark’s Cathedral in Venice are their best-known trophy.

The eastern half of the Roman Empire, or the Byzantine Empire as it came to be known after the fall of Rome in the fifth century, steadily shrank in size under Muslim attack first from the Arabs and then from the Turks, and disappeared totally in the fifteenth century, but its practices and thinking strongly influenced the Orthodox churches which survived in Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Serbia and, most important of all, Russia. Devout Russians considered Moscow the ‘Third Rome’. The most important of those influences was the absence of the distinction between church and state which developed in the west. There was no eastern equivalent of Thomas à Beckett. Organizationally, the different Orthodox churches were ‘autocephalous’, the Greek expression for ‘having its own head’ or being self-governing. There was no equivalent of the pope, although the patriarchs of Athens and Istanbul enjoy historic prestige and rivalry.

The schism between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism is healing – slowly. Pope John Paul II in visiting Romania in May 1999 made the first papal visit to a primarily Orthodox country since 1054. Many Orthodox clergy, however, remain deeply suspicious of western ideas and intentions.

P

PYRAMID SCHEME A finance scheme based on informal deposit taking, and much favoured in the less developed Balkan

countries, particularly Albania, in the early 1990s. A pyramid scheme compensated for the lack of a formal banking system by absorbing without undue scrutiny legitimate personal savings and remittances from expatriates, proceeds from smuggling and other forms of crime, and 'dirty money' from anywhere in the world. They were subject to manipulation and sudden collapse, and in the Albanian case their dramatic collapse early in 1997 led to enormous losses for large sectors of the population.

R

RIIGIKOGU The Estonian parliament.

S

SABOR The Croat diet 1918, and the lower house of the Croat parliament since 1990.

SAEIMA The Latvian parliament.

SALAMI TACTICS The term coined by Mátyás Rákosi, the Hungarian Communist Party leader, to describe the squeezing out (like a salami in a sandwich) of elements in a coalition grouping hostile to the Communists.

SEIMAS The Lithuanian parliament.

SEJM The lower house of the Polish parliament.

SIEBENBURGEN SAXONS A community of some half a million ethnic Germans at the

beginning of the twentieth century who had colonised a part of Transylvania in the twelfth century and established the seven fortified towns which gave the community its name. Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Romanian prime minister, 1961–74, was of Siebenburgen stock on his father's side.

The community has now shrunk to 15,000, and western foundations are attempting to help preserve its medieval villages.

SKUPŠTINA The lower house of the Yugoslav parliament.

SKUPŠČINA SLOVENIJE The Slovene parliament.

SOBRANJE The unicameral Bulgarian parliament and, since 1990, the Macedonian parliament.

T

TESCHEN (POLISH CIESZYN, CZECH TEŠÍN) An area of some 350 square miles and with a population of some 227,000 centred on the town of the same name, best known under its German form. The area, which was important for its coal mines and as a communications centre, was bitterly contested between Czechoslovakia and Poland in the interwar years. The Conference of Ambassadors on 28 June 1920 had awarded the greater part of the area including the town to Poland, but the railway station, on the vital route from Bohemia-Moravia to Slovakia, to Czechoslovakia. The whole area was occupied by Poland following Munich, and remained Polish in 1945 despite Czechoslovak objections.

V

VELVET REVOLUTION The name given to the bloodless revolution in Prague in December 1989, whereby the Czechoslovak Communist Party agreed to share governmental power with the Civic Forum.

VERKHOVNA RADA The Ukrainian parliament.

'VIENNA AWARD' (FIRST) The 'Award' was an adjustment of the Czechoslovak/Hungarian border imposed on Czechoslovakia by the German and Italian foreign ministers, Joachim von Ribbentrop and Count Ciano, on 2–3 November 1938, following the Munich conference in the September. A strip of southern Slovakia of some 4650 square miles with a mainly ethnic-Hungarian population was returned to Hungary. Neither the British nor the French (nor the Soviet Union) were represented, and Italian influence may have made the Award more favourable to the Hungarians than it would otherwise have been.

'VIENNA AWARD' (SECOND) The 'Award' was the settlement of the Hungarian/Romanian border question imposed by the Axis powers in 1940. Ever since the Treaty of Trianon on 4 June 1920, Hungary had bitterly resented the total loss of Transylvania to Romania, and all Hungarian parties had the national slogan of *Nem, nem, sohar!* (no, no, never!) to the whole post-war settlement. Hungary had allied itself with Italy and then Germany in an attempt to secure its ultimate reversal.

According to the Romanian census of 1930, the population of Transylvania was 48 per cent Hungarian, 43 per cent

Romanian, 2.5 per cent German, and 6.5 per cent other.

Direct negotiations between the two parties failed in mid-August 1940, following which their prime and foreign ministers were summoned to Vienna on 27 August. Hitler and Mussolini, together with their foreign ministers, Joachim von Ribbentrop and Count Ciano, there effectively imposed the Award, which transferred most of Transylvania and 2,370,000 Romanian nationals, more than a million of them ethnic Romanians, to Hungary. Hungary recovered all of northern Transylvania including the city of Cluj (Hungarian Kolozsvár) with its Romanian university, and Oradea Mare, and the three Szekler provinces which had been almost solely Magyar-populated for more than a thousand years. The Axis powers guaranteed Romania's new frontiers and the security of the Romanian minority in Hungary.

Demonstrations and protests erupted across Romania, in which Dr Maniu, the National Peasant Party and Transylvanian leader, played an important role, but Romania could not go against the will of its German ally.

The Award was reversed by the Hungarian armistice agreement of January 1945.

W

WARSAW PACT The military alliance of the Soviet bloc. Formally, the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance signed on 14 May 1955 by Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union in response to the West German ratification of the 1954 Paris Agreements on West Germany's

entry into NATO. Albania left the Pact on 12 September 1968 in protest against its invasion of Czechoslovakia (see section 3.5.4).

The Pact's military links were dissolved on 25 February 1991 (see section 2.6.1).



ZVENO GROUP Bulgarian military and political group. Responsible for the *coup d'état*

of May 1934 which installed Colonel Kimon Georgiev as prime minister until 1935. He was later arrested. The group was initially dictatorial and militaristic in temper, although fundamentally republican and in favour of a sincere understanding with Yugoslavia, particularly on the Macedonian question. The group later veered to the Left and formed the *Otechestven* (Fatherland) Group with other parties, Colonel Georgiev again becoming prime minister, 1944–6.

VIII
HISTORIOGRAPHY

The student of central and eastern Europe in the twentieth century tends to be faced with the problem of too few books in some directions and almost too many in others.

The number on the region as a whole is comparatively limited. Amongst the most useful are: Joseph Held (ed.), *The Columbia History of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1992) and Philip Longworth, *The Making of Eastern Europe: From Prehistory to Postcommunism* (Macmillan, Basingstoke and London, 2nd edition, 1997). The latter follows the distinctive approach for a history of starting with the present and explaining its problems by working backwards, and successively repeating the exercise. Despite its title, it gives very full coverage to the twentieth century. Robert Bideleux and Ian Jeffries, *A History of Eastern Europe: Crisis and Change* (Routledge, London, 1998) is less helpful in that particular respect. Geoffrey and Nigel Swain, *Eastern Europe since 1945* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 3rd edition, 2003) can be recommended.

The seminal work for the interwar period is probably Hugh Seton Watson, *Eastern Europe 1918–41* (Archon Books, Hamden, Connecticut, an updating of the second edition of the original, Cambridge University Press, 1946). It is not always dispassionate, but it reflects the perspectives of the time. Ivan T. Berend, *Decades of Crisis: Central and Eastern Europe before World War II* (University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1998)

is somewhat wider in scope and more academic in its analysis, but very accessible. J. Rothschild, *East Central Europe between the two World Wars* (Seattle, 1975) is also very useful, but has a narrower focus.

There is a wider range on the Communist period. Martin McCauley (ed.), *Communist Rule in Europe 1944–49* (London, 1977) concentrates on the initial assumption of power. Jerzy Tomaszewski, *The Socialist Regimes of Eastern Europe* (Routledge, London and New York, 1989) reviews the whole period. Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Soviet Bloc: Unity and Conflict* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960) considers the 1950s while Stephen Fischer-Galati (ed.), *Eastern Europe in the 1980s* (Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado/Croom Helm, London, 1981) is self-explanatory. Ben Fowkes, *Eastern Europe 1945–69* (Longman, Harlow, 2000) is an up-to-date assessment. George Klein and Milan J. Reban (eds), *The Politics of Ethnicity in Eastern Europe* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1981) is a necessary reminder that Communism did not depose nationalism. Students with a particular interest in the economy are referred to M. Kaser and J. G. Zielinski, *Planning in Eastern Europe* (London, 1970).

The collapse of Communism and the following decade generated a plethora of books. Amongst the best are Misha Glenny, *The Rebirth of History* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1990) and Sten Berglund and Jan Åke Dellenbrant (eds), *The New Democracies in Eastern Europe* (Edward Elgar, Aldershot, 2nd

edition, 1994). Michael Mandelbaum (ed.), *Post Communism: Four Perspectives* (The Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 1996) opposes some very differing interpretations of what has, and will, happen. Bulent Gokay, *Eastern Europe, 1970–96* (Longman, Harlow, 2001) puts transition in a longer time scale.

Barry Turner (ed.), *Central Europe Profiled* (Macmillan, London, 2000) captures the present moment.

Turning to ideologies and philosophies, Roger Eatwell, *Fascism: A History* (Vintage, London, 1996) is accessible but focuses on Germany and Italy and therefore has to be interpreted somewhat for the different world of central and eastern Europe. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds), *Nationalism* (Oxford University Press, 1994) is much more comprehensive. Studies on Communism are voluminous, but students should not overlook some of the original sources which are both short and lively. They include Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (originally written, 1848, translated and published by, amongst others, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1983) and V. I. Lenin, *What is to be done?* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1963).

If books on the whole region are few, there are more on certain zones, particularly the Balkans. Amongst them are Misha Glenny, *The Balkans 1804–99* (Granta, London, 1999) and Stevan K. Pavlowitch, *A History of the Balkans 1804–1945* (Longman, Harlow, 1999). Books on individual countries are in some cases sparse and

in others plentiful. Works on individual countries include:

A

ALBANIA Miranda Vickers, *The Albanians: A Modern History* (I. B. Tauris, London and New York, 1999) has no real rival. Bernd Fischer, *Albania at War 1939–45* (Hurst, London, 1999) is self-explanatory.

B

BALTIC STATES The readily available histories cover all three Baltic states. They include: (eds) N. Hood et al., *Transition in the Baltic States* (London, 1997); A. Lieven, *The Baltic Revolution: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the Path to Independence* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2nd edition, 1994); Kevin O'Connor, *The History of the Baltic States* (Greenwood Publishing Group, Westport, 2003) and (eds) David J. Smith, Aldis Purs, Artis Pabriks and Thomas Lane, *The Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania* (Routledge, London, 2002).

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA The only general history in English appears to be N. Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (2nd edition, London 1996). Ivan Lovrenović, *Bosnia: A Cultural History* (translated Bosnian Institute,

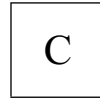
London, Saqi Books, London, 2001) has a self-evidently different focus.

There are far more books on the three-year war, some polemical. They include: Steven L. Borg and Paul S. Shoup, *The War in Bosnia–Herzegovina* (New York, 1999); N. Cigar, *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of Ethnic Cleansing* (Texas University Press, 1995); J. V. A. Fine and R. J. Donia, *Bosnia–Herzegovina, a Tradition Betrayed* (Farnborough, 1994); F. Friedman, *The Bosnian Muslims: Denial of a Nation* (Boulder, 1996); E. O’Balance, *Civil War in Bosnia 1992–94* (London, 1995); D. Rieff, *Slaughterhouse: Bosnia and the Failure of the West* (New York, 1997); and M. A. Sells, *The Bridge Betrayed: Religion and Genocide in Bosnia* (California University Press, 1996).

BULGARIA The obvious work is Richard Crampton, *A Concise History of Bulgaria* (Cambridge University Press, 2001) which updates the 1997 edition and the author’s, *A Short History of Modern Bulgaria* (Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition, 2005).

Books on specific periods include: Marshall Lee Miller, *Bulgaria during the Second World War* (Stanford, California, 1975); Nissan Oren, *Bulgarian Communism: The Road to Power, 1934–44* (New York, 1971); J. F. Brown, *Bulgaria under Communist Rule* (London, 1970); and Hristo Devedjiev, *Stalinisation of Bulgarian Society 1949–53* (Philadelphia, 1978). More recent is A Melone, *Creating Parliamentary Government: The Transition to Democracy* (Ohio State University Press, Ohio, 1998)

The Bulgarian economy is discussed in John R. Lampe, *The Bulgarian Economy in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1986) and the problems of transition from capitalism in Mito Isusov (ed.), *Problems of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism* (Sofia, 1975).



CROATIA The only readily available histories of Croatia are M. C. Tanner, *A Nation Forged in War* (Yale University Press, 1997) and Nikolina Jovanović, *Croatia: A History* (Hurst, London, translated, 2000).

CZECHOSLOVAKIA Somewhat surprisingly, no general full-length histories of the Czechoslovak state ever seem to have been written either in English or in any other western European language. The nearest equivalents are: William V. Wallace, *Czechoslovakia* (1976); Norman Stone and Eduard Strouhal (eds), *Czechoslovakia: Crossroads and Crises 1918–88* (1989); Jaroslav Krejčí, *Czechoslovakia at the Crossroads of European History* (1990); and Jaroslav Krejčí and Machonin Pavel, *Czechoslovakia 1918–92: A Laboratory for Social Change* (Macmillan, London, 1996). The prewar period is covered in R. W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Czechs and Slovaks* (1943, reprinted 1965) and S. Harrison Thomson, *Czechoslovakia in European History* (2nd edition, enlarged, 1953, reprinted

1965), but both, naturally, show their age.

The standard work on the Sudeten issue is Elizabeth Wiskemann, *A Study of the Struggle in the Historic Provinces of Bohemia and Moravia* (2nd edition, 1967). Also valuable are: J. W. Bruegel, *Czechoslovakia before Munich: The German Minority Problem and British Appeasement Policy* (1973); F. Gregory Campbell, *Confrontation in Central Europe: Weimar Germany and Czechoslovakia* (1975); Radomir Luza, *The Transfer of the Sudeten Germans: A Study of Czech-German Relations 1933–62* (1964); Ronald M. Smelser, *The Sudeten Problem, 1933–38, Volkstumspolitik and the Formulation of Nazi Foreign Policy* (1975); C. S. Leff, *National Conflict in Czechoslovakia: The Making and Remaking of a State 1918–87* (Princeton, 1988) is more broadly based.

The 1968 ‘Prague Spring’ and its antecedents, however, are extensively covered in: Galia Golan, *The Czechoslovak Reform Movement: Communism in Crisis 1967–68* (1971) and *Reform Rule in Czechoslovakia: The Dubček Era, 1968–69* (1973); Zdenek Mlynár, *Nightfrost in Prague: The End of Humane Socialism* (translated 1980); Hans Renner, *A History of Czechoslovakia since 1945* (1989); H. Gordon Skilling, *Czechoslovakia’s Interrupted Revolution* (1976); L. William Zartman, *Czechoslovakia: Intervention and Impact* (1970); and Z. A. R. Zeman, *Prague Spring* (1969).

The subsequent period and the transition to liberal democracy are described in Vladimir V. Kusin, *From Dubček to Charter 77: A Study*

of Normalisation in Czechoslovakia 1968–78 (1978) and Bernard Wheaton and Zdenek Kavan, *The Velvet Revolution: Czechoslovakia, 1988–91* (1992).

The most extensive work on the economy is Alice Teichova, *The Czechoslovak Economy 1918–80* (1988) but the specific problems of reform are the focus of John N. Stevens, *Czechoslovakia at the Crossroads: The Economic Dilemmas of Communism in Postwar Czechoslovakia* (1985) and Martin Myant, *The Czechoslovak Economy, 1948–88: The Battle for Economic Reform* (1989).

E

EAST GERMANY The most comprehensive book on East Germany probably remains David Childs, *The GDR, Moscow’s German Ally* (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1983). Martin McCauley’s, *The German Democratic Republic since 1945* (Macmillan, London and Basingstoke, 1983) focuses more on the specifically historical and has a detailed chronology. It is usefully read in conjunction with David Childs (ed.), *Honecker’s Germany* (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1985) which ranges more widely. Mary Fulbrook, *Anatomy of a Dictatorship. Inside the GDR 1949–89* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995) contains much valuable information, but is not really a history in the narrower sense. Heinz Heitzer, *GDR An historical outline* (Verlag Zeit im Bild, Dresden, 1981) presents the

official SED view. The definitive history of East Germany in the historical context is probably yet to be written.

ESTONIA Most available books relate to the Baltic States (q.v.) as a whole, but the following is an exception: R. Taagepera, *Estonia: Return to Independence* (Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1993).

H

HUNGARY The most recent histories are László Kontler, *A History of Hungary* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2002) and Miklós Molnár, *A Concise History of Hungary* (translated Anna Magyar, Cambridge University Press, 2001). Earlier histories include: Jorg K. Hönsch, *A History of Modern Hungary 1867–1994* (translated Kim Traynor, Longman, Harlow and London, 2nd edition, 1996); C. A. Macartney, *Hungary: A Short History* (London, 1962); and P. F. Sugar (ed.), *A History of Hungary* (London, 1991).

The period from 1919 to 1945 is covered in: C. A. Macartney, *October Fifteenth: A History of Modern Hungary 1929–45* (2 vols, 2nd edition, 1961); Thomas L. Sakmyster, *Hungary, the Great Powers, and the Danubian Crisis 1936–39* (1980); and Gyula Juhász, *Hungarian Foreign Policy 1919–45* (1979).

Miklos Molnár, *A Short History of the Hungarian Communist Party* (1978) and Bennett Kovrig, *Communism in Hungary: From Kun to*

Kádár (1979) focus on the Communist period. The 1956 revolt is covered by: Charles Gati, *Hungary and the Soviet Bloc* (1986); William F. Robinson, *The Pattern of Reform in Hungary: A Political, Economic and Cultural Analysis* (1979); Peter A. Toma and Ivan Voloyes, *Politics in Hungary* (1977); Ferenc A. Vali, *Rift and Revolt in Hungary: Nationalism versus Communism* (1961); and Paul E. Zinner, *Revolution in Hungary* (1962, re-issued 1972).

The transition from Communism and the history of the last decade are discussed in: A. Bozoki (ed.), *Post-Communist Transition: Emerging Pluralism in Hungary* (London, 1992); T. Cox and A. Furlong (eds), *Hungary: The Politics of Transition* (London, 1995); András Gerö, *Modern Hungarian Society in the Making: the Unfinished Experience* (translated James Patterson and Enikő Koncz, Central European University Press, Budapest, London and New York, 1995); and András Körösenyi, *Government and Politics in Hungary* (Central European Press, 1999).

Economic reform is discussed in J. Batt, *Economic Reform and Political Change in Eastern Europe: a Comparison of the Czechoslovak and Hungarian Experiences* (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1988).

L

LATVIA Most available books relate to the Baltic States (q.v.) as a whole, but the following is an exception:

J. Dreifeld, *Latvia in Transition* (Riga, 1997).

LITHUANIA See Baltic States above in this Historiography, but the following focuses on Lithuania: V. S. Vardys and J. B. Sedaitis, *Lithuania: the Rebel Nation* (Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1997).

M

MACEDONIA The question of identity is central to L. M. Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World* (Princeton University Press, 1996), H. Poulton, *Who are the Macedonians?* (Farnborough, 1996) and James Pettifer (ed.), *The New Macedonian Question* (Palgrave, Basingstoke, 1999).

MOLDOVA The number of books is limited, and most are specialised. The most generally useful may be Pal Kolsto, *National Integration and Violent Conflict in Post-Soviet Societies: The Cases of Estonia and Moldova* (Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, Maryland, 2002).

P

POLAND The standard work is probably Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland* (Oxford University Press, 1981). More recent, however, are Jerzy Lukowski and Hubert Zawadzki, *A Concise History of*

Poland (Cambridge University Press, 2001) and Anita J. Prazmowska, *History of Poland* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2004). W. F. Reddaway (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Poland* (2 vols, reprinted 1971) remains authoritative although somewhat out of date. Other sources include: O. Halecki and A. Polonsky, *A History of Poland* (translated from the Polish, 1983); R. F. Leslie (ed.), *The History of Poland since 1863* (Cambridge University Press, 1980); R. Sikorski, *The Polish House: An Intimate History of Poland* (London, 1997); and J. Wedel, *The Unplanned Society, Poland during and after Communism* (Columbia University Press, 1992).

More specialist books covering particular periods include: Anthony Polonsky, *Politics in Independent Poland 1921–39: The Crisis of Constitutional Government* (Oxford University Press, 1972); R. Debicki, *Foreign Policy of Poland 1919–32* (New York, 1962); Józef Garlinski, *Poland in the Second World War* (1985); Michael Checinsky, *Poland: Communism, Nationalism, Anti-Semitism*; Abraham Brumberg (ed.), *Poland, Genesis of a Revolution* (1983); B. Kaminski, *The Collapse of the State of Socialism: the Case of Poland* (Princeton University Press, 1981); Peter Raina, *Poland, 1981: Towards Social Renewal* (1985); Jadwiga Staniszkis, *Poland's Self-Limiting Revolution* (1984) and Lawrence Weschler, *The Passion of Poland: From Solidarity through the State of War* (1984).

Closer, perhaps, to journalism (and that is not meant pejoratively) are: Neal Ascherson, *The Polish August:*

The Self-Limiting Revolution (1982); Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity 1980–82* (1983); Adam Bromke, *Eastern Europe in the Aftermath of Solidarity* (1985); and John Rensenbrink, *Poland Challenges a Divided World* (1988). Such books have inevitably been somewhat overtaken by events.

The history of Polish Jewry is discussed by Bernard Weinryb, *The Jews of Poland* (Philadelphia, 1973).

Studies of the transition to liberal democracy include: K. D. Mitchell (ed.), *Political Pluralism in Hungary and Poland, Perspectives on the Reforms* (New York, 1992); R. F. Staar (ed.), *Transition to Democracy in Poland* (New York, 1993); and J. Staniszkis, *The Dynamics of the Breakthrough in Eastern Europe: the Polish Experience* (California University Press, 1991).

The standard work on economic questions is probably Zbigniew Landau and Jerzy Tomaszewski, *The Polish Economy in the Twentieth Century* (translated 1985) but more recent, although more limited in scope, is B. Slay, *The Polish Economy Crisis, Reform and Transformation* (Princeton University Press, 1994). G. R. Feiwel, *Problems in Polish Economic Planning: Continuity, Change and Prospects* (London, 1971) gives an earlier perspective.

R

ROMANIA Histories of Romania are limited in number and scope.

Dennis Deletant, *Romania under Communist Rule* (Centre for Romanian Studies, Iași, Oxford and Portland, 1999) is authoritative on its period. Prof. Andrei Otetea (ed.), *A Concise History of Romania* (Robert Hall, London, 1985) presents the story from a Romanian perspective. M. Rady, *Romania in Turmoil: A Contemporary History* (London, 1992) and N. Ratesh, *The Entangled Revolution* (1991) study the process of transition, while T. Gallagher, *Romania after Ceaușescu: the Politics of Intolerance* (Edinburgh University Press, 1995) and David Phinnemore (ed.), *The EU and Romania: Accession and Beyond* (I. B. Tauris, London, 2006) bring the story more up to date.

S

SLOVAKIA The only general history is S. J. Kirschbaum, *A Struggle for Survival* (London and New York, 1995). See also under Czechoslovakia for the period 1919–92.

SLOVENIA The three main volumes are J. Benderly and E. Kraft (eds), *Independent Slovenia: Origins, Movements, Prospects* (London, 1995), James Gow and Cathie Carmichael, *Slovenia and the Slovenes* (Hurst, London, 2000), and John K. Cox, *Slovenia* (Routledge, London, 2005).

U

UKRAINE The most immediately useful books are probably: P. R. Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine* (Toronto University Press, 1997); B. Nahaylo, *Ukrainian Resurgence* (Toronto University Press, 2nd edition, 2000); and Andrew Wilson, *The Ukraine: Unexpected Nation* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2006).

Y

YUGOSLAVIA Yugoslavia has sadly but inevitably generated a vast output of books, of variable quality. Some have a discernible bias against one or other ethnic group or cultural tradition.

The most authoritative on the disintegration of the former federation is probably Misha Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1992). Other valuable perspectives are provided by: C. Bennett, *Yugoslavia's Bloody Collapse: Causes, Course and Consequences* (Farnborough, 1995); L. J. Cohen, *Broken Bonds: the Disintegration of Yugoslavia* (Boulder, Colorado, 1993); Mihailo Crnobrnja, *The Yugoslav Drama* (I. B. Tauris, London, 1994); D. Dyker and I. Vejvoda (eds), *Yugoslavia and After: a Study in Fragmentation, Despair and Rebirth* (Longman, Harlow, 1996); J. Udovicki and J. Ridgeway (eds), *Burn this House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia* (Duke,

1997); and S. L. Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War* (Brookings Institution, Washington, DC).

Books specifically on Serbia include Branimir Anzulović, *Heavenly Serbia: From Myth to Genocide* (Hurst, London, 1999) and Tim Judah, *The Serbs* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2nd edition, 2000). Those on its Kosovo province include: Tim Judah, *Kosovo* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2000); Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History* (Macmillan, Basingstoke); and M. Vickers, *Between Serb and Albanian: A History of Kosovo* (Hurst, London, 1998). *One Woman's War* by Eve-Anne Prentice (Duck Editions, 2000) gives the individual perspective of a British journalist married to a Serb.

Books on the former federation written while it was still in existence include: V. Dedijer, *History of Yugoslavia* (New York, 1974); H. Lydall, *Yugoslavia in Crisis* (Oxford University Press, 1989); B. McFarlane, *Yugoslavia: Politics, Economics and Society* (London, 1988); C. Prout, *Market Socialism in Yugoslavia* (Oxford University Press, 1985); and F. Singleton, *Twentieth Century Yugoslavia* (London, 1976).

BIOGRAPHIES

Biographies are a valuable source although, like autobiographies, they sometimes have to be treated with discretion. They include:

István Bethlen: A Great Conservative Statesman of Hungary by Ignác Romsics (translated Mario D. Fenyo, distributed Columbia University Press, New York,

1995) gives a sympathetic, revisionist view.

Dubček by William Shawcross (revised and updated, 1990).

Václav Havel by John Keane (Bloomsbury, London, 1999) is extremely comprehensive and at times critical of both the man and his policies, possibly unfairly.

Mussolini by Denis Mack Smith (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1981) is the standard biography.

Tito: A Pictorial Biography by Fitzroy Maclean (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1980) is an intimate non-academic portrait by a Briton who observed Tito at first hand in the midst of the War.

Tito by Stephen K. Pavlowitch (Hurst, London, 1992) is an academic assessment benefiting from a longer perspective.

Lech Walesa by Roger Boyes (Secker and Warburg, London, 1994).

ESSAYS, SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

Erich Honecker, *From My Life* (Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1981)

János Kádár, *On the Road to Socialism* (Corvina, Budapest, 1965)

Imre Nagy on Communism (Thames and Hudson, London, 1957)

J. B. Tito, *The Essential Tito* (New York, 1970)

Todor Zhivkov, *Selected Works* (Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1985)



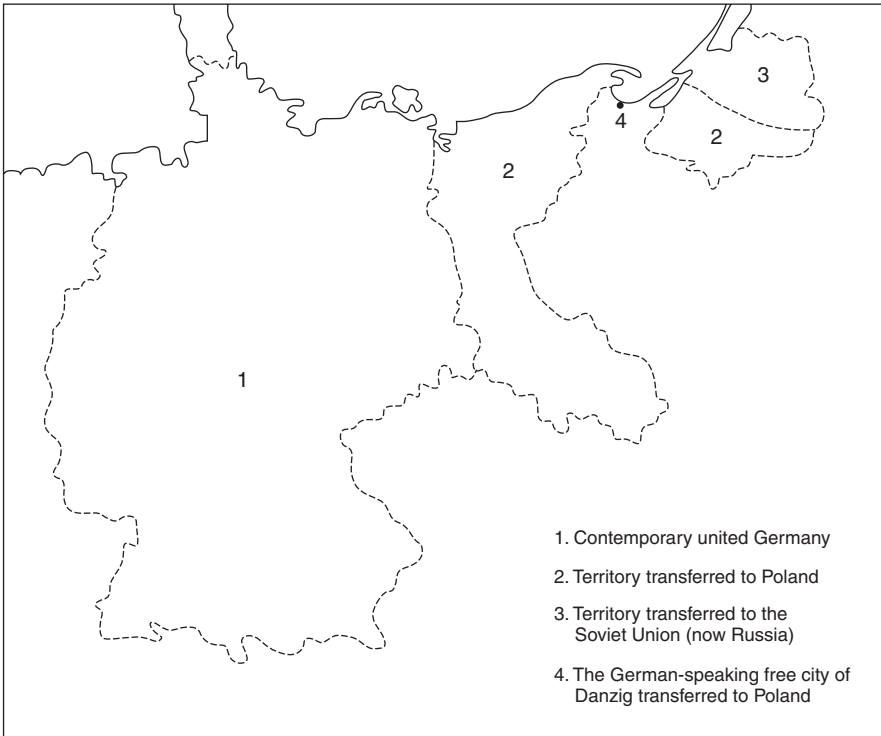
Map 1 The Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1914



Map 2 The dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire



Map 3 Central and Eastern Europe in 1942



Map 4 Germany within its 1937 boundaries and the territory lost in 1945

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