MINDS UNCAPTIVE?
POLAND, EAST CENTRAL EUROPE, AND THE BALTIC STATES FROM TOTALITARIANISM TO EU AND NATO INTEGRATION

STEFEN.SEEGEL@UNCO.EDU
OSHER INSTITUTE (UCSD)
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PARTS TO TODAY’S LECTURE

(1) World War I and postwar treaties
(2) Nazi and Soviet legacies (we’ll briefly take the “totalitarianism” and “bloodlands” theses)
(3) NATO expansion (since 1949)
(4) Revolutions of 1956 and 1968
(5) Dissidents and Anticommunism
(6) 1989: Miracle Year?
(7) EU integration (28 countries) and after
EAST CENTRAL EUROPE: CZ (10.5M), EST (1.3M), H (9.8M), LT (3M), LV (2M), PL (38M), SL (5.4M)
WORLD WAR I: ALLIANCE SYSTEM

- **CENTRAL POWERS**: Germany, Austria-Hungary, Ottoman Empire, Italy (to 1915)
- **ALLIES**: Britain, France, Russia (to 1917), United States (after April 1917), Japan, Italy (after 1915)
TOTAL WAR

- Unprecedented **destruction**: machine guns, rifles, airplanes, battleships, submarines, motorized transport (cars & RR); also chlorine gas, tanks, bombs
- Initial **optimism** in 1914: “the guns of August”
- full **mobilization** of soldiers, civilians, technology, but the war did not settle problems or restore social order
- Estimated **40 million** deaths
MAJOR EVENTS OF WWI

• May 1915: sinking of Lusitania
• May 1916: Battle of Jutland
• Feb.-Dec. 1916: Battle of Verdun
• July-Nov. 1916: Battle of the Somme
• Feb. & Nov. 1917: Revolution(s) in Russia
• April 1917: U.S. enters the war
BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION
(1917)

- **Feb.-March 1917**: workers’ riots in Petrograd; deposal of the tsar; est. of a “pro-war” Provisional Govt

- **Oct.-Nov. 1917**: Lenin and the Bolsheviks seize power; they aim to take Russia out of WWI
BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION
LENIN’S TACTICS: “PEACE, LAND, BREAD”

Revision and Civil War in Russia, 1914–1920. Revolutionary and civil unrest was greatest in those areas of Russia with the greatest concentrations of peasants. Kolaks, the more prosperous peasants, were severely repressed for resisting the requisitioning of food after 1918.
HOW TO END A WAR?
TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK
(MARCH 1918)

-- LENIN AND TROTSKY TAKE THE INCHOATE USSR OUT OF THE WAR

(March 1918): the USSR cedes parts of Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Finland, 3 Baltic states
HOW TO END A WAR? (IN THE WEST)
ARMISTICE DAY (NOVEMBER 11, 1918)
TREATY OF VERSAILLES (JUNE 28, 1919) -- REDREW THE MAP OF EUROPE’S EMPIRES INTO NATION-STATES
MAJOR CONSEQUENCES OF VERSAILLES

- **OCCUPATION**: Allied victors would occupy the western bank of the Rhine and coal-rich Saar basin.

- **REPARATIONS/DEBT**: Germany to pay substantial reparations for civilian damage (132 billion gold marks); huge German debt ($200 billion) to other nations.

- **WAR GUILT CLAUSE** (ARTICLE 231): Germany had to reduce its army, almost eliminate navy, forbidden to have an air force, give up colonies – “sole responsibility . . . aggression of Germany and her allies”
NAZI AND SOVIET RULE
“TOTALITARIANISM” (ADVANCED IN 1950S AS AN EXPLANATORY TOOL)

- violent dictatorships where unity and obedience (not “rights”) were keys to political rebirth
- highly centralized, one-party systems of government = state over individual
- attempts to control society and ensure conformity; “liquidation of the private sphere”
- “Big Brother” surveillance, secret police
- terror used against civilian populations
ADOLF HITLER (1889-1945)
BENITO MUSSOLINI (1883-1945)

“A fanatic is a person who can’t change his mind and won’t change the subject.”

-- Winston Churchill
IDEOLOGY: THOUSAND-YEAR REICH

- Herrenvolk (master race)
- racial anti-Semitism: Untermenschen (Jews as “subhumans”)
- Anticommunism
- Military-industrial complex
- rejection of Versailles and Weimar (“stab in the back”)
- nationalist heroism & violence (masculinity)
- Lebensraum (colonial Empire to the East)
WHY HITLER? WHY STALIN?

- In fragile democracies hit hard by global depression (1920s, esp. 1929)
- extremist (right-wing) parties could gain state power through legal (liberal democratic) means
- charismatic leaders & movements: Hitler, Mussolini
- nationalist appeals to alienated youth, esp. young men (masculinity), and the unemployed
- appeal to East European countries on the losing side of the territorial settlements of WWI – Hungary, for example
• young Stalin rose through the ranks of the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks; arrested and spent years in Siberian exile

• (1913) worked on the nationality question, at Lenin’s request – “he got things done”

• (1914-7) stayed close to Lenin during the war; trusted for a time to work on telegraphs at the Smolny Institute

• in 1922, at the 11th Party Congress, Stalin was elected GENERAL SECRETARY of the Party
SOVIET TERROR-FAMINE IN UKRAINE (HOLODOMOR OF 1932-3) AND THE PURGES (1934-9)
MUNICH CONFERENCE – APPEASEMENT POLICY: CZECHOSLOVAKIA (GERMAN-SPEAKING SUDETNENLAND) TO THE NAZIS (SEPTEMBER 29, 1938)
MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT, OR NAZI-SOViet PACT (AUG. 23, 1939)
MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT, OR NAZI-SOVIEt NONAGGRESSION PACT (AUG. 23, 1939)

Planned division of Central Europe according to Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact

- Soviet Union
- Germany
- Other countries and territories
- East Prussia

1939

- Soviet sphere of influence
- German sphere of influence
- National borders as of 1939
- Planned Borders
- Soviet republic borders as of 1939

1940

- Annexed by the Soviet Union
- Annexed by Germany
- Occupied by Germany
- National borders as of 1940
- National borders as of 1938
- Soviet republic borders as of 1940

Actual territorial changes 1939 - 1940

Map showing the planned and actual territorial changes between 1939 and 1940, including the division of Central Europe according to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.
SECRET PROTOCOLS OF THE NAZI-SOVIE T PACT (1939)

- new borders were established in Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Bessarabia – all part of Soviet sphere

- Lithuania, including the Polish-controlled city of Vilnius, would be in the German sphere

- Poland wiped off the map

Stalin, on Hitler: “He thinks he’s outsmarted me, but actually it is I who has tricked him.”
NAZI INVASION OF POLAND  
(SEPT. 1, 1939)  
SOVIET INVASION OF POLAND  
(SEPT. 17, 1939)
HITLER’S WAR
NAZI INVASION OF FRANCE (NOV 1939)
-- STALIN TAKES ADVANTAGE OF THE DIVERSION TO ANNEX THE BALTIC STATES
VICHY RÉGIME (1940)
-- HITLER’S PUPPET GOVT IN FRANCE
JUNE 22, 1941: NAZI INVASION OF THE USSR (OPERATION BARBAROSSA)

- Wehrmacht crossed Soviet border; 2,000-mile front
- 3 million German and other Axis troops over Soviet lines
- Stalin had a mental breakdown for 10 days, but rallied
THE NAZI-SOVIEIT WAR, 1941-5
(“GREAT FATHERLAND WAR”)

• In July 1941, the German army made it to within 200 miles of Moscow
• Strategy of rapid encirclement
• 900-day Siege of Leningrad
• Hitler wanted to attack Leningrad, Baltic States and Ukraine simultaneously, while his generals wanted to concentrate on Moscow

RESULT: lost time & Soviet people fought back onset of WINTER (as in 1812)
Hitler overconfident in German victory = military “genius”

Hitler did not PLAN to lose the war, but had an inflated and poorly calculated view of his own might

depletion of German supplies on three fronts

Losses due to weather, disease, shortage of equipment
U.S. VS. JAPAN: PACIFIC FRONT IN 1942-3

- bombing of Pearl Harbor (Hawai‘i) in Dec 1941
- by spring 1942, Japanese conquered Guam, Phil, Malaya, Burma, Indonesia, Singapore – “the era of democracy is finished”
- **BUT HITLER’S ERROR**: Germany supported Japan & declared war on US – he called America “half Judaized and the other half Negrified”

- U.S. armed forces only 1.6 mil, no plans for producing necessary guns, tanks, airplanes;
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-DyOc1q-qgQ

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=USqiV7phxjc&feature=channel
FINAL SOLUTION = “DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWISH RACE IN EUROPE”

- “Racial Science” = since 1930s German caricatures of Jews, Slavs, and Roma
- Final Solution began in Dec. 1941 = EE Jews herded into urban ghettos, stripped of possession, minimal rations, starving and disease; around Soviet towns – were shot in pits, forced to dig themselves
- Many were killed in EE with help of anti-Semitic villagers
CREMATORIA/ GAS CHAMBERS

- 6 camps in Poland (incl. Auschwitz-Birkenau) served as both extermination and labor camp
- Camp at Chełmno first gassed Christian Poles and Soviet prisoners of war
- Specially designed crematoria started functioning at the start of 1943

By mid-1943, Auschwitz had capacity to burn 1.7 million people per year; about 60% of new arrivals (children, women, elderly) were selected directly for murder in gas chambers; other 40% labored until their deaths.
POW CAMPS, LABOR CAMPS, CONCENTRATION (MASS KILLING) CAMPS

• en masse killings and transports industrialized killing at gas chambers of Auschwitz (Zyklon B)
• In the ghettos, Jews had to survive on less than 500 calories per day (minimum of 2,000 to sustain adult life)
• Many prisoners went mad …. varying reactions and behaviors (Holocaust literature)

*** in the end, 6 million Jews were murders, along with gypsies, homosexuals, Slavs, others
*** HISTORY: Final Solution was a premeditated (intentionalists) and bureaucratic (structuralists) action
EAST EUROPEAN BLOODLANDS 1933-45
(DUAL NAZI-SOVIE OCCUPATION, 14 MILLION PEOPLE)

• the German army swept through eastern Europe – slaughtered Jews, communists, Slavs, “racial inferiors” and others
• Polish citizens starting in 1939 were murdered or relocated to forced labor camps
• Nazis and Soviets both distrusted “enemies” who were literate (intelligentsia, “decapitation” of civil society)
TURNING POINT EAST: BATTLE OF STALINGRAD (JULY 1942-FEB. 1943)

- German army siege of Stalingrad (Volgograd)
- Soviet army emerged the victor in Feb. 1943
- Stalingrad was in the south of Russia
- It was important as a strategic point for oil and access to Soviet interior, which the Red Army denied to Hitler’s forces
GRAND ALLIANCE (1941-5)

- Strewn together, united by a common enemy rather than shared ideology
- GRAND ALLIANCE was Britain, U.S., Free Government of France (De Gaulle in exile in London), and USSR
- Then formed an Allied Coalition of 20 other countries vs. AXIS powers (Germany, Italy, Japan)
- Allies’ potential for war, manpower, resources, extensive terrain, globalization of war
- Not all was ethical in WAR = Allied Bombing of civilian sites, such as Dresden and Tokyo
WWII: ALLIED MOMENTUM IN 1942-5

• Allied troop victory in North Africa vs. German field marshal Erwin Rommel
• Allies won in North Africa (Eisenhower in Morocco and Algeria) in fall 1942
• Allied landing in Sicily in July 1943, Italy liberated by April 1945 = partisans shot Mussolini and his mistress, hanged bodies for display in Rome
LANDING IN NORMANDY, FRANCE
D-DAY (JUNE 6, 1944)

• June 6, 1944 was D-DAY – Normandy

• Allies fought their way into western France

• Freeing of Paris in July 1944
FATE OF EASTERN EUROPE, 1944-5

• It was not ALL good news, however = sharp divisions already between WEST and EAST
• Aug 1944: Soviets took “back” the Baltic states (Nazi-Soviet Pact) and entered Poland
• Stalin stopped as Germans put down Polish uprising in August 1944, before Red Army marched in
• Soviet army took Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary by the end of 1944

Allies & Red Army met finally in BERLIN – Hitler’s suicide w/ Eva Braun; Germany surrendered on May 8, 1945
EUROPE RE-CARVED, 1944-5

• (1944) Churchill & Stalin already agreed (PERCENTAGES AGREEMENT) on postwar dist of territories = USSR to control Romania & Bulgaria; Britain to control Greece; jointly oversee Hungary & Yugoslavia

• (Feb 1945) BIG THREE at YALTA – Churchill, FDR, Stalin to form United Nations to replace League of Nations; supported Soviet influence in Korea, Manchuria, Sakhalin, Kurile
YALTA CONFERENCE (FEB. 1945)
POTSDAM CONFERENCE
(JULY – AUGUST 1945)

- to provide for the defeat of Japan
- US and UK needed USSR to fight Japan
- Truman & Churchill agreed to give Stalin control of eastern Poland
- cede a large stretch of eastern Germany to Poland
- Provided for 4-way occupation of postwar Germany (US, UK, France, USSR)
WORLD WAR II: ATROCITIES

- special Gestapo forces in charge of herding victims into woods, ravines, against town walls where they were to be shot en masse (Katyn Forest Massacre in 1940)
- Japanese had similar policies in China, southeast Asia, Pacific = 2.5 million civilians murdered in China alone
- Nearly 6 million Jews, Roma, elderly, homosexuals killed in Final Solution
- Allied bombing of Dresden and Tokyo; US bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki

= ESTIMATED 60 million DEATHS IN TOTAL
REBUILDING POSTWAR EUROPE:
(1) MARSHALL PLAN (1947)

- A program of massive eco aid to Europe, offered to both east and west
- named after US Secretary of State George C. Marshall
- loans and credit to governments to restart flow of international trade
- by early 1950s, US had sent more than $12 billion in food and equipment to Europe
- Stalin saw it as a political ploy (which it was)!
NATO (NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION) IN 1949

- Set up in the aftermath of the Berlin Blockade (1948)
- Represented a unified “Western” military force against Stalin and the potential return of “a Hitler”
- “to keep the Americans in, the Germans down, and the Russians out”
- NUCLEAR SECURITY, not COLLECTIVE SECURITY
- In 1955, the USSR retaliated w/ the WARSAW PACT
RECOVERY IN EUROPE

(3) EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET
(1951-7)

-- A HISTORIC FRANCO-GERMAN ALLIANCE
-- BECAME THE PROTOTYPE FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION
ANTICOMMUNISM IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

- 1956: Hungarian Revolution
- 1968: Prague Spring
- 1970s: Human Rights Activism
- 1975-7: Havel and Charter 77
- 1979-80: Pope John Paul II
- 1980-1: Solidarity in Poland
PRAGUE SPRING (JAN. – SEPT., 1968)
-- NOTE THE DISPARITY BETWEEN STUDENT MOVEMENTS, EAST AND WEST

- Soviet tanks rolled in, crushed “reform communism”/ end of Socialism with a Human Face
- end to free expression in the East
- Showed the chasm between West/East student radicals and activists in 1968

Downtown Prague, Czechoslovakia
HELSINKI ACCORDS (1975)

- Western bloc officially acknowledged Soviet territorial gains in WWII in exchange for Soviet bloc’s guarantee of basic human rights
- Created new HUMAN RIGHTS activism, esp. among E. European dissidents
- Fundamental document for Vaclav Havel = Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia
CHARTER 77:

VACLAV HAVEL (1936-2011)

- Dissident, underground human rights activist, founder of Charter 77
- Author of classic social contract essay, “The Power of the Powerless” (1977), on POST-TOTALITARIANISM
- Imprisoned from 1979 to 1984
- Future president of liberated Czechoslovakia
SOLIDARITY (SOLIDARNOŚĆ)
-- WORKERS, DISSIDENTS & TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN POLAND IN 1980-1
-- ACHIEVED FOR EURASIA SOME OF THE FAILURES OF 1968 IN THE WEST
POPE JOHN PAUL II – BECAME POPE IN 1979 (KAROL WOJTYŁA, 1920-2005)

- Survived both Nazi & Soviet occupations of Poland in WWII
- Began career as actor, playwright and poet, studied philosophy
- Outdoor masses attended by >1 million outside Warsaw in early 1980s
- Message to those under communist (~atheistic) systems = “do not be afraid”
- able to speak 12 languages = instrumental in bringing down communism, despite controversial social policies
MIKHAIL GORBACHEV (1931-PRESENT)
GORBY’S 3 BIG REFORMS

(1) PERESTROIKA (restructuring): to reinvigorate the Soviet economy by improving productivity, increasing the rate of capital investment, encouraging use of new technology, gradually introducing MARKET prices and profits

(2) GLASNOST (openness or publicity): disseminating information, free speech; “warts and all” exposure of the Soviet past

(3) DEMOCRATIZATION – more problematic, but why???
1989 REVOLUTIONS

- Czechoslovakia
- Poland
- Hungary
- Romania
- Bulgaria
- East Germany
- Beijing/ Tiananmen Square

1989 clips:

Fall of Berlin Wall: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M2qq5J5A1s&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M2qq5J5A1s&feature=related)
WHY THE 1989 REVOLUTIONS?

(1) **Rising Expectations**: Attractions of Western consumerism; “West” as land of opportunity.

(2) **Popular Disillusionment with Communism**: economic stagnation in post-industrial age; dissidents; impossibility (?) of reform.

(3) **Gorby Factor**: Gorbachev as “sorcerer’s apprentice” ... set in motion forces he couldn’t control, refused to use force to defend Soviet spheres of influence (unlike Tiananmen 1989 model)
1990s: ECONOMIC TRANSITIONS IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

- **POLAND**: “Balcerowicz plan” (shock therapy) to end hyperinflation & balance budget in 1990s; very controversial, but since 1989 Poland’s growth rate is one of highest in post-communist region, and did not enter recession in 2007-2009 (Warsaw as “boomtown”)
- **CZECH REP**: rivalry between the “two Vaclavs” in 1990s; “velvet divorce” with SLOVAK REP in 1993; high living standards and level of culture
- **HUNGARY**: rising inequality, hit hard by recession of 2007-2009; academic/artistic brain drain; 80+% privatization of firms and businesses (foreign ownership); dominated (today) by right-wing, neo-fascist politicians in Jobbik and Fidesz (Viktor Orban)
BALTIC STATES: AS MEMBERS OF NATO AND THE EU SINCE 2004

- **LITHUANIA** (3m pop): president Dalia Grybauskaite (since 2009) is first woman president; GDP dropped -15% in 2009 due to recession; Algirdas Butkevicius has held EU rotating presidency in 2013; Lithuania became member of UN Security Council (first Baltic state to do so) in 2013; about 10% unemployment (officially) today

- **LATVIA**: (2m pop): had highest unemployment in Europe (22%) in 2010, but has since generally stabilized; euro became the currency on Jan. 1, 2014

- **ESTONIA**: (1.3m pop, abt 25% ethnic Russians): last units of Russian army left in 1994, unemployment now about 8%, ranked high (8th) on World Freedom Index and 1st on Freedom House’s Internet Freedom Index
EUROPE’S 21\textsuperscript{ST} C FUTURE

(1) **Pooling of Resources?** EU opened pathway to unified supranational policies – market of nearly 500m highly educated consumers, but not w/o Eurozone crises

(2) **Return to Europe?** “post-communist” admittance of 10 new members in May 2004; today there are 28 member nations, but larger W Eur countries are reluctant to sacrifice national sovereignty for NATO operations or any kind of “collective” policy

(3) **Multiculturalism?** massive labor migrations . . . by 2000, there were some 120 million migrants worldwide; attractions of “European dream”

(4) **2007-8 Recession** and its effects (Croatia became 28\textsuperscript{th} country to join EU in June 2013)