



EUROPE TODAY

EURO 301



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 restoration
- Labor shortage: 'Guest Worker' programs



Willy Brandt, Ostpolitik and Democratization

- ‘THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MOMENT’ (JUDT)
- German chancellor 1969 - 1974
- Dare more democracy
- “Change through Rapprochement”: 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”