

# Contents

*Preface* ix

*Preface to the Second Edition* x

*Preface to the First Edition* xi

1. The Interwar Background 1

2. World War II 23

3. The Communists Come to Power 75

4. The Dialectics of Stalinism and Titoism 125

5. The Revenge of the Repressed:  
East Central Europe Reasserts Itself 147

6. A Precarious Stalemate 191

7. The Various Endgames 227

8. The Postcommunist Decade 265

*Notes* 303

*Suggested Readings* 317

*Index* 325

# Index

- Abakumov, Viktor S., 148
- Adriatic islands, 49, 52
- Agrarian National Union (Bulgaria), 253
- Agrarian party (Albania), 256
- Agrarian "question." *See* Peasantry
- Agrarian Union (Bulgaria), 66, 114–15, 117, 118
- Agriculture. *See also* Land reform; Peasantry
- in Bulgaria, 214
  - in Czechoslovakia, 95
  - in Hungary, 204
  - in Poland, 192
  - "post-peasantist," 225
  - in Romania, 164
- Aimone of Spoleto (duke), 49
- Albania
- civil war in, 71–72
  - Communist assumption of power in, 119–21, 255
  - desatellization of, 173–80
  - diaspora, 290
  - economic transition in, 289–90
  - economy of, 69, 120, 176, 177–78, 254, 255
  - elections
    - of 1991 in, 256–57
    - of 1992 in, 257, 289, 290
    - of 1996 in, 291
    - of 1997 in, 292
  - emigration from, 255, 289
  - end of Communist rule in, 254–58
  - government of national reconciliation, 292
  - interwar, 7
  - Kosovo and, 255, 290
  - oppositional parties in, 257
  - purges in, 178
  - pyramid schemes in, 291
  - reforms in, 255
  - student demonstrations in, 256
  - World War II and, 69–72
  - Yugoslavia and, 68, 70, 71–72, 174, 309n10
- Albanian Communist party, 70, 71–72, 119–21, 174
- Albanian Party of Labor, 174, 257
- Alexandrov, Chudomir, 252
- Alia, Ramiz, 179, 180, 254–57, 290<sup>1</sup>
- Alliance of Free Democrats (Hungary), 244, 278, 280
- Allied Control Commissions, 97
- Andropov, Yuri A., 219, 241
- Antall, József, 244, 278, 279, 280
- Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ), 52–53
- Anti-Semitism. *See* Jews
- Antonescu, Ion, 59–62, 284
- Arab–Israeli Six-Day War, 194
- Austria, 3, 6, 7
- Bukovina and, 304n12
- Authoritarian institutions, 16–17
- AVNOJ. *See* Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia
- AWS. *See* Solidarity Election Action
- Balance of power, 24
- Balcerowicz, Leszek, 232, 267, 271
- Balkan federation schemes, 129, 130
- Balli Kombëtar. *See* National Front (Albania)
- Balogh, István, 100
- Baltic states, 7, 21
- Banat, 48
- Barnes, Maynard B., 116, 308n31
- Beneš, Edvard, 31, 32, 34, 35–37, 41, 77, 305n9
- and Communist power, 89, 90, 93, 94

- Beran, Josef (archbishop), 95, 306n13  
 Berat congress of 1944, 71  
 Berecz, János, 243  
 Beria, Lavrenti P., 148, 150  
 Berisha, Sali, 256, 257, 289, 291, 292, 315n14  
 Berlin Wall, breach of, 251  
 Bessarabia, 7, 58, 61, 304n12  
 Białystok, 303n2  
 Bielecki, Jan Krzysztof, 267  
 Bierut, Bolesław, 85, 151  
 Big Three, 108, 110, 116  
 Bihać congress of 1942, 53, 71  
 Biryuzov, Sergei S., 115  
 Bismarck, Otto Von, 10  
 Blocked-currency device, 20  
 Bodnăraş, Emil, 106, 111, 138, 309n8  
 Bohemia, German Protectorate of, 33–34, 38, 48  
 Borejsza, Jerzy W., 225  
 Boris III (tsar of Bulgaria), 64–66  
 Bosnia-Herzegovina, 49, 50, 52, 53, 185, 187, 258, 259, 262, 294–95, 306n21  
   independence efforts in, 258–59, 262, 293–95  
   interethnic violence in, 258, 262, 293–95  
   Serbian irredentas in, 259–60, 293–95  
   Wars of Yugoslav Succession and, 262–63, 279, 292–96  
 Bosnian Serb republic. *See* Republika Srpska  
 Brezhnev, Leonid I., 171, 175, 195, 207, 219, 221, 241, 251  
 Brezhnev Doctrine, 172, 228, 310n16  
 Brucan, Silviu, 249  
 Bukovina, 58, 61, 304n12  
 Bulganin, Nikolai A., 148  
 Bulgaria  
   CMEA and, 214, 215, 251  
   Communist assumption of power in, 113–19  
   Communist endgame in, 250–54, 285  
   drug and arms traffic in, 216  
   economic transition in, 286–88  
   economy of, 64, 118–19, 212, 213, 214, 215, 251, 252, 253  
   elections  
     of 1990 in, 253  
     of 1991 in, 286  
     of 1992 in, 286  
     of 1994 in, 286  
     of 1996 in, 287  
     of 1997 in, 287  
   ethnic minorities in, 216, 252, 288–89  
   human rights groups in, 252  
   irredentist claims of, 6–7  
   leadership changes in, 212, 213, 214, 252–53, 285–86, 287  
   “Maoist” conspiracy in, 211, 215  
   neonationalism in, 215–16  
   nepotism in, 216–17, 252  
   papal assassination attempt and, 252  
   purges in, 138–39  
   Romania and, 59  
   Southern Dobruja and, 59, 63, 114  
   Soviet Union and, 67–68, 115–17, 211–13, 214, 215, 216, 251  
     after Stalin, 211–16  
     Thrace and, 63, 64–65, 67, 113  
     Turkish minority expulsion from, 252  
     World War II and, 63–68, 304n14  
   Bulgarian Communist party, 65, 66–67, 68  
     Maoist China and, 211–12  
     opposition to, 115–17, 252, 253  
     postwar weakness of, 113–14  
     purge within, 212, 214  
     renaming of, 253  
     Soviet Union and, 115–16  
     World War II and, 66–67  
   Bulgarian Socialist party, 254  
 Bureaucracy  
   as Communist society elite, 224  
   in Hungary, 97, 100  
   political ruling class and, 14  
 Burgenland, 6  
 Buzek, Jerzy, 271  
 Čalfa, Marián, 271  
 Carinthian province, 6  
 Carol II (king of Romania), 56, 106  
 Carpatho-Ukraine. *See* Ruthenia  
 Ceauşescu, Nicolae, 161, 165, 206, 215, 217, 245–49, 250, 281, 309n8, 310n15  
 Četniks, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 70  
 Chamberlain, Neville, 43–44  
 Charter 77, 209–10, 235, 237, 238, 246  
 Chernenko, Konstantin U., 219, 241  
 Chernobyl nuclear disaster, 247  
 Chervenkov, Vŭlko, 139, 212–14, 313n14  
 China. *See* Maoist China; Sino-Soviet rift  
 Christian Democratic People's party (Hungary), 242, 244  
 Christian Women's League (Hungary), 100  
 Churchill, Winston, 27, 36, 47, 96, 108  
 Chvalkovský, František, 32  
 Cieszyn. *See* Teschen district  
 Ciorbea, Victor, 285  
 Citizen Democrats (Hungary), 98, 100  
 Civic Democratic party (ODS) (Czechoslovakia, Czech Republic), 273  
 Civic Forum (Czechoslovakia, Czech Republic), 238, 239, 272, 273  
 CMEA. *See* Council for Mutual Economic Assistance  
 Coalition government, postwar, 122–23  
   in Albania, 257, 292

- in Bulgaria, 65–66, 67–68, 114–16, 117–18, 253, 286
- in Czechoslovakia, 89–93, 272, 273, 274
- in Hungary, 98, 244, 278, 280
- in Poland, 230, 268, 269, 271
- in Romania, 106–9
- Codreanu, Corneliu Zelea, 57
- Cold War, 103, 126, 128, 133, 227
- “Collective leadership,” 213
- Cominform (Communist Information Bureau), 92, 112
- dissolution of, 149
- Stalin’s use of, 126–27
- Yugoslav Communists and, 126, 130, 131
- Committee for Social Self-Defense (KSS), 311n2
- Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (VONS), 209–10, 235, 237, 238
- Committee for the Defense of Workers (KOR), 198–99, 246, 311n2
- Communism
- bureaucratic elite under, 224
- ethnonational “question” and, 262–63
- Nazi Germany and, 4, 15
- Communist endgame
- in Albania, 254–58
- in Bulgaria, 250–54
- in Czechoslovakia, 235–39
- in Hungary, 239–45
- in Poland, 228–35
- in Romania, 245–50
- in Yugoslavia, 258–62
- Communist League (Yugoslavia), 186–87
- Communist party. *See also specific parties by country*; “Local underground” Communists; “Muscovites”
- in France and Italy, 91, 94, 126
- during interwar period, 15
- “local underground” vs. “Muscovites” in, 132, 307n25
- Tito–Stalin rift and, 85, 103
- unified political framework and, 76
- “Withering away” of, 141–43, 145
- Communist takeover
- in Albania, 119–21
- in Bulgaria, 113–19
- in Czechoslovakia, 89–96
- in Hungary, 96–103
- in Poland, 78–88
- in Poland vs. in Czechoslovakia, 88–89
- in Romania, 106–13
- Stalin’s stance on, 75–78
- in Yugoslavia, 103–6
- Confederation for an independent Poland (KPN), 312n2
- Constantinescu, Emil, 282, 285
- Consumer-price increases, 195, 197, 198
- Continuity vs. change, 223–28
- Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), 214, 219, 220
- Albania and, 174
- Bulgaria and, 215, 251
- death of, 221
- Gorbachev and, 220–21
- Hungary and, 239
- Romania and, 162, 163
- Croatia, 6, 49–50, 52, 258, 306n21
- elections
- of 1990 in, 261
- of 1995 in, 297
- independence efforts in, 259–60, 261, 293
- independent, 296, 297–98
- interethnic conflict in, 261
- Krajina, 261, 293, 298
- Serbian irredentas in, 261–62
- Wars of Yugoslav Succession and, 293, 298
- Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ), 261, 297, 298
- Csurka, István, 278–79
- “Cult of personality,” 213, 214, 297
- “Cultural revolution,” 175
- Curzon, George Nathaniel (lord), 27
- Czech Populist party, 89, 91, 92, 93
- Czech Republic
- economy of, 276–77
- elections of 1996 in, 275
- Czechoslovak Communist party
- postwar coalition and, 89–93
- proletarian support for, 235
- Roman Catholic church and, 95–96
- seizure of power by, 93–96
- Slovak section of, 167–68
- Titoist purges and, 132–33, 167
- Czechoslovakia
- civil liberties in, 209
- Communist assumption of power in, 88–96
- democracy in, 235, 271–72
- dissolution of (January 1, 1993), 274
- economy of, 92, 167, 168–69, 208, 235–36, 275
- elections
- of 1990 in, 272
- of 1992 in, 273, 275
- end of Communist role in, 235–39
- ethnic duality in, 9–10, 91–92, 238, 263
- general strike in, 239
- German expansion and, 3
- government-in-exile of, 31, 36–37, 88
- Husák government in, 207–11, 235–39
- interwar, 9, 10, 11, 12, 235
- 1960s reforms in, 168–69
- pětko* tradition in, 94
- police brutality in, 238–39
- political opposition in, 235, 237–39

- Czechoslovakia (*continued*)  
 Prague Spring of 1968 and, 166–73, 194,  
 209, 219, 236, 272, 308n7, 310n15  
 privatization in, 209  
 religious opposition in, 237–38  
 religious suppression in, 102  
 resistance movement in, 34–35  
 rule of law in, 168  
 social privacy in, 209–10  
 Soviet deployment of nuclear weapons in,  
 210  
 Soviet invasion of, 171–73, 182, 204  
 Soviet Union and, 94–95, 170–74, 237,  
 238  
 after Stalin, 166–73  
 technological stagnation in, 235–36  
 underground economy in, 208  
 “Velvet Revolution” in, 238–39  
 World War II and, 31–37  
 youth alienation in, 237
- Czechoslovak-Soviet Pact (May 16, 1935), 3
- Czech-Slovak relations, 9–10, 91–92, 237,  
 263, 273–74
- Dañadier, Edouard, 44
- Dalmatian littoral, 48, 49, 50
- Danube-Black Sea canal project, 161
- Dayton Peace Accords, 294, 298, 299
- De-Communization. *See* Lustration
- “Decree No. 56” (Bulgaria), 252
- Demko, Mikołaj, 311n1
- Democratic Bloc (Poland), 82–83
- Democratic Forum (Hungary), 244, 277,  
 278–79, 280
- Democratic Front (Albania), 72, 119, 256.  
*See also* National Liberation  
 Movement (Albania)
- Democratic League of Independent Trade  
 Unions (Hungary), 244
- Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) (Poland),  
 268, 269
- Democratic Opposition of Slovenia  
 (DEMOS), 261
- Democratic party (Albania), 256, 257, 290,  
 291, 292
- Democratic party (Bulgaria), 114, 307n29
- Democratic party (Poland), 230, 231
- Democratic Popular Front (Romania), 112
- Democratic Populists (Hungary), 100
- Democratic Union (UD) (Poland), 268, 269
- DEMOS. *See* Democratic Opposition of  
 Slovenia
- De-Stalinization  
 Albania and, 179  
 Bulgaria and, 211–17  
 character of Soviet bloc and, 218–19  
 Czechoslovakia and, 166–68  
 Hungary and, 153–60  
 Poland and, 150–53  
 Romania and, 160–61
- Dimitrov, Georgi, 116, 118, 138, 139, 212,  
 312n12
- Dimitrov, Georgi M. (“Gemeto”), 115
- Djilas, Milovan, 142, 143–45, 181, 184, 185
- Dodik, Milorad, 296, 298
- Domesticism, postwar, 125
- DPS. *See* Movement for Rights and Freedom
- Drugs, traffic in, 216
- Dubček, Alexander, 168, 169–72, 175, 194,  
 205, 211, 239, 271, 313n2
- “Dynastic socialism,” 165
- East Galicia, 303n2
- Ecclesiastical bodies. *See* Religious bodies
- Ecoglasnost* (Bulgaria), 252
- Ecological party (Albania), 256
- Economic development. *See also under*  
*specific countries*  
 Cominform and, 127  
 etatist investment and, 18–20, 100, 105–6  
 under modern regimes, 219–20, 224–25
- Eden, Anthony, 36
- Education, 102, 192, 224
- Elections, postwar  
 in Albania, 119  
 in Bulgaria, 117–18  
 in Czechoslovakia, 91  
 in Hungary, 98, 100, 101, 137  
 in Poland, 82–83  
 in Romania, 111  
 in Yugoslavia, 104
- Epirus, 69, 304n10
- Ethnic cleansing, 262, 280, 293
- Ethnic consciousness, interwar, 8–14
- “Ethnic key,” 187
- Ethnic minorities  
 in Bulgaria, 216, 252, 288–89  
 in Croatia, 261, 298  
 in the Czech Republic, 275  
 in Macedonia, 298–99  
 in Poland, 79–80, 266  
 in Romania, 280  
 in Slovakia, 275, 276, 281  
 in Yugoslavia, 179–80, 185, 186, 187–89,  
 279–80, 306n21
- Ethnonational hostility. *See* Interethnic  
 tensions
- Ethnonational “question,” Communism  
 and, 262–63
- Ethnonationalism, militant, 179–80. *See*  
*also* Nationalism
- European Economic Community/European  
 Union (EU), 265, 266, 277, 280,  
 281, 285, 311n25
- Extraordinary Party Congress  
 (Czechoslovakia), 172
- Farkas, Mihály, 137–38
- Fatherland Front coalition (Bulgaria), 66,  
 67–68, 113, 114–18, 212, 307n29

- Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), 241, 280, 281
- Ferenc Münnich Society (Hungary), 242
- FIDESZ. *See* Federation of Young Democrats
- Fierlinger, Zdeněk, 89, 93
- Filov, Bogdan, 305n16
- Finland, 80
- "Flying University," 312n2
- Forefathers' Eve* (Mickiewicz), 194
- France, 5, 17, 20, 43, 57, 58, 256
- Franco-Soviet Pact (May 2, 1935), 3
- Frank, Hans, 25
- Frederick the Great, 10
- Free Democrats. *See* Alliance of Free Democrats (Hungary)
- Free market, socialist transition to, 265, 301–2. *See also under specific countries*
- Freedom Union, 271
- Front of National Renaissance (Romania), 58
- FSN. *See* National Salvation Front
- Funar, Gheorghe, 282
- Gabčikovo-Nagymaros, 276
- Gdańsk agreement (Poland), 199–200
- "Gemeto." *See* Dimitrov, Georgi M.
- Generalgouvernement*, 25, 33
- Georgescu, Teohari, 138, 161, 309n8
- Geremek, Bronisław, 230, 231, 243
- German-Soviet Pact of 1939, 4, 24–26, 31, 66
- Germany, Nazi territorial arrangements and, 2–5. *See also* Hitler, Adolf
- Gerő, Ernő, 137–38, 157–58, 159, 160
- Gheorghiu-Dej, Georghe, 106, 107, 138, 161, 163, 165, 246, 309n8
- Gierek, Edward, 193, 196–98, 201
- Glasnost* (political openness), 211, 236, 241, 251
- Glatz (Kiadsko, Kłodzko) district, 125
- Goering, Hermann, 45
- Gomułka, Władysław, 134, 137, 138, 150, 151–53, 157, 191–97, 309n3, 310n15
- Göncz, Árpád, 278
- Gorbachev, Mikhail S., 208, 242
- attempted political reforms of, 227–28
- Bulgaria and, 250, 251, 253
- CMEA and, 220
- Czechoslovakia and, 208, 211, 236, 237
- Hungary and, 241
- new commitments of, 227–28
- Poland and, 203, 228, 229
- "Gorbachev factor," 229
- Gottwald, Klement, 91, 93, 94, 135–36, 168, 305n9, 310n12
- "Goulash socialism," 192, 205
- Great Britain
- Czechoslovakia and, 36
- 1944–48 political developments and, 112–13
- Poland and, 27
- Great Depression, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 19–20
- Great Powers, Hitler's expansion and, 4–5, 21, 31–32
- "Greater East European Co-Stagnation Sphere," 219
- Greece
- Albania and, 69–70, 175, 176
- civil war in, 129, 141
- Green International, 14, 19
- Grósz, Károly, 207, 218, 240, 241–43, 313n3
- Groza, Petru, 108–11, 116, 138, 307n24
- Hácha, Emil, 32, 33, 37, 48
- Halifax, Edward (lord), 27
- Harriman, W. Averell, 76, 77, 91
- Havel, Václav, 233, 238, 249, 271
- HDZ. *See* Croatian Democratic Community
- Hebrang, Andrija, 132
- "Hegelian revenge," 224
- Hegemony, Soviet, 218–20
- Helsinki Final Act of 1975, 209, 312n2
- Henry the Lion, 10
- Heydrich, Reinhard, 34
- Himmler, Heinrich, 25
- Hitler, Adolf, 7, 10, 24, 25, 28, 33, 38, 41, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 57, 58, 60, 62, 63, 65, 68, 303n2
- acquiescence of Czechoslovakia and, 31
- Antonescu and, 61
- Hungary and, 38
- spatial expansion and, 3–5
- Tsar Boris III and, 64
- Yugoslavia and, 42–47
- Holocaust Memorial Authority (Israel), 244
- Honecker, Erich, 208, 238, 247
- Horn, Gyula, 276, 280
- Horthy, Miklós, 40, 41, 96, 136, 279, 284
- reburial of, 279
- Hoxha, Enver, 72, 120–21, 174–80, 254, 256, 310n15, 310n18
- Hoxha, Nexhmije, 256
- Hungarian Communist party (Hungarian Workers party)
- Calvinists and, 102, 103
- coalition strategy and, 98–101
- postwar hesitancy of, 96–98, 103
- renaming of, 243
- workplace presence of, 243
- Hungarian Justice party, 279, 280
- Hungary
- bureaucracy in, 97, 100
- Communist assumption of power in, 96–103
- Czechoslovakia and, 34
- decentralization in, 205

- Hungary (*continued*)  
 diaspora and, 279  
 economic transition, 277–78, 281  
 economy of, 154, 155, 203, 204–6, 239–40  
 election referendum in, 243, 244  
 elections  
   of 1990 in, 277, 278, 280  
   of 1992 in, 280  
   of 1994 in, 280  
 end of Communist rule in, 239–45  
 etatist economic investment in, 100  
 irredentism of, 6, 38, 39  
 Kádár's reforms in, 204–6, 239–40  
 Khrushchev's foreign policy and, 155  
 legalization of strikes in, 243  
 after 1956 revolution, 203–7  
 1956 revolution in, 153, 157–60, 161, 241, 310n18  
 opposition parties in, 242  
 partitioning of Yugoslavia and, 48  
 political opposition in, 242–43  
 postwar free elections in, 98–99, 101–2  
 reparations and, 99, 306n16  
 Romania and, 59  
 "second economy" in, 239  
 Slovakia and, 276, 280–81  
 Soviet Union and, 154–55, 156–57, 67, 181–82, 183, 240, 243  
 after Stalin, 153–60  
 succession to Kádár in, 242  
 Titoist purges in, 136–38  
 worker backlash in, 240  
 World War II and, 38–42  
 Husák, Gustáv, 172, 207–11, 235–36, 238
- Ideological legitimacy, 217  
 Iliescu, Ion, 249, 250, 282, 284–85  
 Independence party (Hungary), 100  
 Independent Publishing Office (NOWa), 312n2  
 Independent Smallholders party (Hungary), 279. *See also* Smallholder party (Hungary)
- Industrialization  
 peasantry and, 13  
 Romania and, 162  
 Yugoslavia and, 128–29
- Intelligentsia  
 in Czechoslovakia, 171  
 emergence of political ruling class and, 13  
 Gomułka and, 192–93  
 in Hungary, 155–56, 157, 204, 206  
 in Poland, 233  
 political ruling class and, 16, 225  
 in Romania, 164–65
- Interethnic tensions  
 Czech-Slovak relations and, 9–10, 91–92, 239, 263, 273–74  
 Greek-Bulgarian relations and, 65  
 in interwar period, 6–10  
 in Macedonia, 298, 299  
 in Slovakia, 275–76, 281  
 in Transylvania, 280, 282  
 Turk-Bulgarian relations and, 252, 288  
 in Yugoslavia, 180–90, 258–63, 292–96, 300–301
- Internal-security (police) apparatus, 89, 90, 99, 150
- International Agrarian Bureau, 14  
 International Danube River Conference in Belgrade, 140
- Interstate relations  
 Czech-Slovak, 276–77  
 interparty relations and, 140, 141  
 non-Communist Europe and, 218–19
- Interwar period  
 Communist parties during, 15  
 etatist economic investment during, 18–20  
 ethnonational tensions during, 6–10, 12, 13  
 governmental forms during, 16–18  
 irredentist disputes during, 6–7  
 peasant question and, 10–14  
 Radical Right movements in, 13, 16–18  
 revisionist threats during, 1–3, 7  
 similarities of late-period Communism to, 223–26
- Ionesco, Eugène, 163  
 Iorga, Nicolae, 163  
 Iron Guard. *See* Radical Right, in Romania  
 Irredentism, 7–8, 50
- Italy  
 Albania and, 68–70  
 Communist party in, 91, 92, 94, 126  
 interwar East Central Europe and, 7  
 partitioning of Yugoslavia and, 48  
 World War II defeat of, 41  
 Jzetbegović, Alija, 295
- Jajce congress of 1943, 53, 71  
 Jakeš, Miloš, 211, 235–36, 238, 247  
 Jan Piller Investigative Commission, 308n7  
 Jaruzelski, Wojciech, 201–2, 203, 228–31, 233, 235, 242, 243, 312n4
- Jefferson, Thomas, 12
- Jews  
 Bulgaria and, 63  
 Czechoslovak purges and, 135, 136  
 Hungary and, 40, 41, 137–38, 278–79  
 Poland and, 25, 79, 266, 267, 305n4  
 Romania and, 61  
 Slovakia and, 34
- John XXIII (pope), 305n5  
 John Paul II (pope), 197, 237, 252  
 Judicial procedure, 95  
 "July Concept" of 1987, 252

- Kádár, János, 158–60, 191, 203–7, 208, 215, 221, 239, 240–42, 243, 250, 310n15, 312n6
- Kadare, Ismail, 256
- Kania, Stanisław, 201
- Karadžić, Radovan, 293, 295–96
- Kardelj, Edvard, 131, 149, 183
- Katyn forest massacre, 28, 37, 230, 234
- Keitel, Wilhelm, 31
- Khrushchev, Nikita S., 153, 154, 155, 156, 181, 204, 207, 213, 214, 221, 251
- Albanian Communists and, 174–77
- Czechoslovak Communists and, 167
- de-Stalinization and, 150, 204, 213, 214, 219
- Poland and, 194–95
- Soviet-Yugoslavia diplomatic relations and, 147–49, 181–82
- Kiszcak, Czesław, 230, 231
- Klaus, Václav, 272, 273, 274, 275
- Kłodzko. *See* Glatz district
- Kořakowski, Leszek, 193
- Kolarov, Vasil, 116, 138, 139, 212
- KOR (*Komitet Obrony Robotników*). *See* Committee for the Defense of Workers
- Korean War, 142–43
- Kościusko Division, 29, 87
- Kosovar Albanians, 179–80, 185, 187, 188–89, 255, 259, 300, 311n21
- Kosovo, 311n21
- demands for republican status for, 189
- economy of, 188
- eruption of conflict in 1998 in, 300
- rescission of constitutional autonomy for, 260
- sacred Serbian attachments to, 188, 260
- state of siege imposed on, 188
- Kostov, Traicho, 138–39, 141, 212, 213, 214, 309n9
- Kováč, Michal, 274
- Kovács, Béla, 99–100
- KPN. *See* Confederation for an independent Poland
- Krajišnik, Momčilo, 295
- Krzaklewski, Marian, 270
- KSS. *See* Committee for Social Self-Defense
- Kučan, Milan, 261, 296
- Kupi, Abaz, 70, 71, 120
- Kwaśniewski, Aleksander, 269, 270, 271
- Land reform. *See also* Agriculture
- in Bulgaria, 215
- in Hungary, 102
- peasantry and, 12–13
- in Romania, 109
- Landsbergis, Vytautas, 232
- Laušman, Bohumil, 93
- League of Communists (Yugoslavia), 143, 144, 260
- League of Nations, 59
- Legality Movement (Albania), 71
- Liberal party (Romania), 106, 108, 110, 111, 250
- Lilov, Aleksandër, 253
- "Little Stalin," 212, 213
- "Local underground" Communists
- in Bulgaria, 213
- in Hungary, 158
- in Poland, 85, 88. *See also* "Partisans" (Poland)
- in post-1950s leadership, 207
- in Romania, 307n25
- Titoist purges and, 132–33, 136–38
- "London" Poles, 28, 37, 80, 113, 235, 267
- Luca, Vasile, 106, 111, 138, 161, 309n8
- Lukanov, Andrei, 285, 286–87
- Lulchev, Kosta, 116–17
- Lustration, 272, 290, 291
- MacArthur, Douglas, 143
- Macedonia, 189, 306n21
- Albanian minority in, 189, 299, 311n21
- Bulgaria and, 63, 64–66, 67, 113, 216, 288, 299
- Greece and, 299
- Hitler's disposition of, 48
- independence of, 299
- national forces in, 258
- partisan control and, 54
- territorial disputes over, 6, 63, 125, 129
- Magyar party (Romania), 112
- Magyars, Titoist purge and, 137
- Malenkov, Georgi M., 154, 155, 213
- Malëshova, Sejfulla, 120–21
- Maniu, Iuliu, 111
- Manstein, Erich von, 31
- Mao Zedong, 51, 141, 153, 175, 181–82
- Maoist China
- Albania and, 175, 177–78
- Bulgaria and, 211–12
- Romania and, 162
- Yugoslavia and, 181–82
- "Marketing pluralism," 228
- Marshall Plan
- CMEA and, 162
- Czechoslovakia and, 92
- Hungary and, 100
- initial responses and, 125
- Poland and, 84
- Mass political participation in 1980s, 223
- "Mature" Communism, 223
- Mazowiecki, Tadeusz, 231, 232–34, 267, 270
- Mečiar, Vladimír, 273, 274, 276
- Meidani, Rexhap, 292
- Meksi, Alexandër, 289, 290, 291
- Methodius, Saint, 237



- Michael (king of Romania), 59, 62, 63, 106, 107-8, 110, 284
- Michnik, Adam, 203
- Mickiewicz, Adam, 194
- Mihajlović, Draža, 51, 53, 55, 70, 104, 116
- Mihalache, Ion, 111
- Mikhailov, Stovan, 252
- Mikołajczyk, Stanisław, 80-83, 84, 305n4, 305n8
- Mikoyan, Anastas I., 156, 157
- Military blocs, 148, 159-60. *See also* North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Warsaw Treaty Organization
- Military Council of National Salvation (Poland), 202
- Milošević, Slobodan, 260-61, 279, 293, 294, 299-300
- Mindszenty, József (cardinal), 86, 97, 102, 159, 306n18
- Mladenov, Petăr, 253
- Mladić, Ratko, 293
- Moczar, Mieczysław, 193, 194, 196, 311n1
- Modernization strategy, 224
- Molotov, Vyacheslav M., 21, 37, 148, 308n1
- Montenegro, 48, 50, 189, 260, 306n21  
Serbian intimidation of, 260
- Moscow Conference of 1945, 110, 111, 116
- Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), 273, 274, 276
- Movement for Rights and Freedom (DPS) (Bulgaria), 253, 286
- Movement for Romania, 282
- Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights (ROPCiO), 312n2
- Munich conference, 32-33
- "Muscovites"  
in Bulgaria, 213  
in Hungary, 150, 152, 306n19  
in Poland, 85, 88, 134, 150, 152, 193. *See also* Natolinites  
in Romania, 106, 107, 111, 112, 307n25  
Titoist purges and, 133, 136-38
- Mussolini, Benito, 38, 49, 52, 64, 68, 69  
fall of, 65, 71, 73
- Nagy, Ferenc, 99, 100, 115
- Nagy, Imre, 154-55, 156, 157-60, 181, 191, 193, 206, 214, 242, 243, 309n4
- Nano, Fatos, 290, 292
- National character, 225
- National Defense Committee (Poland), 203
- National Democratic Front (Romania), 107-8, 111
- National Front (Albania), 70-71
- National Front (Czechoslovakia), 90-91, 93, 305n7
- National Independence Front (Hungary), 42, 98, 100
- National Legionary State (Romania), 59-60
- National Liberation Movement (Albania), 71-72
- National Peasant party (Hungary), 98, 100
- National Peasant party/National Peasant-Christian Democratic party (Romania), 106, 107, 110, 111, 112, 250, 285
- National Populists (Romania), 111, 112
- National Salvation Front (FSN)/Democratic National Salvation Front (Romania), 248-50, 281-83
- National Socialist party (Czechoslovakia), 89, 91, 92, 93
- National Solidarity Movement (Czechoslovakia), 33
- National Unity party (Albania), 256
- Nationalism. *See also* Ethnonationalism  
in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 296  
in Bulgaria, 216  
in Communist regimes, 221  
in Croatia, 297  
in Hungary, 278, 279  
interstate relations and, 217  
planned economies and, 218  
in Poland, 197-98  
in Romania, 109, 165-66, 245-46, 282  
in Serbia, 293  
in Slovakia, 275-76  
in Yugoslavia, 55, 258-62
- Nationalization  
in Albania, 119  
in Bulgaria, 118  
in Czechoslovakia, 90, 95  
in Poland, 81, 86-88  
in Romania, 112
- Nation-states, interwar  
ethnonational tensions in, 8-10  
internal irredentist disputes among, 7-8  
legitimization of, 21, 24  
revisionist threats to, 1-5
- NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- Natolinites, 152, 153
- Nazi Germany. *See also* Hitler, Adolf  
Albania and, 71  
Czech acquiescence and, 31-33  
interwar economic aid from, 18  
partitioning of Poland and, 25  
popularity of, among lower classes, 38-39, 41  
Romania and, 57, 106  
Soviet assistance against, 3  
spatial expansion and, 2-3  
status of East Central Europe under, 24  
West and, 20
- Nedić, Milan, 48, 52-53
- NEM. *See* New Economic Mechanism
- New Class, The* (Djilas), 181
- New Course (Hungary), 154, 155, 156, 158, 166

- New Economic Mechanism (NEM), 205, 206, 215, 239–40, 241, 245
- Nixon, Richard, 311n25
- NKVD. *See* Soviet secret police
- Non-Party Bloc to Support Reform (Poland), 269
- Nonviolent strikes, 199, 228, 229, 238
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 87, 159, 181, 265, 266, 277, 280–81, 285, 288, 294, 295, 297
- Novotný, Antonín, 166–69, 211, 310n12, 310n15
- NOWa. *See* Independent Publishing Office
- Nuclear weapons, Soviet deployment of, 210
- Nyers, Rezső, 241, 243
- Ochab, Edward, 151–53, 157, 158
- Oder-Neisse Line, 25, 30, 125, 195, 267
- ODS. *See* Civic Democratic party
- Oleksy, Józef, 269
- Olszewski, Jan, 268
- Olszowski, Stefan, 228
- “Opposition urn,” 104, 119
- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), 292, 295
- Osóbka-Morawski, Edward, 83
- “Parallel culture,” 209
- Partisan resistance movement (Yugoslavia), 47–48, 49, 50, 51–56, 70, 71, 147
- “Partisans” (Poland), 193, 194
- Party of Labor (Albania), 180, 292
- Party of Romanian National Unity, 282
- Party of the Nation (Romania), 58
- Pătrășcanu, Lucrețiu, 106, 112, 138, 307n25, 309n8
- Patriotism. *See* Nationalism
- Pauker, Ana, 106, 107, 111, 138, 161, 309n8
- Paul (Yugoslav prince), 42–44, 46, 47
- Pawlak, Waldemar, 269
- Peasant party (Poland), 79–82, 83, 269. *See also* United Peasant party (Poland)
- Peasant plots (land), 215
- Peasantry, 109, 134, 225. *See also* Agriculture
- Communist parties and, 15
- destruction/transformation of, 225
- ideologues' claims about, 12
- in interwar period, 11–14
- political power and, 13–14
- ruling class and, 16
- Peasants' Self-Defense Organization (Poland), 312n2
- “People's democracy” concept, 77–78, 126–27
- People's Front (Yugoslavia), 104. *See also* Socialist Alliance of Working People (Yugoslavia)
- People's Patriotic Front (Hungary), 241
- Perestroika* (economic restructuring), 211, 236, 251, 252, 254
- Përmet congress of 1944, 71
- Peter II (king of Yugoslavia), 42, 44, 53, 54
- Petkov, Nikola, 115–18, 214, 308n31
- Philby, H. A. R. (Kim), 121
- Pious XII (pope), 85, 86, 305n5, 307n22
- Plavšić, Biljana, 295–96
- Plowmen's Front (Romania), 107, 108, 111, 112
- Po Prostu* (*Straight Talk*, Polish newspaper), 192
- Podkrepa* (Bulgaria), 252
- Poland
- civil war in, 30
- Communist assumption of power in, 78–88
- constitution of 1997, 270
- economic referendum, 229
- economic reform, 266, 267, 268, 270–71
- economy of, 195, 197–98, 200, 231–32, 266, 267, 269, 270
- elections
- of 1989 in, 230
- of 1990 in, 234
- of 1991 in, 268
- of 1993 in, 269
- of 1995 in, 269–70
- of 1997 in, 270–71
- end of Communist rule in, 228–35
- general amnesty of 1986 in, 229
- German-Soviet Pact of 1939 and, 25–26
- German territorial revisionism and, 3, 4
- government-in-exile of, 27, 29, 31, 235, 267
- impact of consumer-price increases in, 195–96, 197, 198, 199
- intelligentsia in, 233
- interethnic conflict in, 266
- interwar enmities of, 6–7
- interwar etatist policies in, 18–19
- “Little Constitution,” 268
- martial law proclaimed in, 202
- postwar government of, 80–84
- postwar referendum (June 30, 1946) in, 81–83
- Provisional Government of, 29, 30
- resistance movement in, 27, 29–30
- “round-table” talks in, 229, 230
- “self-organization” in, 199, 209
- social unrest in, 229
- Solidarity and, 199–200, 201–2, 208, 228–30, 231, 234, 267, 268, 269–70
- Soviet Union and, 78, 79–80, 87–88
- after Stalin, 150–53
- territorial shifts of, 31, 78, 79–80
- wartime Yugoslavia and, 55
- World War II and, 24–30
- Polish Committee of National Liberation, 29

- Polish Communist party (Polish Workers party)  
 apparatchik faction in, 228  
 appeaser faction in, 228  
 final congress of, 231  
 liabilities and assets of, 79–80  
 Polish armed forces and, 87–88  
 postwar struggle of, 80–88  
 Roman Catholic church and, 85–87, 197–98, 199  
 Solidarity and, 199–200, 201–2, 228–30  
 Stalinist hardliners in, 228  
 Titoist purges in, 133–34
- Polish Home Army, 55
- Polish League for Independence (PPN), 312n2
- Polish United Workers party (PZPR), 84, 87
- Polish Workers party. *See* Polish Communist party
- Polish-German Treaty (June 1991), 267
- Political change, Gorbachev's commitment to, 227–28
- Political elite, current vs. interwar, 224
- Political legitimacy, 221–22
- Political ruling  
 class emergence of, 13–14  
 interwar instability and, 16–18
- Pomaks, 288
- Pomeranian Corridor, 7
- Popiełuszko, Jerzy, 203, 228
- Popov, Dimităr, 286
- Population migration, postwar, 10
- Postwar coalition government, 122–23. *See also* Coalition government
- "Potemkin" exhibits, Czechoslovakia, 306n12
- Potsdam Conference, 30
- Poznań workers' insurrection (Poland), 151–52, 156
- Pozsgay, Imre, 241, 242, 243
- PPN. *See* Polish League for Independence
- Prague Spring, 169–73, 194, 209, 219, 236, 272, 308n7, 310n15
- Pravda*, 171
- "Privatization," 231
- Proletariat, peasant mistrust of, 13
- Public Against Violence (Slovakia), 238, 271, 272, 273
- Purges  
 in Albania, 178  
 in Bulgaria, 115–16, 119  
 in Czechoslovakia, 95–96, 97, 166–67  
 after first Cominform conference, 126  
 in Romania, 108, 112–13, 138  
 of Titoist Communist parties, 132–40
- PZPR. *See* Polish United Workers party
- Rădescu, Nicolae, 107, 108, 109
- Radić, Ante, 52
- Radić, Stjepan, 52
- Radical party (Bulgaria), 114, 118, 307n29
- Radical party (Hungary), 98, 100
- Radical Right  
 in Bulgaria, 68  
 in Hungary, 39, 40, 41  
 in interwar period, 13, 17–18  
 policy of Nazi Germany and, 17–18, 34  
 in Romania (Iron Guard), 56–57, 58, 59, 60, 307n24  
 in Yugoslavia, 49, 136–39
- Rajk, László, 136–39, 141, 154, 156
- Răkoasa, Vlădescu, 106
- Rákosi, Mátyás, 98, 99, 137, 151, 154–56, 204, 205, 213, 309n4
- Rakowski, Mieczysław, 228
- Ranković, Aleksandar, 175, 183, 185, 188
- Religious bodies, 101–3. *See also* Roman Catholic church
- Religious suppression, 102–3, 247
- Republican party (Albania), 256
- Republican party (Czechoslovakia, Czech Republic), 275
- Republika Srpska, 294–95, 296
- Resistance movement in Albania, 70–71  
 in Czechoslovakia, 35  
 in Poland, 25–26, 29–30  
 in Yugoslavia, 47–48
- Révai, József, 137–38
- Revisionism, 1–5, 7
- Rituals, participatory government, 224, 248
- RMP. *See* Young Poland Movement
- Rokossovsky, Konstantin K., 87–88, 133–34, 152, 309n3
- Roma (Gypsies), 10, 25, 216, 246, 275, 278, 288, 315n7
- Roman, Petre, 249, 282, 283, 288–89
- Roman Catholic church. *See also* Religious bodies  
 Czechoslovak Communist party and, 95–96, 237  
 Gierek's Poland and, 192, 196–98  
 Hungarian Communist party and, 101–3  
 Polish Communist party and, 85–87, 192, 199, 200  
 and Polish elections  
 of 1990 in, 234  
 of 1993 in, 263  
 of 1995 in, 270  
 of 1997 in, 270  
 postcommunist Poland and, 266, 269, 270
- Romania  
 alliance with Nazi Germany of, 59–61  
 Bessarabia and, 58, 61, 304n12  
 Bukovina and, 58, 61, 304n12  
 coal miner violence in, 251  
 Communist assumption of power in, 106–13

- desatellization, of, 160–61, 246–47  
economy of, 57–58, 61–62, 163, 164, 246  
elections  
  of 1992 in, 282–83  
  of 1996 in, 284–85  
forced-labor camps in, 161  
foreign trade of, 310n9  
“free” elections of 1990 in, 249–50  
Hitler and, 39  
interethnic conflict in, 282–83  
intraparty opposition in, 246  
media in, 250  
nationalism in, 165–66, 246–47  
political rebellion in, 247–48  
post-Carol diumvirate and, 59–60  
post-Stalinist decompression in, 160–62  
purges in, 107, 112, 138  
Roosevelt–Stalin rift and, 108  
societal opposition in, 245–46, 247–48  
Soviet Union and, 60–61, 62–63, 160–66,  
  245, 310n9  
“stolen” revolution in, 248–50  
transmutation of Communist rule in,  
  245–50  
World War II and, 41, 46, 56–63  
*România Mare*, newspaper and party, 282  
Romanian Communist party (Romanian  
  Workers party), 62–63, 106, 110,  
  165. *See also* National Democratic  
  Front  
Romanian Workers party. *See* Romanian  
  Communist party  
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 108  
ROPCiO. *See* Movement for the Defense of  
  Human and Civil Rights  
“Rotation of cadres,” 246  
“Round-table” discussions  
  in Bulgaria, 253  
  in Hungary, 243  
  in Poland, 229–30, 232, 243  
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 12  
*Rudé Právo* (Red right, Czechoslovak  
  newspaper), 133  
Rugova, Ibrahim, 300–01  
Russia, Bessarabia and, 304n12  
“Rustication,” 241  
Ruthenia, 6, 32, 33, 37, 39  
Sănătescu, Constantin, 106, 107  
Schools. *See* Education  
SDS. *See* Union of Democratic Forces  
“Second economy” in Hungary, 239  
Secret police. *See* Internal-security (police)  
  apparatus  
*Securitate*, 246, 247, 248, 283  
Sejm (Polish), 230, 231, 268  
Self-determination, 1–7, 26  
“Self-organization,” 199, 209, 230,  
  311–12n2  
Senate (Polish), 230  
Serbia, 48, 186–88, 306n21  
  Bosnian Serbs and, 293–94  
  irredentist claims of, 258–62  
  nationalism in, 258, 259–60  
  in rump Yugoslavia, 293, 298, 299–300  
Serbian Democratic party, 295–96  
“Shanghai radicals,” 177  
Shehu, Mehmet, 179  
“Shock therapy” free-market strategy, 232, 275  
*Sigurimi*, 255, 256, 290  
Silesia, 7  
Sima, Horia, 58, 59, 60, 62  
Simeon II (Bulgarian tsar), 117  
Simović, Dušan, 44–46  
Sino-Soviet rift, 174–75, 181–82  
SKS. *See* Student Solidarity Committees  
Sládek, Miroslav, 275  
Slánský, Rudolf, 135–36, 167, 308n7  
Slovak Communist party, 89, 91, 167–68  
Slovak Democrats, 90, 91, 93  
Slovak National Council, 35  
Slovakia, 38, 89, 91–92, 95, 274, 275–77,  
  305n6. *See also* Czechoslovakia  
  economic reform in, 277  
  independent, 274, 275–77  
  interethnic conflict in, 275–76  
  irredentist disputes over, 6  
  Nazi Germany and, 33, 34–35  
Slovenia, 48, 54, 259, 266, 298, 306n21  
  elections  
  of 1990 in, 261  
  of 1992 in, 296  
  of 1997 in, 296  
  independence movement in, 259, 260–61  
  independent, 296–97  
  Wars of Yugoslav Succession and, 293  
Smallholder party (Hungary), 98, 99, 101,  
  137, 159, 279, 281, 309n5. *See also*  
  Independent Smallholders party  
  (Hungary)  
Social Democratic party (Albania), 256, 291  
Social Democratic party (Bulgaria), 66,  
  110–12, 116, 118, 119. *See also*  
  Fatherland Front coalition  
Social Democratic party (Czechoslovakia),  
  89–90, 91, 93, 95  
Social Democratic party (Hungary), 97, 99,  
  100, 137, 159  
Social Democratic party (Poland), 231  
Social Democratic party (Romania), 106,  
  107, 110, 111. *See also* Democratic  
  Popular Front  
Socialist Alliance of Working People  
  (Yugoslavia), 143  
Socialist International, 84, 100  
Socialist party (Albania), 257, 290, 291, 292  
Socialist party (Hungary), 243, 244, 277,  
  280

- Socialist party (Poland), 81, 82, 83, 84–86, 134. *See also* Polish United Workers party
- Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), 261, 293, 300
- "Socialist pluralism," 242
- Society of Academic Courses (TKN), 312n2
- Solidarity (*Solidarność*), 199, 200, 201, 228–29, 230, 231, 233, 235, 249, 267, 268
- breakup of, 235
  - legalization of, 230
- Solidarity Election Action (AWS) (Poland), 270–71
- Southern Dobruja, 6, 59, 63, 114, 304n12
- Soviet army, commitment not to use, 227–28
- Soviet secret police (NKVD), 28, 230
- Soviet Union. *See* Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- Soviet–Yugoslav rift. *See* Tito–Stalin rift
- Soviet–Yugoslav Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression, 45
- Sovroms, 307n26
- Stalin, Josef V., 28, 31, 36, 37, 45, 47, 83, 85, 103, 105, 107, 108, 113, 212, 213, 214, 217, 218, 221, 256. *See also* Tito–Stalin rift
- casuistry of, 217
  - death of, 144, 150, 213, 305n9
  - Dimitrov and, 119, 312n12
  - German–Soviet Pact of 1939 and, 4
  - Hoxha and, 121
  - political fate of Poland and, 28–30
  - postwar ambivalence toward Hungary of, 96, 99, 103
  - postwar political order and, 128–29
  - power stance of, 76, 77
  - purges of Titoist Communist parties and, 132–40
  - Soviet hegemony and, 75–76, 217
  - Tito and, 55, 56, 127–32
- Stalinism, mature, 145–46, 149. *See also* De-Stalinization; Stalin, Josef V.
- Stamboliski, Aleksandër, 14
- State capitalism, 18–20, 82, 100
- Stephen (István), Saint, 101
- Stepinac, Alojzije (archbishop), 86, 104, 306–7n22, 311n25
- Stockholm Peace Appeal of June 1950, 86, 102
- Stoyanov, Petar, 287
- Štrougal, Lubomir, 236–37
- Student Solidarity Committees (SKS), 312n2
- Students' Union (Romania), 250
- Subjective guilt, 95
- Suchocka, Hanna, 268
- Sudeten perimeter, 7
- Suez crisis, 309n8
- Sulyok, Dezső, 99
- Sung, Kim Il, 180
- Svoboda, Ludvík, 169
- Tătărescu, Gheorghe, 110, 111, 307n24
- Teschen (Těšín, Cieszyn) district, 6, 125
- Thirty Years' War, 23
- Thrace, 7, 63, 64–65, 67, 113
- Tildy, Zoltán, 99, 101
- Tiso, Jozef, 92, 273, 284
- Tito, Josip Broz, 41, 47–49, 51, 52–54, 70, 71, 85, 103, 119, 120, 121, 124, 157, 163, 174, 180, 182–83, 205, 213, 214
- autonomy of, 127–28
  - death of, 187, 190
  - Hungarian Revolution and, 160
  - 1960s reforms and, 184–86, 187
  - popularity of, 104
  - Soviet reconciliation with, 147–49, 150
  - Stalin and, 53, 127–32
  - Stepinac and, 307n22
  - U.S. relations with, 308n1
- Tito–Stalin rift
- Albanian consequences of, 120–21
  - Communist party purges and, 132–40
  - Hungarian Communists and, 103
  - ideological responsibility for, 147–48
  - Yugoslav expulsion from Cominform and, 130–32
  - Yugoslav foreign policy and, 128, 306–7n22
- TKN. *See* Society of Academic Courses
- Tomášek, František (cardinal), 237
- Tomislav II (king of Croatia). *See* Aimone of Spoleto
- Totalitarianism, political challenges to, 218
- Trade unions
- in Poland, 152, 198. *See also* Solidarity in Romania, 107
- Transylvania
- Hungary and, 39, 41, 99, 107, 108, 304n12
  - Romania and, 59, 61, 107, 108, 109, 161–62, 304n12
  - territorial disputes over, 6, 125
- Treaty of Craiova, 59
- Treaty of Trianon, 278, 279
- Trieste, 125
- Tripartite Pact, 42–43, 44, 46, 47
- Tudjman, Franjo, 261, 293, 294, 297
- Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist party, 149, 151, 204, 213, 308n3
- Twenty-second Congress of the Soviet Communist party, 204, 214
- "Typewriter culture" ("parallel culture"), 209
- Ulbricht, Walter, 310n15
- UN. *See* United Nations
- Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), 253, 285–86, 287

- Union of Polish Patriots, 29
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)  
 basis of East Central European control  
 by, 219–20  
 legitimacy of Soviet system and, 75  
 as model for other states, 227  
 political reforms in, 220–21  
 revisionist aspirations of, 7  
 stability as priority for, 219  
 stake in East Central Europe of, 217–22
- Union of Volunteers for Enver Hoxha, 256
- United Nations (UN), 141, 142, 160, 294,  
 295, 299
- United Peasant party (Poland), 230, 231.  
*See also* Peasant party
- United States  
 Albania and, 176, 177  
 1944–48 political developments and,  
 112–13  
 postwar Bulgaria and, 116, 117, 118  
 Romania and, 10, 163  
 Yugoslavia and, 142–43
- Ustaša (Insurgent) movement (Croatia), 49,  
 50, 51, 52
- Vas, Zoltán, 306n19
- Vatra Românească, 282
- Velvet Revolution, 238–39
- Venizelos, Sophocles, 174
- Videnov, Zhan, 286
- Vilnius, *See* Wilno district
- Visegrád Triangle/Group, 265, 297
- Vojvodina, 306n21  
 rescission of constitutional autonomy for,  
 260, 279–80
- Völkerwanderung* of 1944–46, 10
- VONS. *See* Committee for the Defense of  
 the Unjustly Persecuted
- Voroshilov, Kliment Ye., 97, 99
- Vratsa region, 211
- Vyshinsky, Andrei Ya., 108, 116, 138
- Wałęsa, Lech, 199, 202, 229–35, 243, 267,  
 268, 269, 270
- Wallenberg, Raoul, 40
- Wars of Yugoslav Succession, 261, 261, 281,  
 292–96, 298, 300–301
- Warsaw, insurrection of 1944 in, 29–30,  
 87–88, 234
- Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO)  
 Albania and, 174, 175  
 Czechoslovakia and, 171, 173  
 dissolution of, 219, 267  
 Hungary and, 159  
 Romania and, 163–64  
 Yugoslavia and, 148
- Wehrmacht. *See* Nazi Germany; World  
 War II
- West. *See also specific countries*  
 Albania and, 176–77  
 fall of Mussolini and, 73  
 Poland's economy and, 197, 198  
 postwar Bulgaria and, 116  
 stability as priority for, 245  
 Yugoslavia and, 142–43, 180–81, 182,  
 311n25
- Western European countries  
 Romania and, 163  
 Social Democratic parties in, 143
- Wilno (Vilnius, Vilna) district, 6, 26  
 "Withering away of the state," 141–43, 147
- Wojtyła, Karol (cardinal). *See* John Paul II
- Workers, 194, 195–96, 197, 198, 235–36,  
 239–40
- Workers' councils, 159, 193
- Workers' Guard militia (Hungary), 243
- World War I, East Central Europe  
 immediately after, 1
- World War II  
 Albania and, 68–72  
 Bulgaria and, 63–68, 304n14  
 Czechoslovakia and, 30–37  
 Hungary and, 38–42  
 Poland and, 24–30  
 Romania and, 41, 46, 56–63  
 Yugoslavia and, 42–56
- WTO. *See* Warsaw Treaty Organization
- Wyszyński, Stefan (cardinal), 86, 102, 133,  
 152, 153, 199, 309n3
- Xoxe, Koçi, 72, 120
- Yad VaShem (Israel), 244
- Yalta Conference, 30, 108
- Young Poland Movement (RMP), 312n2
- Yugoslav Communist party. *See also* League  
 of Communists  
 Fifth Congress of, 140  
 postwar cohesion of, 128, 130–32  
 postwar Soviet influence and, 128, 129  
 Tito–Stalin rift and, 105, 127, 129–32
- Yugoslav People's Army, 260, 262, 293
- Yugoslavia, 38, 306n21  
 academic misappraisal of, 258–59  
 Albania and, 68, 70, 71–72, 119–20, 174,  
 175  
 Albanians in, 179–80, 185, 187, 188–90,  
 258, 259, 300–301  
 civil wars in, 44–45, 46, 262  
 Communist assumption of power in,  
 103–4  
 Communist endgame in, 258–63  
 Djilas crisis in, 142, 143–45  
 domestic politics of, 183, 258–63  
 economy of, 105–6, 128–29, 182, 183–86  
 ethnic "cleansing" in, 262  
 government-in-exile of, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55  
 Hitler and, 42–47  
 interethnic tension in, 180–90, 258–63,  
 292–96, 300–301

Yugoslavia, (*continued*)

- irredentist claims and, 6, 258, 293
- nationalism in, 55, 258–63
- 1950s liberalizations in, 141–42, 143
- 1950s to 1970s Soviet–Yugoslav relations, 180–83
- 1941 military coup in, 44–47
- Poland and, 53
- Provisional Government of, 53
- purges in, 140–45, 186
- reconciliation between Soviet Union and, 147–49
- resistance movements in, 47–48
- rotating presidency and, 260
- Serbian nationalism and, 259–60
- Serbo-Croatian frictions in, 9–10, 44–45, 51, 184, 187, 258–62
- after Stalin, 147–49
- after Tito, 187–90
- “Titoist” reforms in, 183

- Tito’s Communist goals and, 54–55
- Tito’s foreign policy and, 142–43
- Tripartite Pact and, 42–43, 45, 46, 47
- West and, 142–43, 181–82, 183, 311n25
- World War II and, 42–56
- Yugov, Anton, 213, 214

- Zajedno* (Serbia), 300
- Zápotocký, Antonín, 312n12
- Zhelev, Zhelyu, 253, 285, 286, 287
- Zhivkov, Lyudmila, 216, 251
- Zhivkov, Todor, 208, 213, 214–16, 247, 250–53
- Zhivkov, Vladimir 252
- Zog (king of Albania), 68–69, 70, 119
- Zorin, Valerian A., 94
- Zubak, Kresimir, 295
- Žujović, Sreten, 132
- Zveno group (Bulgaria), 66, 114, 116, 118