

Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	13
------------------------	----

PART ONE THE EARLY HISTORY OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

Chapter 1. What is East Central Europe?

Geographical and historical differentiae	17
Ethnic diversity and nationalism	22
Contemporary differentiae	25

Chapter 2. The age of dynastic states

Ancient peoples of the region	29
Early Slavonic States	31
Bulgaria	32
Other South Slavonic states	35
Great Moravia	37
Kingdom of Bohemia	38
Poland	41
Kievan Rus	48
The Kingdom of Hungary	51
Early Romanians	54
The Baltic peoples	56
Catching up with Western Europe	57

Chapter 3. From prosperity to foreign domination

'Refeudalization' of East Central Europe	59
The rise of Poland-Lithuania	61
Bohemia	70
Hungary	72
The Ottoman invasion of the Balkans	75
The decline and fall of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth	77

Chapter 4. The longest century

The decline of the Ottoman Empire	90
Serbia	91
Romania	94
Bulgaria	96
Albania	98
The rise of the Russian Empire	99
Russian Poland	102
Ukraine	105
Lithuanian renaissance	106
Latvians	108
Estonians	110
The German factor	111
Polish territories	112
The Balticum	113
The Habsburg monarchy	114
Hungary	116
Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia	120
Galicia	121
Transylvania	122
Other Habsburg Slavs	122
Other nationalities	123

Chapter 5. Societies and economies before 1914

General pattern	125
The Balticum	126
Polish territories	127
Bohemia and Moravia	131
The Kingdom of Hungary	133
Slovenia	136
The Balkans	137
Vicious circle of backwardness	143

PART TWO
THE REBIRTH AND FALL OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

Chapter 6. The first revolution: World War One

The road to war	147
Course of military operations	148
Emergence of the South Slavonic State	152
Albania	154
Bulgaria	155
Romania	156
Hungary	159
Czechoslovakia	161
Poland	163
Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania	166

Chapter 7. Interwar geopolitics

New geopolitical system in Europe	171
German revisionism	174
Soviet Communism	177
Communist parties in the Region	184
Status quo and revisionist countries	186
Conflicts between neighboring states	190
Big power game	191

Chapter 8. Economies and societies between World Wars

War losses	199
The general level of economic development	202
Bulgaria	204
Czechoslovakia	204
Hungary	205
Poland	206
Romania	208
Yugoslavia	209
The Baltic states	210
Economic prospects	210
Population dynamism	214
National minorities	216
Social structures	220

Chapter 9. Internal politics

General remarks	222
-----------------------	-----

Estonia	222
Latvia	225
Lithuania	227
Poland	232
Czechoslovakia	237
Hungary	240
Romania	245
Bulgaria	249
Yugoslavia	252
Albania	256
From democracy to the authoritarian rule	257

Chapter 10. World War Two in East Central Europe

The general course of war	259
Poland	261
The Baltic states	265
Czechoslovakia	267
Hungary	269
Romania	270
Bulgaria	272
Albania	273
Yugoslavia	273
Wartime German policies	276
The Holocaust	279
Soviet policies	281
The balance of losses	282

PART THREE

EAST CENTRAL EUROPE UNDER COMMUNISM AND AFTERWARDS

Chapter 11. The second revolution: Sovietization

Geopolitical remodelling	287
Three models of the Communist takeover	289
The incorporation model	291
Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania	291
Other Soviet acquisitions	292
Exported revolutions	292
Poland	292
Czechoslovakia	294
Hungary	297

Romania	298
Bulgaria	301
Native revolutions	302
Yugoslavia	302
Albania	303
People's democracies	304

Chapter 12. Under Communism

Hungary	306
Stalinism	306
The Hungarian revolution	308
'Gulash Socialism' under Kádár	310
Czechoslovakia	312
Stalinism	312
The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact intervention	315
'Normalization'	318
Poland	319
Stalinism	319
October 1956 and Gomułka's 'petty stabilization'	322
December 1970 and Gierek's wonder years of credit	325
'Solidarity' and the martial law	328
The Baltic republics	329
Yugoslavia	332
Native stalinization	332
Tito-Stalin split	334
Isolation	335
The Yugoslav model of Communism	335
Rapprochement with the Kremlin	336
Internal problems	337
Yugoslavia without Tito	338
Albania	339
Bulgaria	341
Romania	343

Chapter 13. Command economies

Economic systems	348
Soviet legacy	350
Foundations of the command economy	352
Ownership	352
Coordination	353
'Soft budget' constraint	359

Command economies in practice	361
The decline and fall of command economies	368
Failed reforms	370

Chapter 14. The third revolution: transformation

The end of the Cold War	374
<i>Perestroika</i>	375
On the eve of the breakthrough	376
The fall of nations	379
Poland	379
Developments in other countries	383
The fall of the Soviet empire and the unification of Germany	388
The Yugoslav cauldron	393
Political transformation in East Central Europe	396
Poland	396
Divided Czechoslovakia	403
Hungary	405
Romania	406
Bulgaria	408
Albania	409
The Baltic states	410
Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova	411
Post-Yugoslav states	413
Economic reforms	416

Chapter 15. Back in Europe

The postglacial landscape	420
The Economic growth	422
Demography	425
Behavioral patterns	428
The political change	434
Poland	434
Estonia	440
Latvia	442
Lithuania	443
The Czech Republic	445
Slovakia	447
Hungary	450
Romania	452
Bulgaria	455
Albania	457

Slovenia	459
Croatia	461
Serbia and Montenegro	462
Macedonia	466
Bosnia and Herzegovina	467
Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine	468
The road to NATO and to the European Union	472
The Euromaidan and its consequences	475
 CONCLUDING REMARKS	 479
BIBLIOGRAPHY	481
INDEX OF THE NAMES OF PERSONS	513
SUMMARY	527