

16 – The Cold War and European Recovery

Looking across Europe in 1945, one saw a civilization in ruins. Europeans suffered through one of the coldest winters on record in 1945-1946; Germans called this time their *Stunde Null* or zero hour. Destruction and devastation created a power vacuum in Europe, into which rushed the new contending superpowers of the United States and the Soviet Union. Due to fundamental economic and political differences and a cycle of action/reaction by each side, by 1947 the two superpowers were locked in a Cold War that divided Western from Eastern Europe. Competition between the superpowers decisively shaped the contrasting development of the two regions: the West toward economic recovery and integration and the East under Soviet domination and ultimately rebellion. In the final analysis, Europe rose like a phoenix from the ashes after 1945, but its recovery has been marked by fits and starts, successes and failures. By 1991, a new era opened with the collapse of communism and the Soviet Union itself, an opportunity for the continent to work toward a European identity that combined East and West.

Chapter 13 covers the following Key Concepts from the Course Description:

- **Key Concept 4.1:** Origins and nature of the Cold War, including impact on Western and Eastern Europe
- **Key Concept 4.1:** The movement toward economic and political integration, with continuing issues of nationalism
- **Key Concept 4.1:** Causes, course, and consequences of decolonization
- **Key Concept 4.2:** Postwar economic recovery in western Europe
- **Key Concept 4.2:** Soviet control of Eastern Europe

The Cold War, 1943-1991

Origins of the Conflict

The Grand Alliance between the Anglo-American powers and the Soviet Union had always been a marriage of convenience; it was a relationship based on a battle against a common enemy—the Nazis. Since the Bolshevik Revolution, relations between the new Soviet Union and the west had been strained: (1) the Allies sent assistance to the White Army during the Russian Civil War; (2) the United States did not recognize the Soviet Union until 1933; (3) the western democracies excluded the Soviet Union from interwar diplomacy while appeasing Hitler; and (4) Stalin and Hitler joined in dividing Poland to initiate the Second World War.

During World War II, the so-called Big Three (Stalin, Churchill, Roosevelt) met several times to forge common policies; these meetings also revealed strains in the alliance. In February 1945 at Yalta, just months from victory, the Big Three met to discuss the layout of postwar Europe. Soviet armies, stood within 40 miles of Berlin and dominated most of Eastern Europe. This reality determined much of the Anglo-American posture toward Stalin, though Roosevelt tended to see himself as the mediator between the more *Realpolitik*-oriented Churchill and Stalin. The parties agreed to the Declaration on Liberated Europe, which promised national self-determination and free elections in Eastern Europe. Stalin was especially concerned with controlling postwar Poland, which territorially was moved 300 miles west at the expense of Germany and to the benefit of the Soviet Union. As for Germany, the three leaders agreed it must

be disarmed and denazified, though they differed over Stalin's proposal for its complete dismemberment and the extraction of \$20 billion in reparations. Finally, the Big Three agreed to create the United Nations in hopes of resolving future security issues. Despite the agreements, it soon became clear that the Anglo-Americans and Soviets interpreted their decisions differently, particularly free elections. Later critics viewed Roosevelt's position as a sell-out of Eastern Europe in order to gain Soviet support for the continuing war against Japan. When the Allies next met at Potsdam in July 1945, the war in Europe had ended. In the interim, Roosevelt had died and his successor, Harry Truman (1884-1972), harbored suspicion of Stalin's intentions. Also, during the conference, Labour leader Clement Attlee was voted into office as prime minister, replacing Churchill. The Allies agreed to hold war crimes trials of the top Nazi leaders at Nuremberg, divide Germany into four occupation zones, and provide reparations for the rebuilding of the Soviet Union. However, disagreements between the United States and Soviet Union deepened over Poland and other Eastern European states. When the United States abruptly ended aid to the Soviet Union (but not Great Britain) in Spring 1945 and developed its monopoly on atomic weapons, Soviet suspicions of American intentions mounted. By 1947, a series of disagreements led to a fracturing of the wartime alliance and open if often restrained conflict between the former allies.

Nature of the Conflict

• SKILLSET

To focus your analysis in this section, consider the following two interpretive questions (INTR): 1) Did the Cold War arise due to fundamental differences between the superpowers or from miscommunication and miscalculation? AND 2) Which of the superpowers was more responsible for beginning and continuing the Cold War? Both topics are the source of historical discussion; take a position on both as practice for making and developing arguments (ARG and EVARG).

The Cold War played out as a complex, multipronged worldwide competition between the superpowers of the United States and Soviet Union.

Political: The United States and Soviet Union vied to spread their respective political influence throughout the world. Beginning in Europe, the Cold War soon spread to Asia, and eventually to the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa. In some cases, direct control was exercised, as with the Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe; in others, indirect economic control, as with U.S. policy in Latin America, proved sufficient to maintain bloc solidarity. The system of Liberal democracy and free markets became known as the First World, the Soviet system of planned economies and one-party rule as the Second World, and those nonaligned nations refusing to choose sides as the Third World, a term often used to signify less-developed nations. Both sides developed alliances to maintain collective security in their blocs. In response to the Berlin Crisis of 1948-1949, the United States entered into its first peacetime alliance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), later followed by CENTO in the Middle East and SEATO in Southeast Asia. When the West rearmed Germany in 1955, the Soviets responded with the Warsaw Pact to defend the Eastern bloc.

With its expressed goal of spreading world revolution, the Soviet Union created fear among the western capitalist and democratic nations. During the late 1940s and early 1950s, President Truman relied on the expertise of former diplomat and historian George Kennan (1904-2005) to develop the strategy of containment. Containment employed a variety of techniques-war, diplomacy, economic aid, intelligence, funding rebel groups to halt the spread of communism around the world. To support its new international presence, the U.S. Congress passed the National Security Act (1947), which created the National Security Council (NSC, also with a National Security Advisor), the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and reorganized the Department of Defense. Numerous novels and films have since reflected the cloak-and-dagger spy battles between the CIA and Soviet KGB to gain the upper hand.

Military: Nuclear weapons technology led to an arms race between the two superpowers. The Soviet Union exploded its first atomic weapon in 1949, and both nations developed the hydrogen bomb after 1952. Under the leadership of Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Union in 1957 launched its first satellite – *Sputnik* – bringing the arms race to outer space. Fearing a so-called missile gap, the United States hurriedly worked ‘to develop rocket technology, culminating with Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) capable of reaching the Soviet Union from silos in America or Europe. By the 1970s, both sides combined boasted about 25,000 long-range nuclear weapons. Moreover, each side developed nuclear submarines with the capacity to fire missiles from the depths of the ocean, forming a nuclear triad-on land, in the air, and under the sea.

An ironic consequence of the Nuclear Age was the doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD): neither side had an incentive to launch a first strike because it was sure to incur unacceptable casualties from the opponent’s missiles. Therefore, “missiles that kill people” kept the peace by precluding a nuclear strike, but “missiles that kill other missiles” (Anti-Ballistic Missiles-ABMs) threatened to upset the nuclear balance by providing an incentive to launch a first strike and were thus banned by the superpowers in a 1972 agreement. During the height of the Cold War, the Soviet Union may have spent as much as 25-30% of its gross domestic product on military expenditures, a massive commitment of resources for a modern society and a tremendous drain on its economy.

Economic: Perhaps never in history had one nation so dominated the world economy as did the United States at the end of the Second World War. Fully 80% of the world’s trade passed through American hands, and 50% of the world’s productive capacity was American. The United States thus stood in the unique position of helping to rebuild the world economy, which it wished to do by promoting free markets and access to American goods. To pursue this goal, the United States extended aid to Europe in the form of the Marshall Plan (1947), aid that the Soviet Union prohibited its Eastern European satellites from accepting, viewing the plan as a capitalist plot aimed at the Soviet sphere. In response, the Soviet Union organized the Eastern bloc around the rival Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), an effort to create a specialization of production among its satellites.

As the Cold War expanded, the United States often exploited the power of its multinational corporations to control the economies of underdeveloped nations, particularly in Latin America. For example, when a socialist government was elected to power in 1954 in Guatemala with the intention of nationalizing U.S. fruit

companies that dominated that nation's banana industry, the U.S. government engineered a CIA-backed coup deposing the government. Many such underdeveloped nations and former colonies sympathized with the Soviet critique of capitalism and adopted state planning to promote internal development and gain control of resources vis-à-vis the former colonial powers of the West. Both superpowers often extended aid in strategic regions with the goal of gaining allies.

Ideological: At its heart, the Cold War represented a battle over rival views of the world, a combat of antagonistic ideologies. Each side hoped to win hearts and minds with propaganda. In 1946, Winston Churchill fired the first salvo in the war with a speech in Fulton, Missouri, when he announced that an Iron Curtain had descended across the continent of Europe, dividing the free peoples of the West from the oppressed peoples of the East. The United States established the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe to broadcast messages from "free and prosperous citizens" across the Iron Curtain. Internally, the United States in the 1950s plunged into a Red Scare, or McCarthyism (named after Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy), aimed at real and imaginary communist enemies in the upper reaches of government and in Hollywood.

Though Soviet propaganda tended to be more heavy-handed, it also aimed to control public opinion within its bloc. In 1948 the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) was created to replace the old Comintern suspended during World War II. The notion that each side struggled for a cherished way of life—the future of civilization itself—added intensity to the Cold War not fully captured by traditional conceptions of geopolitical maneuvering.

Chronological Development of the Cold War

This section is designed to suggest the scope and duration of the Cold War. It is divided chronologically into phases, with brief explanations of the main areas of conflict. Consider it a supplement to the conceptual overview above.

• THEME MUSIC

The Cold War played out on a global scale, facilitated decolonization, and forced world conflicts into an artificial bipolar divide between capitalism vs. command economy, liberal democracy vs. communism. Europe's relationship to the rest of the world was redefined as it sat uneasily between the two superpowers (INT).

Beginnings, 1945-1953

The Cold War began with mutual suspicions related to the status of Germany, control of Eastern Europe, nuclear weapons, and eventually the spread of rivalry into Asia.

1945: Germany is divided into four zones of occupation—British, American, Soviet, and French. Additionally, the city of Berlin (entirely within the Soviet zone) is divided into four occupation zones. Germany and, more specifically, Berlin become the epicenter of the emerging Cold War.

The United States explodes atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, ending the Pacific War but also initiating the Nuclear Age.

Soviet troops occupy all of the nations of Eastern Europe except Albania and Yugoslavia. At first, coalition governments of socialist/communist parties rule along with democratic and/or free market parties.

1946: Winston Churchill delivers 'his Iron Curtain speech.

1947: The United States extends Marshall Plan aid to the nations of Europe to be funneled through the Office of European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) rather than to each nation individually.

Fearing the spread of communism in Greece and Turkey, President Truman offers financial assistance to any nation facing "insurgencies by armed minorities." Along with the Marshall Plan, this Truman Doctrine establishes the early outlines of a new interventionist approach by the United States in European affairs.

In most Eastern European nations, Western-backed parties are pushed out of power, while in Italy, elections vault the pro-U.S. Christian Democrats to leadership while limiting the influence of the usually strong Socialist and Communist parties.

1948: Concerned over economic conditions in Germany and Soviet reparations policies, the United States, Britain, and France merge their three occupied German zones and introduce a new *Deutschmark* currency. In response, the Soviet Union imposes the Berlin Blockade, cutting the western part of the city off from rail and auto traffic, threatening to starve it out. Rather than confront the Soviets directly, President Truman begins the Berlin Airlift, an almost year-long enterprise designed to supply the basic needs of West Berliners.

Non-communists are kicked out of the Czechoslovakian government in a coup. The leader of the non-communists, Jan Masaryk, is later found dead outside his window, either a suicide or murder.

1949: Stalin ends the Berlin Blockade, and the division of Germany becomes formal with the creation of West Germany and East Germany. Under American leadership, Western Europe forms a mutual defense system known as NATO to defend against future Soviet provocations.

Communists under Mao Zedong (1890-1976) gain control of the Chinese mainland, driving the Nationalists

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onto the island of Taiwan. In addition, the Soviet Union explodes its first atomic bomb. These two events spur the Red Scare in the United States.

1950: Communist North Korea invades the Western-backed government of South Korea. Taking advantage of the Soviet boycott of the Security Council, President Truman builds a UN coalition to combat the invasion and signify the American commitment to the policy of containment. The Korean War drags on for 3 years and involves fighting between the United States and China.

1953: Joseph Stalin's death opens a new era in Cold War diplomacy. The Korean War ends with the division into North Korea and South Korea at the 38th parallel.

Coexistence and Confrontation, 1953-1970

This period begins with an effort at peaceful coexistence, but rivalries reheat over Berlin, control of the vital Middle East, and Soviet intrusion into America's perceived sphere of influence in Latin America, which almost bring the superpowers to nuclear war in 1962.

1954: Vietnamese resistance fighters under Communist leader Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969) defeat French colonial forces at Dien Bien Phu, leading to Vietnam's division along the 17th parallel between communist North Vietnam and Western-backed South Vietnam.

The United States supports a coup against socialist Guatemalan leader Jacobo Arbenz Guzman to prevent the nationalization of land owned by U.S. fruit companies.

1955: NATO agrees to rearm West Germany, leading to the Soviet creation of the Warsaw Pact alliance in Eastern Europe. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles announces the American policy of massive retaliation, threatening an all-out nuclear attack in response to Communist aggression anywhere in the world. A summit in Geneva, Switzerland, between President Dwight Eisenhower (1890-1969) and Khrushchev leads to the evacuation of forces from Austria and its neutralization.

1956: Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev (1894-1971) gives a secret speech to the 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union condemning the excesses of the Stalin period and signals his goal of de-Stalinization. Khrushchev also suggests the possibility of peaceful coexistence between the capitalist West and communism.

Taking their cue from Khrushchev, the leadership of the Polish and Hungarian Communist Parties begins a liberalization of economic and intellectual life. The Hungarian revolt goes too far for Khrushchev and is crushed by Soviet forces.

1957: Soviet leaders announce the launching of the first satellite into outer space – *Sputnik*. The United States follows with the creation of the National Aeronautics and

Space Agency (NASA), indicating the beginning of the space race.

1959: Leftist forces under Fidel Castro (1926-2016) overthrow the U.S.-backed government of Cuba. Castro nationalizes the sugar industry, seizes American assets, and establishes strong ties with the Soviet Union.

1960: Soviet forces shoot down a U-2 spy plane over Russian territory, forcing the United States to recant previous statements denying such flights. The incident forces the cancellation of a planned superpower summit.

1961: A U.S.-backed invasion of Cuba by exiled Cubans ends disastrously with the capture of such forces at the Bay of Pigs. Another crisis over control of the city of Berlin leads to the erection of the Berlin Wall by East Berlin to prevent its citizens from escaping to the West.

1962: Soviet plans to install nuclear missiles in Cuba lead to a 2-week crisis, pushing the world to the brink of nuclear war. The Cuban Missile Crisis ends when President John F. Kennedy (1917-1963) assures Khrushchev that the United States will not invade Cuba in exchange for the removal of the missiles.

1963: The superpowers agree to the creation of a Hot Line establishing direct contact in times of crisis. In addition, the two sides, along with Great Britain, agree to the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, prohibiting the testing of nuclear weapons except underground.

1964: America's commitment to fighting in Vietnam, between the communist north and U.S.-backed south, deepens with the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, allowing President Lyndon Johnson (1908-1973) greater latitude to involve American forces.

1967: Israel attacks its Arab neighbors and seizes the West Bank, Sinai Peninsula, and Golan Heights. In this Six-Day War, the United States backs Israel while the Soviets support Arab forces.

1968: Soviet forces crush the Czechoslovakian reform movement, known as the Prague Spring, and announce the Brezhnev Doctrine, whereby a perceived threat to socialism in one nation is taken as a threat to socialism everywhere.

Détente, 1970-1978

A French term, *detente* means an easing of tensions. During the decade, the superpowers work to normalize relations between their two rival blocs and to accept the permanent existence of the rival side.

1970: The Treaty of Moscow between West Germany and the Soviet Union establishes diplomatic relations between the two nations and formalizes the split between East and West Germany. Soon after, both nations are admitted to the United Nations.

Use the examples in this section as evidence in pursuit of the Interpretative questions posed above. Only those in bold are required knowledge; however, the illustrative examples may serve as a fodder for your conclusions.

1972: Soviet and American negotiators agree to the first limitations on nuclear weapons, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I), which also recognizes the nuclear parity that exists between the superpowers. In addition, both sides agree to an Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty to reduce the potential for a first-strike launch.

President Richard Nixon (1913-1994) becomes the first U.S. president to visit the People's Republic (Communist) of China, which leads to formal diplomatic relations later in the decade.

1973: The United States removes its last major military units from fighting in Vietnam. In 1975, North Vietnam captures Saigon, the South Vietnamese capital, ending the war with Vietnam's unification under communism.

The Yom Kippur War between Israel and its Arab neighbors once again almost brings the two superpowers to blows.

1975: Signed by all nations of Europe, including the United States, Canada, and USSR, the Helsinki Accords bring a formal end to the Second World War by acknowledging existing national boundaries. In addition, human rights provisions open the door for dissent within the Soviet Union and in the Eastern European satellites. This represents the height of detente.

Revival and End, 1979-1991

The period of detente ends with a series of actions by both the United States and Soviet Union that increase Cold War tensions. However, Mikhail Gorbachev's accession to leadership of the Soviet Union helps bring an end to the Cold War by the late 1980s.

1979: To prop up a communist regime on its border, the Soviet Union invades Afghanistan, bogging it down in a Vietnam-style quagmire until 1988. In response, the U.S. Senate refuses to ratify the SALT II agreement to limit nuclear weapons, and President Jimmy Carter (1924-) limits grain shipments to the Soviet Union and boycotts the 1980 Olympics in Moscow. Further, the United States provides aid to Afghan freedom fighters known as the *mujahadeen*.

1983: President Ronald Reagan (1911-2004) denounces the Soviet Union as the "evil empire" and pledges to install intermediate range nuclear weapons in Europe. World concerns grow over the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the dangers of nuclear power.

A Korean commercial jet strays into Soviet airspace and is shot down by Soviet forces, killing all 269 people aboard.

1985: Mikhail Gorbachev (1931-) becomes the new Soviet leader and works toward an internal reform of the Soviet system that requires a reduction in Cold War tensions.

1987: After several inconclusive superpower summits, Reagan and Gorbachev agree to the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force (INF) Treaty, which eliminates an entire class of weapons on European soil.

1988: Gorbachev withdraws the final Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Reagan and Gorbachev sign the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), which reduces the number of long-range missiles on both sides.

1989: Communist governments in Eastern Europe collapse as Gorbachev refuses to employ Soviet troops to defeat the peoples' revolutions. The Fall of Communism results in the end of Germany's division (by 1990) and the movement toward democracy and free markets in the former Soviet satellites.

1991: After a failed coup by communist hardliners fails, the Soviet Union collapses into its member national republics. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev resigns with the official end of the USSR.

International Conflicts Since 1990

With the end of the Cold War, the existential threat of widespread nuclear war seemed to abate; however, because the bipolar nature of Cold War diplomacy tended to repress nationalist and religious conflicts in both Europe and globally, these have come back to the fore since the collapse of communism.

The first opportunity to test the post-Cold War diplomatic order was the Gulf War. In 1990, Iraqi forces under command of leader Saddam Hussein (1937-2006) invaded Kuwait, claiming it as a historic province of Iraq. Ironically, the United States lent support to Hussein during the brutal Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988), which followed Iran's Islamist revolution (against the U.S.-backed government of the Shah) and subsequent hostage crisis of U.S. embassy personnel. President George H.W. Bush (1924-) pledged that the aggressive action would not stand and secured an agreement from both the Soviet Union and China on the UN Security Council for a multinational force to liberate Kuwait. With minimal casualties, the U.S. Desert Storm Operation of 1991 defeated Iraqi forces in Kuwait but left Saddam Hussein in power.

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Following the Second World War, the United States became more deeply involved in the Middle East, driven by securing strategic oil supplies and supporting its Israeli ally. The presence of American military bases and troops in many undemocratic Middle Eastern nations, as well as U.S. support for Israel, inspired terrorist incidents beginning in the 1970s, such as the Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) killing of the Israeli Olympic team in 1972 in Munich and the hijacking of western airliners. Such terrorist incidents caused concern for the U.S. government but posed no direct threat to United States itself. The situation changed when al-Qaeda—a terrorist group supported by the radical Islamist Taliban regime in Afghanistan—crashed hijacked commercial jets into the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., on September 11, 2001, causing the deaths of 3,000 people. In response, President George W. Bush (1946-) pledged a war on terror. With broad international support, American forces successfully deposed the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, and eventually captured or killed many top leaders of al-Qaeda, including eventually Osama bin Laden. However, the Bush administration's subsequent War in Iraq (2003), based on the presumption of Saddam Hussein's possession of weapons of mass destruction, won only limited support among its European allies and caused a rift in the alliance. Though President Obama (1961-) moved to bring both wars to a close, the Middle East has continued to draw the attention of the Western alliance, whether through encouragement of the Arab Spring (2011) or combating the efforts of the Islamic State of Syria (ISIS) to establish an Islamist state in the region as well as launch terrorist attacks on European and American soil.

The Soviet Union: From Superpower to Collapse

Cold War Repression Under Stalin

Stalin continued his dictatorship in the Soviet Union during and especially after World War II. Rigid controls over economic, intellectual, and cultural life resulted in millions of persons being sent to forced labor camps (gulags) for deviations from the official line. During Stalin's final years, the KGB (secret police) increased in power; right before Stalin's death, official anti-Semitism led to fabricated charges against a group of Jewish doctors accused of poisoning Kremlin officials. Fortunately for the accused, Stalin died before a new round of executions and imprisonment could commence in the so-called doctor's plot.

Khrushchev's Abortive Reforms

After a short period of collective leadership in the USSR, **Nikita Khrushchev** emerged as the Secretary General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Khrushchev secured his leadership by distancing himself from his predecessor, initiating a campaign of **de-Stalinization** with a 1956 speech. Soviet intellectual life thawed, as writers were encouraged to publish the excesses of the Stalinist period. One example is Alexander Solzhenitsyn's grim depiction of the gulag system, *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (1962). Khrushchev dramatically stated his goal of surpassing the U.S. economy by 1980 with the phrase "We will bury you." Despite Soviet space successes like *Sputnik*, Khrushchev's decentralization of the economy and focus on consumer goods failed to come close to overtaking American productivity. More importantly, Khrushchev failed to fix the woeful productivity of Soviet collective farms; his so-called virgin lands project of opening Soviet Central Asian lands to cultivation did little to address the bureaucratic structure of Soviet agriculture. Khrushchev found his way blocked by party bureaucrats, known as *apparatchiki*, who feared the effect of his reforms on their power. Along with his provocative foreign policy failures over Cuba, Berlin, and the break with Communist China, Khrushchev's incomplete reforms led to his downfall in 1964.

Nuclear Parity and Domestic Drift: Brezhnev

Soviet life in the era of Leonid Brezhnev (1907-1982) reminds one of the Potemkin villages in the era of Catherine the Great (see Chapter 9)—a glittering façade of power to the outside world that hides the rot within. Party leaders specifically selected Brezhnev for his status quo credentials; his goal was "no experimentation," that is, to maintain the influence of the army, *apparatchiki*, and state-owned industrial enterprises. Brezhnev did preside over an important diplomatic achievement—nuclear parity with the United States by the 1972 SALT agreement. In addition, Soviet leaders could boast of a formidable space program, scientific community, and Olympic athletic success. With the Brezhnev Doctrine (see below), the Soviet Union stood poised to maintain a sphere of influence on its borders without American interference. However, these successes could not compensate for the staggering Soviet economy. Successive Five-Year Plans barely met established quotas and hid the fact that in an emerging computer age, the nation continued to focus on production of heavy industry—tractors, steel, construction equipment. Economic life drifted amid a lack of consumer goods and poor productivity. Many workers failed to show up for work (absenteeism), and alcoholism became rife. Important indicators of social health, such as infant

mortality, suicide, and life expectancy, experienced troubling reversals.

Gorbachev: *Perestroika* and *Glasnost*

Soviet leadership in the late 1970s and early 1980s resembled a geriatric ward. Following Brezhnev, two aged leaders maintained the status quo. When Mikhail Gorbachev was chosen General Secretary of the CPSU in 1985, he came as breath of fresh air to the Soviet Union. At 54, he was the youngest member of the Politburo. Gorbachev recognized the problems within both the Soviet economy and social life; he hoped to save the Soviet system by creating “socialism with a human face.” The centerpiece of the Gorbachev’s reform movement was *perestroika*, or restructuring, of the centrally planned Soviet economy. Gorbachev wanted to produce more consumer goods and to decentralize control of the inefficient state-owned enterprises. The new Soviet leader underestimated the entrenched power of Soviet bureaucrats and soon added another fundamental principle to his *reform* – *glasnost*, or openness. Soviet citizens were encouraged to discuss openly the failures of the past; an underground press, *samizdat*, came out into the open, as Gorbachev allowed Soviet Jews to emigrate and promoted religious freedom. Nuclear disaster at Chernobyl in 1986 actually strengthened Gorbachev’s hand by demonstrating the vital need for Soviet modernization and reform.

• SKILL SET

Mikhail Gorbachev represents one of the most significant figures of the latter part of your course. By the end of his political career, Gorbachev drew more respect from outside than inside the (former) Soviet Union. As away to consider the long- and short-term problems of the USSR, take a position on this question (ARG and EVARG): To what extent was Mikhail Gorbachev responsible for the collapse of the Soviet Union?

By 1988, Gorbachev found himself in an increasingly difficult position, pinched between hard-line defenders of the old system and advocates of free-market capitalism. Agriculture presents a good example of the Soviet leader’s dilemma. Gorbachev allowed small farmers to lease plots from the government collectives, but the state remained the sole owner of the land. As a result, commercial agriculture never developed, and productivity remained low. Politically, Gorbachev moved power from the party over to state institutions, as with the creation of a Congress of People’s Deputies, which then elected him president. Dramatic by any standard, these reforms nonetheless proved inadequate either to save the old system or create a new one. Ironically, as approval for these measures plummeted in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev’s reputation and celebrity in the West skyrocketed as the liberator of Eastern Europe and an ender of the Cold War.

Reformers and defenders of the old system both began to lose faith in Gorbachev. Many reformers turned to the newly elected maverick president of the Russian republic—Boris Yeltsin (1931-2007)—who had been expelled from

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the CPSU by Gorbachev in 1987. More importantly, *perestroika* and *glasnost* had inadvertently sparked independence movements by the many ethnic minorities within the Soviet empire, particularly among the Baltic republics. Gorbachev veered between threats of force and conciliation to prevent the break-up of the USSR. However, the Soviet leader worked out a union treaty with the 15 republics (except for the Baltic States and Georgia) for greater autonomy within the USSR to take effect in August 1991. Before the treaty could be implemented, communist hard-liners attempted to overthrow Gorbachev. The August 1991 coup failed miserably due to lack of planning, popular resistance, and the opposition of Yeltsin. Gorbachev returned to power, but not for long; Yeltsin outlawed the Communist Party in Russia, and the Soviet Union was voted out of existence by the federation council of the various republics. The entity that had coincided with and helped define the turbulent 20th century no longer existed.

Russia Since 1991

Russia's history since 1991 has been a troubled one. Following the collapse of the USSR in 1991, 12 republics agreed to form the loose Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Like Gorbachev, Yeltsin veered back and forth with reforms. Pushing for a strong presidential republic, Yeltsin in the spring of 1993 dissolved the legislature and called for new elections. Hard-liners in the legislature refused to leave the building, leading to a violent clash that left 100 dead. Though Yeltsin won the battle and his new constitution took effect, public support for reform flagged, as shown by the return of Communists and Soviet nationalists to the new Duma. In addition, Yeltsin from 1994 to 1996 bogged the now-decrepit Russian army down in an ethnic conflict with separatist Chechnya, a small Islamic enclave. The conflict involved atrocities on both sides, but Russia was able to restore nominal control of the breakaway republic.

Before his resignation in 1999, Yeltsin sponsored the rise of his handpicked successor as president, Vladimir Putin (1952-). Putin has worked to advance Russia's independent position in world affairs, promote economic development, and centralize state authority. Putin's presidency has been marked by an increase in state control of the media and repression of internal opponents of his regime. However, Putin retains high approval ratings internally for restoring Russian power, as with his annexation of Crimea (from Ukraine) in 2014, hosting the Sochi Olympics (also in 2014), and defying U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East and elsewhere. These tensions have led some to characterize Putin's presidency as fomenting a new cold war between Russia and the western alliance.

Eastern Europe: In the Soviet Shadow

Stalinization

After suffering two invasions by Germany in 30 years and in keeping with its perennial expansion, Russia under Stalin was determined to create a buffer zone to its west. Disagreements over the fate of Eastern Europe helped precipitate the Cold War between the superpowers. By 1948, all but Albania and Yugoslavia lay firmly within the Soviet sphere of influence. To combat the Marshall Plan, the Soviet Union developed its own framework for integration in the East known as COMECON. Communism and socialism in Eastern Europe found wide appeal after the war anyway, but Stalin wanted to assure himself of pro-Soviet communist regimes on his western border and so forced purge trials of any independent-minded homegrown leftists. Therefore, the Soviet Union imposed Stalinist regimes on the Eastern European satellites, a trend that involved the following to greater or lesser degrees:

One-party police states – Once the Cold War broke open, all political parties but the Communist Party and its direct allies were banned. Eastern European states closely controlled speech, culture, and religious expression.

Planned economies – The Soviet model of centralized control via party bureaucrats “as exported to Eastern Europe. Moreover, the USSR assigned specific economic roles to the various nations, with, for example, East Germany focusing on heavy industry, Romania on oil production, and Bulgaria on agricultural products.

Collectivization of agriculture – During the interwar period, most Eastern European states redistributed land to peasants in smaller plots. The Soviet Union now reversed this trend by requiring its satellites to collectivize agriculture and establish communal farms; in the more western-oriented nations such as Poland and Hungary, this process did not include all farmland.

These policies fomented discontent among key segments of the populations of Eastern Europe—small farmers, the middle class, nationalists, and intellectuals. However, the ever-present fear of Stalinist repression kept a tight seal on such discontent.

De-Stalinization, Revolt, and the Brezhnev Doctrine

Stalin's death in 1953 prompted revolts and hopes for change. East Berliners toppled statues of Stalin, but their revolt was quickly suppressed. A more momentous push for change came with Khrushchev's official policy of de-

Stalinization in 1956. Several Eastern European states took the Soviet policy as their cue to liberalize their own economic and political systems.

Communist leaders in Poland and Hungary wished to establish a system more in keeping with national traditions. Polish party officials turned to reformer Wladyslaw Gomulka (1905-1982), who halted collectivization of agriculture, relaxed control over the economy, and improved relations with Poland's strong Catholic Church. Soviet leaders warned the Polish leaders that their reform had gone too far, but Gomulka stayed in power by promising allegiance to the Warsaw Pact and because the Soviets faced a bigger issue in Hungary.

Events in Poland sparked protests in Hungary. The Communist Party replaced hard-line leaders with the former Prime Minister Imre Nagy (1896-1958), who had previously been expelled from the party for "deviation." Nagy freed political prisoners and worked toward liberalizing Hungary's political and economic system. When Nagy announced Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and called on the world to recognize his nation's neutrality, the Soviets forced the Hungarian Communist Party to depose Nagy and appoint Janos Kadar (1912-1989) as the new leader. Soviet tanks now rolled in and crushed the uprising, at the cost of about 100,000 lives. Over 200,000 Hungarians fled the country, and Nagy himself was captured and hanged. The message was clear: reform must not threaten the Soviet sphere of influence.

Despite the failed promise of de-Stalinization and the imposition of even harsher Soviet controls after 1956, many Eastern European satellites continued to desire greater autonomy. As part of a worldwide youth protest movement, Czechoslovakia attempted to liberalize its communist system during the Prague Spring of 1968. Reformers within the Communist Party replaced its Stalinist leaders with the Slovak reformer Alexander Dubcek (1921-1992). Dubcek encouraged a new spirit of openness and promised the relaxing of political controls, all in an effort to create a humane socialism. Though Dubcek reassured Soviet leaders of his nation's commitment to the Warsaw Pact, he ultimately could not control the euphoria of the movement in Czechoslovakia and the concern of the surrounding Warsaw Pact leaders, who feared the spread of reform to their own nations. In August 1968, Soviet troops ended the reform and declared in the Brezhnev Doctrine that deviations from the socialist line would not be tolerated. As with Hungary, the United States tacitly accepted the Soviet action.

The Fall of Communism, 1989-1990

The collapse of communism during 1989-1990 represents one of the most momentous and surprising events of the 20th century. Reasons for the collapse divide into 1) propellant forces *toward* change and 2) the *lack* of restraining forces *against* it. By the 1980s, the economies of the Eastern European states were losing ground to the more technological Western Europe. Also, high oil prices and inefficient state-owned enterprises had created huge government debts. Politically, the desire for national autonomy, religious freedom, and political rights lingered under the surface of passive obedience. Given these conditions, the presence of the Soviet army *and* the satellites' agreement to maintain their borders (to prevent refugees from escaping) acted as the only checks on a revolutionary situation. When these props were removed by Gorbachev and some members of the Warsaw Pact, the Berlin Wall came tumbling down.

With this general context in mind, we survey developments in the major Eastern European nations leading to the collapse of Communism:

Poland: Gomulka began as a reformer, but price increases by the government in 1970 caused his ouster. The replacement, Edward Gierek, embarked on economic reforms, but borrowing from the West forced upon the nation an austerity program. Once again, price increases in 1980 led to discontent and strikes by workers. Uniquely in a Communist nation, workers founded an *independent* labor union called Solidarity, led by the militant shipyard worker Lech Walesa (1943-), which soon claimed a membership of 10 million workers. Emboldened by the Catholic Church and a newly elected Polish pope, John Paul II (r.1978-2005), workers demonstrated for free elections and a share in government. Fearing Soviet intervention, the new Communist leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski (1923-2014) declared martial law in 1981. Walesa was arrested and Solidarity driven underground. When Gorbachev embarked on his *perestroika* reforms, pressure grew on the satellites to liberalize. By 1989, Solidarity had convinced the government to allow free elections, which resulted in a universal repudiation of Communist rule, as Solidarity won all but one seat in the legislature. The following year, Nobel Peace Prize winner Walesa was elected president in a stunning reversal of fortunes.

Hungary: Following the Soviet crushing of the Hungarian revolt, Janos Kadar maintained strong political control while allowing a more decentralized economy. By the 1980s, like the other satellites, Hungary experienced economic stagnation and rising debt. Communist party leaders quietly pushed Kadar out of power in 1988 and soon opened the door to a more social democratic economy

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and multiparty elections. In an act of reconciliation with its past, Hungary rehabilitated Nagy and the other leaders of the revolt and provided a burial with honors for those who had been killed. More important for future events, Hungary removed the barbed wire “iron curtain” around its borders, triggering a flood of refugees from nearby East Germany.

• SKILL SET

Since Europe was officially divided into East and West during the Cold War, the question of comparisons naturally arises. As you read through the material on each bloc, make a diagram in which you note differences AND similarities (for LEQs, you'll usually need to address both). In areas like economic, political, social, and intellectual life: Can you devise a focused thesis for this question?

East Germany: Since 1961, the aged and increasingly out-of-touch Erich Honecker (1912-1994) strictly ruled East Germany with the aid of the state police, the Stasi. East Germany possessed the strongest economy in Eastern Europe; however, East Germany's leaders always felt insecure in the presence of their larger and more dynamic sister (West Germany), an insecurity that accounts for the Berlin Wall. When Hungary opened its borders, the action prompted a flood of East German refugees fleeing west. When Gorbachev visited East Germany in 1989 to celebrate its 40th anniversary, he inadvertently sparked mass demonstrations calling for reform and open travel. Though Honecker contemplated military repression using the Stasi, the Communist Politburo removed him and opened travel through the Berlin Wall. Soon after, a euphoric populace destroyed the hated symbol, and the Communists were kicked out of power. Momentum became unstoppable toward the unification of Germany. With the approval of the four WWII Allied powers, including the Soviet Union, Germany was reunified in October 1990.

Czechoslovakia: Events in Eastern Europe began to resemble the proverbial snowball rolling downhill. Inspired by the revolts in Poland, Hungary, and East Germany, mass demonstrations broke out in the fall of 1989 in the capital city of Prague. A group of intellectuals, Charter '77, led by the jailed playwright Vaclav Havel (1912-2011), became a rallying point against the Stalinist regime. By this point, Communist leaders had lost both their nerve and remaining moral authority; within weeks, the Communist monopoly on power evaporated to be replaced by free elections, a free press, and emergence of Havel as the president of Czechoslovakia. Observers dubbed the nonviolent change the Velvet Revolution. Because of its democratic past, the nation moved quickly toward a multiparty political system and a free-market economy. In the aftermath, Slovakia pressed for independence, accomplished through the so-called Velvet

Divorce that created the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993.

Romania: Since 1965, the iron-fisted Nicolae Ceausescu (1918-1989) had ruled Romania. Ceausescu justified his regime by striking an independent pose in foreign policy—opposing the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and building friendly ties with Western nations. Through rigid one-person rule, Ceausescu wished to force Romania into the modern industrial age; however? Ceausescu compromised the nation's standard of living to pay off foreign debt and support his family's extravagant lifestyle. Ceausescu brutally crushed any opposition with his Securitate police. Encouraged by the revolts across Eastern Europe, protests erupted in the city of Timisoara, which the Securitate smashed, at the cost of hundreds of lives. Violent street battles broke out among the regular army, which now supported the revolutionaries, and the Securitate. Ceausescu's forces collapsed and the dictator, along with his wife, were captured and executed on Christmas Day 1989. The National Salvation Front reform movement emerged to oversee the nation's difficult transition to democracy and capitalism.

Following the Velvet Revolution, new president Havel proclaimed, “Czechoslovakia is reentering Europe.” In that spirit, many of the former Soviet satellites have rejoined the West by entering NATO and the European Union (EU); for some nations, such as Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania, the evolution toward parliamentary democracy and free markets has proven more painful but continues today.

Yugoslavia: The Balkans Again

The most violent break from communism occurred in multiethnic Yugoslavia. A diverse collection of Slavic ethnic groups, Yugoslavia was always an artificial state. Though Croats and Serbs speak the same language, the former historically were tied more to the West religiously (Catholicism) and politically, whereas the latter were oriented more toward Russia and Orthodox Christianity. The Nazi invasion of 1941 led to the creation of a Croat fascist movement, the Ustashe, which committed atrocities against Serbs. Communist resistance leader Marshal Tito liberated his nation from the Nazis while also resisting Soviet domination. To maintain control of Yugoslavia, Tito experimented with a decentralized though socialist economic system and a federation of ethnic states, kept tightly together by the authority of the Communist Party.

Following Tito's death in 1980, ethnic tensions reemerged and burst into the open with the events of 1989-1991. The Western-oriented republics—Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia—voted in 1991 for independence. However, significant minorities of Serbs lived in each of these regions, prompting a series of violent wars between

1991 and 1999. Led by the nationalist Slobodan Milosevic (1941-2006), Yugoslavia (now simply Serbia and Montenegro) attacked Bosnia to recapture Serb territory; in the process, Serbian troops used ethnic cleansing campaigns against Bosnian Muslims involving mass killing, rape, and the destruction of homes. Croatian armies responded with their own atrocities against Serb civilians. Europe stood appalled and impotent at the sight of ethnic conflict thought to be a relic of the WWII era. Finally in 1995, NATO and the United States, engineered a cease-fire and with the Dayton Peace Accord, the parties agreed to the partition of Bosnia, enforced by UN peacekeepers. Now Milosevic turned to the historically important province of Kosovo, populated primarily by ethnic Albanians known as Kosovars. To halt another ethnic cleansing campaign, President Bill Clinton (1946-) led a NATO bombing operation that once again ended the killing and the placement of peacekeepers. By 2001, Milosevic had been voted out of office and placed on trial at The Hague, Netherlands, for crimes against humanity; however, he died in 2006 before his trial was completed.

Western Europe: Pulling Back and Together

In 1945 Western Europe lay in ruins. By the mid-1950s, however, it had experienced a remarkable recovery. How? First, the nations of Western Europe pulled back from their imperial commitments, either surrendering or losing their colonies, thus freeing themselves from the expense of defending empires. Second, the two world wars threw an icy bucket of water in the face of extreme nationalism. After 1945, the peoples of Western Europe, prompted by the United States, worked toward economic and political unity. The Atlantic alliance (NATO) provided collective security while economic unity produced a stunning turnaround.

Recovery and Reconstruction

Following the Second World War, Western Europe faced immense devastation. Important industrial areas had been bombed to oblivion, infrastructure lay in ruins, and regular economic structures such as currencies and trade had collapsed. Complicating recovery was the issue of displaced persons (DPs) – the 30-50 million refugees seeking relatives and shelter, and the ethnic minorities (mostly Germans) forcibly removed in the redrawing of postwar boundaries. What's more, harsh winters and poor harvests from 1945 to 1947 increased fears of the spread of communism.

With its dominant economy and readiness to enter decisively into European affairs, the United States offered Marshall Plan aid (totaling \$12 billion) to the nations of

Europe. American leaders insisted that such aid be funneled through the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) to promote unity—both for efficiency's sake and to create bloc solidarity as the Cold War heated up.⁶

• THEME MUSIC

Western Europe's unexpectedly rapid recovery from the destruction of World War II was termed an "economic miracle." Though this economic engine provided new forms of prosperity, it also raised continuing issues of Inequality and, for the first time, the potential for environmental devastation (PP).

Learning lessons from the post-WWI settlement, industrial nations began creating international economic institutions even before the Second World War ended. The Allied nations in 1944 adopted the Bretton Woods system, which included an International Monetary Fund (IMF) for currency stabilization. Currencies were to be backed by gold and exchange rates fixed to ensure stability. Based on the strength of the U.S. economy, the dollar evolved into an unofficial reserve currency, at least until 1971, when President Nixon was forced to abandon the gold standard due to inflation, returning the industrial world to a system of floating currencies. In addition, the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) provided loans for the modernization of infrastructure (e.g., dams, roads, and sewers). To avoid the economic nationalism of the interwar period, Western nations embraced free trade. The informal General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) worked toward the reduction and elimination of trade barriers and eventually gave way to the more formal World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1997. In all, these institutions performed admirably in regulating the world economy and promoting growth, though they came under increasing criticism from opponents of economic globalization in the 1990s.

Western European governments accepted the need for state management of a capitalist economy. Keynesian economics emerged as the reigning theory; states employed tax and budget policies to promote growth and cushion recessions. In Britain, the new Labour government signaled its commitment to full employment and the social welfare state by following the recommendations of the wartime Beveridge Report (1942). Some European states nationalized key industries, such as utilities and transport, to ensure the public welfare; but these new mixed economies (free markets *and* government regulation) did not approach the rigid controls of Soviet-style planned economies. European growth continued throughout the 1960s but stalled with the oil shock of the 1970s and 1980s. Stagflation (inflation *and* unemployment) forced a reappraisal of Keynesian theory and a move to reduce the

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welfare state and government regulation in favor of supply-side economics.

Decolonization

World War I shook Europe's control of its colonies, and World War II severed it. By 1945, most European nations no longer possessed the means or the inclination to continue as colonial powers. Also, the senior member of the Western alliance, the United States, generally opposed Europe's continued domination of colonial empires. Nonetheless, the road to independence proved rough in many cases both for the mother country and the colony. On the AP exam, if you encounter this topic, it is likely to be couched in a comparative framework. What follows are three approaches to decolonization.

Great Britain: The new Labour government lacked enthusiasm for the British Empire. After the First World War, Britain ruled several areas of the world under mandates, a system of tutelage (protection and guidance) leading to independence. After World War II, Britain adopted a strategy of "partition and depart" for its colonies and mandates, encouraging the contending groups to sort out the political settlement. In the case of Palestine, a proposed partition in 1947 led to the founding of the state of Israel in 1948 and the first of several wars between Palestinians and Israelis. Both Hindus and Muslims had for decades urged Britain to leave India, led by Gandhi's campaign of nonviolent resistance (Indian National Congress). Britain's partition of the subcontinent in 1947 left Muslim East and West Pakistan divided between India; this geographic anomaly, along with dispute over the border region of Kashmir, has fed a succession of conflicts between Muslim Pakistan and mainly Hindu India, both now nuclear powers.

In Africa, the push for independence accelerated after 1960 and is demonstrated by the increase in UN membership from the 51 original members to around 195 today. Britain faced its most difficult situation on the continent in Egypt. After overthrowing the British-backed government in 1952, Egyptian leader Gamal Abdul-Nasser (1918-1970) announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal, sparking an invasion by British, French, and Israeli forces. The Suez Crisis of 1956 ended when the United States and Soviet Union denounced the invasion and forced its withdrawal. This defeat is usually taken to signify the end of Britain's status as a world power. Britain's retreat from direct colonial control continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s in Asia as well, though many former colonies retained political and economic contacts with Britain through the commonwealth system.

Low Countries: During the Second World War, Japan "liberated" many Asian colonies of the European powers, including the Dutch East Indies. Even before the war, an

Indonesian Nationalist Party under Sukarno (1901-1970) agitated for autonomy. After the expulsion of Japan in 1945, the movement actively sought independence. Attempts to subdue the revolt failed, and the Netherlands withdrew from the archipelago and refocused on European issues. After 1949, Indonesia faced a number of difficult transitional issues, such as a communist threat, government corruption, and political violence over East Timor (a Christian enclave among a Muslim majority). However, Indonesia has haltingly moved toward democracy and become a major economic and political power in Asia.

Belgium planned to grant independence to its African colony, Congo, over a 30-year period following World War II. Faced with increasing pressures, Belgium changed its position and pulled out in 1960. Chaos ensued, due to separatist movements, rival political factions, and army mutinies. With UN support, Belgian forces returned in 1961 to restore order, but a leftist rebellion continued. Eventually, the Congo was ruled as a brutal and corrupt dictatorship by Mobutu Sese Seko. Because of Congo's vast but untapped resources, its political problems spilled over into neighboring Burundi and Rwanda. The latter nation descended into ethnic violence in 1994 between rival tribes (Hutus and Tutsis); after several of its peacekeepers were killed, Belgium pulled out of the country as a genocide took almost 1 million lives.

France: To reestablish prestige after its poor showing in the Second World War, France was determined to hold onto its colonial empire. It soon faced a nationalist and communist insurgency in Indochina with the Viet Minh, led by Ho Chi Minh. The conflict represents an appropriate example of how communism and anticolonialism often became fused in the context of the Cold War. As noted above, the French were forced to withdraw in 1954, only to have the United States take up the battle in its own war in Vietnam. France's more agonizing war occurred in Algeria. Unlike Indochina, much of the Algerian population were French settlers (*colons*), and the postwar French government resolved to defend their interests. A militant and nationalist group, the National Liberation Front (FLN), waged an almost 8-year war against the French, with atrocities on both sides. The war produced a crisis for the French government, eventually bringing down the Fourth French Republic and leading to the reemergence of Charles de Gaulle. President De Gaulle ended the war in 1962, despite opposition from the army, and granted Algerian independence.

As these examples demonstrate, European nations came to realize the inevitability of independence at different times and with varying approaches, some of which proved

violent. Before refocusing on Europe, you should keep in mind that Europe’s involvement with its former colonies did not end with independence-issues of terrorism, peacekeeping, guest workers, and colonial dependence continued.

• THEME MUSIC AND SKILL SET
 Decolonization fittingly culminates the theme of Europe’s interaction with the world (INT), Including the, indirect effects of immigration and terrorism. Consider what impact decolonization has had both upon Europe and the world (CAUS).

Western European Unity and Economic Integration

Putting aside the narrow nationalism that had brought them low, Western and Central Europeans moved incrementally in the postwar period toward economic and political integration. Key to this unity was the partnership between France and West Germany. In 1952, two practical men of business and politics, both from Alsace-Lorraine-Jean Monnet (1888-1979) and Robert Schuman (1886-1963)-proposed the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), involving Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg (Benelux nations), France, Italy, and Germany. These nations (Inner Six) eliminated tariff barriers and placed coal and steel production under a High Authority. Within 5 years, production had doubled. Flush with success, the Inner Six in 1957 agreed to the Treaty of Rome, creating the European Economic Community (EEC) or Common Market, which worked toward the abolition of trade barriers, the free flow of capital, and common economic policies. In addition, the six agreed to coordinate their nonmilitary atomic research and development under the European Atomic Community (Euratom).

At first, Great Britain stood aside from the Common Market, owing to its special relationship with the United States and its commonwealth. Later in the 1960s when the British changed their minds, De Gaulle of France vetoed their entry for fear Britain’s overseas commitments would dilute European unity. Eventually, the British joined the EEC in 1973, along with Denmark and Ireland. During the 1980s and 1990s, more nations on the Mediterranean

and in Eastern Europe-with the fall of communism-joined the growing community. After the passing of the oil shock of the 1970s, the European Community moved toward a stronger integration. In 1991, the member states signed the Maastricht Treaty aimed at creating a single Europe. This new European Union (EU) was governed by an elected European Parliament and a centralized decision-making European Commission of civil servants and administrators. Recent expansion has increased the number of EU members to 28. More importantly, 12 EU members in 2000 (now 19) adopted the new euro currency to replace their national currencies. Some have criticized the distant and bureaucratic nature of the EU- and indeed the movement toward a truly United States of Europe has moved in fits and starts and still lies a way off- but progress since the late 1940s has resulted in an economic bloc of over 500 million people and which accounts for about 40% of the world’s trade. During the global financial crisis of 2007-2009, many of the weaker EU nations (such as Portugal, Spain, Greece, Ireland, and Cyprus) experienced severe budget shortfalls that required bailout packages from the stronger states (e.g., Germany), as well as unpopular austerity measures. Though the situation has been stabilized for now, the crisis has once again demonstrated the difficulties of coordinating such a diverse economic entity and continued popular discontent with the distant power of EU bureaucrats and bankers.

Western European National Politics

• EXAMPLE BASE
 Many observers prematurely predicted the end of nationalism or other ideological conflicts with the fall of communism. You are encouraged to identify and explain several instances of how nationalist and separatist movements have continued to trouble policymakers and citizens on the European continent.

Though the themes of Western Europe as a region take precedence, you will find it useful to draw from specific nations in applying your understanding of broader themes. To keep this material to manageable size, consult the chart of Western European nations after 1945 on the following page:

Great Britain			
Issues	Leaders/Groups	Events	Analysis
Since 1945, Britain has faced an older and less advanced economic infrastructure than the other Western European nations. In addition, it has battled high unemployment and its adjustment to a second-tier	*The Labour and Conservative Parties have alternated control of the government, with Labour working toward the expansion of the welfare state. *Margaret Thatcher (1925-2013) – ideological ally of President	*The “Troubles” In Northern Ireland between the Catholic Irish Republic Army (IRA) and Protestants led to continued violence, through a peace agreement has largely held since 1998. *In 1982 Thatcher aroused British	Britain continues to face. decaying industrial cities and lower economic productivity, while trying to retain a British identity that unites its several nations.

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power.	<p>Reagan, Thatcher curbed the size of the welfare system, denationalized industries, attacked the power of labor unions, and reasserted British power abroad.</p> <p>*Tony Blair (1953-) – Labour Prime Minister from 1997 to 2007, Blair appealed more to the middle class, promoted economic growth, and supported U.S. efforts against terrorism.</p>	<p>nationalism with the Falklands War against Argentina over control of an Island chain off of South America</p> <p>*In 1973, Britain joined the Common Market but not the euro, and recently (2016) voted to leave the EU (“Brexit”) In protest against the effects of globalization.</p> <p>*Britain has “devolved” political decision-making to its various nations, such as Scotland and Wales.</p>	
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France			
Issues	Leaders/Groups	Events	Analysis
<p>The postwar Fourth Republic (1945-1958) struggled with the legacy of collaboration during the Vichy regime and political instability yet enacted important reform legislation. With the Fifth Republic’s (1958-) strong presidency under De Gaulle, France left the military NATO alliance and pursued a more independent line in foreign affairs, known as Gaullism.</p>	<p>*Charles de Gaulle (1890-1970) – De Gaulle supported European integration but an independent foreign policy vis-à-vis the United States.</p> <p>*François Mitterand (1916-1996) – Socialist president from 1981 to 1995, Mitterand at first expanded the welfare state but was forced to retrench and cohabit with conservative prime ministers.</p> <p>*Jean Monnet (1888-1979) – architect of European unity.</p>	<p>*In 1961, France pulled out of the NATO military alliance (remaining in the political alliance). *France developed independent nuclear weapons.</p> <p>*Student revolts in 1968 led to violence in Paris and almost brought down the De Gaulle government.</p> <p>*Colonial conflicts in Indochina and Algeria caused internal political conflict and changes.</p>	<p>France benefited from its involvement in the EU and partnership with Germany. French assertions of political and diplomatic power have not always coincided with its economic power, which is second in Europe to Germany’s.</p>

(West) Germany			
Issues	Leaders/Groups	Events	Analysis
	<p>*Konrad Adenauer (1876-1967) – known as the founding Chancellor, he led the Christian Democratic Party (CDs), a right-center party favoring laissez-faire economics and close ties to the U.S. “Ludwig Erhard (1897-1977) – economic minister and brains behind Germany’s economic miracle. *Willy Brandt (1913-1992) – Socialist chancellor whose Ostpolitik (“opening to the East”) normalized relations between East Germany and the Soviet Union.</p>	<p>*In 1955, Germany rearmed and joined NATO. “Germany joined the UN in the 1970s as part of detente.</p> <p>*German reunification came soon after the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989.</p>	<p>Germany seems firmly established as a democracy and committed member of the Atlantic Alliance. Reunification has cost trillions of marks and the eastern part still suffers from higher unemployment and environmental problems. Germany’s economic power makes it the strongest member of the EU.</p>

Italy

Issues	Leaders/Groups	Events	Analysis
<p>*Following World War II, Italy abolished the monarchy and worked toward economic modernization. Leftist parties proved resilient, and Italy's parliamentary system has produced more than 60 different governments since 1945.</p>	<p>*Alcide de Gaspari (1881-1954) – Christian Democratic prime minister who helped establish Italy's new parliamentary system and membership in the Atlantic alliance.</p> <p>*Socialists finally gained power in 1983 but their policies differed little in practice from the CDs.</p>	<p>*In 1946, Italians by a small majority voted to abolish the monarchy for its involvement with fascism.</p> <p>*Eurocommunism, centered in Italy, rejected ties to the Soviet Union and the radical features of Marxism-Leninism.</p> <p>*In 1993, Italy restructured its system of proportional representation, which has allowed for longer-lived governments and more stability.</p>	<p>Italy recovered economically after the war, but was hard hit by the oil shock. It continues to deal with the lack of development in the south and corruption in government.</p>