1989: Hopes, Illusions, and Realities
(and a meager attempt to make sense of it all)
Collapse of Communism

Lecture 6
Terms/Concepts/People

I. Why 1989?
   a) Lost Political Legitimacy
   b) Failing Economy / Pressure of Consumer Society
   c) Generational Gap/Social Changes
   d) Information Exchange
   e) Mikhail Gorbachev (1931- )
      – Perestroika
      – Glasnost
      – “Sinatra Doctrine”

II. How?
   a) Negotiated
      “From Below”—Poland ← Lech Walesa (1943- ) ← Solidarity
      “From Above”—Hungary ← Miklós Németh (1948- )
   b) Forced/peaceful
      Czechoslovakia—Václav Havel (1936-2011)
      East Germany
   c) Forced/Violent
      Romania— Nicolae Ceausescu (1918-1989)
Lost Political Legitimacy

LANCELOT: It is all very difficult, Kay. When one chases after an idea for years and years, without getting the tiniest step closer, it's very depressing. Each of us has only a brief life to dispose of, and each of us puts too many hopes in this vulnerable and all-too-quickly extinguished life. More than it can bear.

KAY: What do you mean by that, Lancelot? Do you still believe in the grail?

LANCELOT: I don't know. I can't answer the question. I can't say yes or no....

ARTHUR: Lancelot, Kay: be quiet. Everything that men create suddenly comes into question, everything, every idea, every invention, every human institution. What appears sure and certain is suddenly very doubtful. But that is frightening only for an instant and in fact it will help us to get further along. It is not only an end, it's the beginning of something new; I foresaw it when I founded the realm....

LANCELOT: Arthur, do you know that the people outside don't want to hear any more about the grail and the round table? Before, they respected us... today they only laugh if they see a knight of the round table.... They no longer believe in our justice and our dream.... For the people the knights of the round table are a pile of fools, idiots and criminals....

-- Christoph Hein, The Knights of the Round Table
Why 1989?
# Everyday life by the numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goods</th>
<th>West Germany</th>
<th>Czechoslovakia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bread, 1 Kg</td>
<td>11 minutes</td>
<td>9 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk, 1 Liter</td>
<td>5 min.</td>
<td>22 min.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicken, 1 Kg</td>
<td>19 min.</td>
<td>1 hr. 49 min.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee, 1 Kg</td>
<td>1 hr. 24 min.</td>
<td>14 hrs. 32 min.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Shoes</td>
<td>7 hrs. 37 min.</td>
<td>20 hrs. 14 min.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refrigerator, 225 Liters</td>
<td>41 hrs. 24 min.</td>
<td>242 hrs. 25 min.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washing Machine</td>
<td>54 hrs. 53 min.</td>
<td>363 hrs. 38 min.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television, B&amp;W</td>
<td>14 hrs. 1 min.</td>
<td>206 hrs. 4 min.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Economy

- Lost political legitimacy / need to provide economic legitimacy
- Reorienting economy → from heavy industry to light industry → need for Western currency
- Helsinki Accords (1975)
- Hard-currency debt:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1971</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1988</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ECE</td>
<td>$6.1 billion</td>
<td>$66.1 billion</td>
<td>$95.6 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLAND</td>
<td>$1.1 billion</td>
<td>$25 billion</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Pressure of Consumer Culture I.

“Some Western fashion trends are impacting our youth...together with growing cynicism and apathy toward issues of socialist public life, this trend is often coupled with wild-west pants [jeans], with long hair, and the absence of shaving... I do not want to deal with those wild-west pants, hairdos, and beards. The Hungarian Communist Party and its Communist Youth Association is not a fashion-design company, nor is it a hairdresser union...”

-- János Kásdár
Pressure of Consumer Culture II.

“Seventy-two years of Communist indoctrination and propaganda was drowned out by a three-ounce Sony Walkman. A huge totalitarian system has been brought to its knees because nobody wants to wear Bulgarian shoes. In the end we beat them with Levi’s 501 jeans”

–P.J. O’Rourke
Mikhail Gorbachev (1931- )

- *perestroika*: economic reorganization
- *glasnost*: openness/exchange of ideas
- *“Sinatra Doctrine”:* renouncing the Brezhnev doctrine
Poland / reforms from below

Lech Walesa (1943- )

- June 1979: Pope John Paul II visited his homeland → galvanized and united the Polish opposition
- 1981-83: General Jaruzelski & Martial Law
- February 1989: Round Table Discussions
- June 1989: Free Elections → 99% of seats went to Solidarity
- December 1990: Walesa elected as the President of Poland
Hungary/ reforms from above

- Mind 1980s: Democratic Opposition and reformers within the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party
- May 1989: removal of barbed wire fence between Hungary and Austria
- June 1989: Reburial of Imre Nagy (a week after János Kádár died)
- September 1989: East German citizens were allowed to cross over to Austria
- October 1989: from Peoples’ Republic to the Republic of Hungary
- May 1990: First free election
- June 1991: Last Soviet soldier left Hungary
Czechoslovakia/East Germany

Václav Havel (1936-2011)

The fall of the Berlin Wall
(November 9, 1989)
Romania

Nicolae Ceausescu
(1918-1989)

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TcRWiz1PhKU&feature=fvwrel
Time for a break
I. Ethnic Complexity of Yugoslavia

II. Prelude to the Conflict
- Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980)
- Slobodan Milošević (1941-2006)

III. Yugoslav Wars
- Slovenia (1991)
- Bosnia (1992-1995)
- Kosovo (1998-1999)

IV. Atrocities/War Crimes
- Srebrenica (July 1995)
- Rape camps

V. Dayton Accords (November 1995)

VI. Aftermath
- International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
- Radovan Karadžić (1945-
- Ratko Mladić (1943- )
Ethnic Map of Yugoslavia
Prelude

Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980)

Slobodan Milošević (1941-2006)

Federalism under Tito: “Brotherhood and Unity”

vs.

Nation-state solution → in the case of Serbia Milošević’s “You will not be beaten again” ← reference to the battle of Kosovo (1389)
Former Yugoslavia

6 Federal State:
- Slovenia
- Croatia
- Bosnia-Herzegovina
- Serbia
- Montenegro
- Macedonia

2 Autonomous Region:
- Vojvodina
- Kosovo
Slovenia (June 25, 1991)
Croatia (June 25, 1991)
Bosnia-Herzegovina (February 29, 1992)

Mixed population of
- Bosnian Muslims — 44%
- Bosnian Serbs (Serb Orthodox) — 32%
- Croats (Catholic) — 17%

- 110,000 died including 33,000 Bosnian Muslims civilians

Siege of Sarajevo: 1,425 days
  10,000+ died
Atrocities/War Crimes
(Where is the West?)

Srebrenica (July 1995)
Dayton Accords (November 1995)
Kosovo (1998-1999)
Aftermath
International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
(http://www.icty.org)

Ratko Mladić and Radovan Karadžić
Rebuilding

Mostar Bridge (c.1995)          Mostar Bridge (today)
ECE and the EU*

- **DARK BLUE:** Current member states
- **PINK:** Member state which has given notice of its intent to withdraw from the EU: United Kingdom (IT DID)
- **CAROLINA BLUE:** Candidates: Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Turkey
- **Some Sort of BLUE** Potential candidates that have applied for membership: Bosnia and Herzegovina
- **YELLOW:** Potential candidates that have not applied for membership: Kosovo* (status disputed)
- **ORANGE:** States that have frozen or withdrawn their applications: Iceland (frozen), Norway (withdrawn), Switzerland (withdrawn)
- **GREEN:** States which have both ratified an EU Association Agreement and have had their European perspective for membership explicitly recognized by the EU: Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine

Köszönöm !!!