

EUROPE TODAY



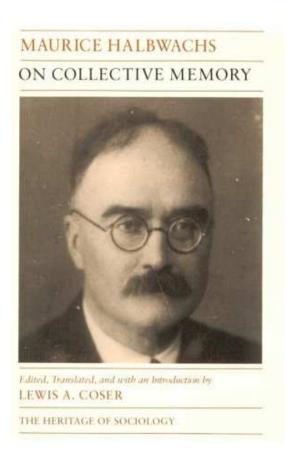
Europe's Rebirth 1989

=> From 'Western European Integration' to Europe

Word of the week

collective memory

Maurice Halbwachs (1877 - 1945)

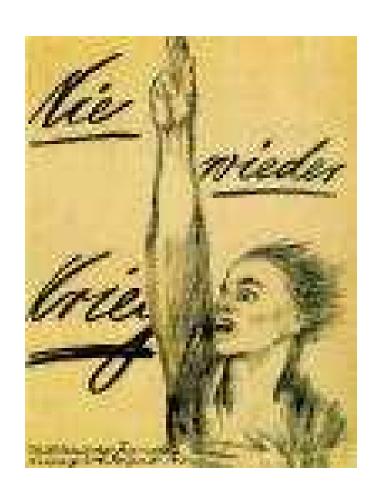


Social processes influence a community's shared memories of the past

Collective memory constitutes the past for present and contemporary purposes (Markovits/Reich)

Collective Memory in Germany

- No more war
- Motor for Europeanization
- Unification out of reach
- "imperial underreach"?(Markovits/Reich)
- Economic giant, political dwarf?







Three Eras of Europeanization





- Konrad Adenauer Western integration
- Willy Brandt Eastern reconciliation
- Helmut Kohl Unification



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Konrad Adenauer

- Chancellor 1949 1963
- Strict course of West integration
- Reconciliation with France
- Building a social market economy

But also:

- Political restauration
- Labor shortage: 'Guest Worker' programs



Willy Brandt, Ostpolitik and Democratization

- 'THE SOCIAL DEOCRATIC MOMENT' (JUDT)
- German chancellor 1969 1974
- Dare more democracy
- "Change through Raprochement": Basic Treaty 1972
- Two German states, one nation
- Question: Did Ostpolitik hinder or help the stabilisation of the East German regime?



Effects of Ostpolitik



BETWEEN 1970 - 1973

- Easing of visiting regulation from W to E=> from 2 Mio. to 8 Mio. visitors
- Telephone calls: From 700000 to 23 Mio/year
- some accredited West German media correspondents allowed
- Status of West Berlin secured



GDR: Reform and Repression

GDR

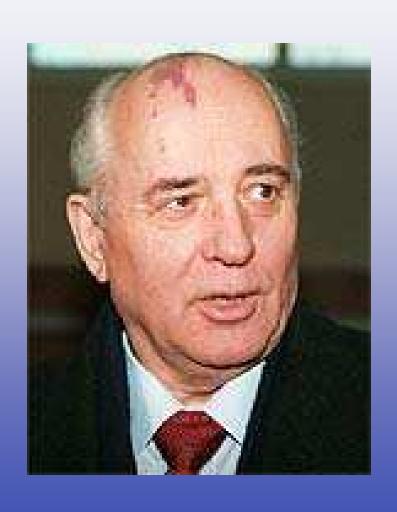
- Social welfare
- Education
- Housing
- 26.5 billion foreign debt by 1989
- Stagnant economy
- The "niche society"
- Stasi secret police

Revolts in Eastern Bloc Countries

- 1953 GDR
- 1956 Hungary
- 1968 Czechoslovakia
- 1980/81 Poland
- => Political repression combined with social and economic security



Causes of dissent



External:

- Gorbachev & perestroika
- Hungary
- China
- Helsinki CSCE



Causes of dissent

Internal:

- Economic collapse
- Gerontocracy
- Manipulation of elections
- Exit and Voice (Albert Hirschman)
- 'Civil' or 'uncivil' society? (Kotkin)





Beyond Revolution, Reform, Collapse: 11/9/89: History as Accident







Helmuth Kohl and unification

- Chancellor 1982 1998: Promised "flowering landscapes"
- Negotiated "Two Plus Four Treaty" in 1990
- Unification Costs Solidarity Pact 1.8 trillion \$ to date
- Reactions of other countries
- Solution: "A United Germany within Europe"