

**CHAPTER 30: COLD WAR CONFLICTS AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS,
1945-1985**

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- 1) According to Mr. Schumann, what event/action kicked off the Civil Rights movement in the postwar United States? – *Truman's Executive Order integrating the U.S. military*
- 2) This man replaced Joseph Stalin as the leader of the Soviet Union. – *Nikita Krushchev*
- 3) The Cuban Missile Crisis humiliated which country on the world stage when it had to back down – the United State or the Soviet Union? – *Soviet Union*
- 4) When this European city was sealed off by the Soviets, it was re-supplied by planes from the West to break the blockade. Name the city. - *Berlin*
- 5) This was the name of the Eastern European economic union that was a counter to the Common Market/European Economic Union – *COMECON*
- 6) This cartel would control much of the world's oil supply and its embargo of the U.S. helped push the economic crisis that began in the mid-1970s. – *Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)*

The post-World War II era was both stunning for what it accomplished, and for the new specter of trouble that rose. WESTERN EUROPE underwent a political, economic, and cultural rebirth. While EASTERN EUROPE struggled to achieve they same, they found that instead they were dominated by the SOVIET UNION as an IRON CURTAIN fell between the east and west and a new kind of war, a COLD WAR began.

The book notes that the Soviet Union became more humane and less dictatorial, but that is a relative term in light of Stalin's past purges and excesses. What is obvious is that there was a strong, collective effort to rebuild that would stay in effect until the 1970s. At this point the VIETNAM WAR, economic troubles, and other rising political and social forces began to destroy the optimism of the continent.

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THE DIVISION OF EUROPE

Even as Hitler's Germany and Tojo's Japan were collapsing and the Second World War was nearing its end, the foundations for a new, Cold War (or a non-shooting, non-direct conflict war), were being built. Once underway, it appeared it would be a never ending game of nuclear chicken that spanned the globe.

THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

The ice of the Cold War was first felt around 1943 as the Allies became more and more certain of the victory ahead. The Soviet Union was already suspicious of GREAT BRITAIN and the UNITED STATES, believing that the Western democracies were trying to bleed Russia white to weaken it after the war. JOSEPH STALIN also believe it was imperative that the Soviet Union never face a direct invasion from Europe again, especially Germany. Thus, though never directly stated, he wanted a buffer zone from Western power. WINSTON CHURCHILL, Prime Minister of Great Britain, believed (as apparently did Stalin) that after World War II and the destruction of fascism, the next great conflict would be between the forces of DEMOCRACY and those of TOTALITARIAN COMMUNISM. Though we are less certain of the intentions of the U.S. President FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT (he played his cards close to his vest), it seemed apparent that he was most trusting of the future and less worried about post-war conflict. This in part seemed to reflect his knowledge of the American public with its strong tendencies toward pacifism, neutrality from Europe, and a desire to return to a normal, non-war footing as soon as possible.

To placate Stalin early in the war, the West stuck to its guns of UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER as a requirement for peace with the Axis. This appealed to the Soviets, for they knew that they were the primary target of Nazi Germany and Hitler would prefer to return to a peace footing with the West in order to focus on his war in the East.

As strategy began to be laid out to end the war, it was apparent that Churchill and Stalin existed on the extreme, with Churchill fearing an overextension of Western forces, while F.D.R. generally opted to play the middle ground, often placating Stalin. By committing to an invasion of France, it meant the Western allies would

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take over Western Europe and the Soviets the East. When the YALTA CONFERENCE occurred in early 1945, it reflected the reality of an onward Russian advance toward Berlin and the struggles of the West with the BATTLE OF THE BULGE. The Soviets appeared to hold all the cards, and Stalin drove a hard bargain. GERMANY would be divided into zones of occupation, Russia would enter the war with JAPAN within 90 days of the defeat of Germany (defeating Japan appeared to be massive due to their tactics), and spheres of influence were established for Russia in EASTERN EUROPE that would guarantee democratic elections but also pro-Soviet Union governments (of course, how free are things when it is pre-defined which nation you will support policy-wise). Also, due to the zones of occupation and influence that were defined, allied war strategy was altered in the West – there would be no effort by the West to take Berlin or enter into areas the Soviet's were predetermined to dominate following the war (other than Czechoslovakia due to happenstance).

The Soviets almost immediately went back on their word, helping to put in place communist governments that would not allow free and open elections. When F.D.R. died, HARRY S. TRUMAN became President. He was never expected to be President, was never in the inner-circle, and had only been on the ticket to win Southern votes (F.D.R. was fearful of losing the election of 1944 as his support began to lessen as time passed). He had never been briefed on war planning and strategy, and had no idea of major projects underway, including the MANHATTAN PROJECT which would develop the atomic bomb.

However, Truman was more aggressive, less diplomatic in relations. He had little trust for the Soviets (rightly so), was plain spoken, and was less willing to delay and defer in decision making – instead opting to wield some of the power that the U.S. had (at the time, clearly the most powerful nation on earth). However, at the POTSDAM CONFERENCE in July, Stalin refused free election and non-communist governments, knowing that the West would have to go to war to get its way (he properly gauged that the West could not do this for political reasons back home – though if they had opted to they would have easily destroyed the remaining Soviet Armies – without nuclear weapons). It was at this conference that Truman advised Stalin that the U.S. had developed a new weapon that should bring the war with Japan to a quick end (he learned while there of the successful test in New Mexico). Little did he know Stalin probably knew before he did due to the Communist spies working on the project.

However, the West not sharing a-bomb technology with the Soviets did not elevate

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Stalin's trust. Nor did the U.S. ending all aid in May, 1945, to Russia, or Russia (fulfilling its 90-day) obligation, attacked Japan between the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (nor that Russia continued to attack into Manchuria and the Kurile Islands long after Japan surrendered – and then took home the factories of Manchuria piece by piece – just as they did with German).

WEST VERSUS EAST

By late 1945 Truman announced the U.S. would not recognize the new governments of Eastern Europe or anywhere else where they were not created by the free will of that society. Then, at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, ex-Prime Minister Winston Churchill (who no longer had to worry about being diplomatic) stated an IRON CURTAIN had descended between the east and west. He noted that liberty was at peril in both Europe and Asia and only via strong democratic alliances could the rule of tyranny be avoided.

Even in light of these issues, for the most part the U.S. let its power position subside in Europe, bringing the armed forces home (or most of them). This was the political will of the day. It was hoped that the threat of nuclear war would dampen the Soviet aggression, along with economic aid to the West to rekindle their economies).

In addition, China's communist forces were gaining traction in their effort to overthrow the nationalist government there. Mix in that in the midst of this the Soviets began to support uprisings and revolutionary movements along its client state's borders – Greece and Turkey were targeted, along with Iran and its oil riches. Also, COMMUNIST PARTIES in FRANCE and ITALY began an anti-U.S. PROPAGANDA detailing fabulous plots of American attempts to dominate Europe. The Soviets (and Nazis) had perfected the use of propaganda during the war, and the Soviets would continue in this dominance afterward. The concept of Goebbels, to tell the big lie (for at least some would be believed) was alive in well in Moscow and among its clients.

To control what appeared to be a rising tide of MONOLITHIC COMMUNISM, Truman put forth a two part plan that consisted of a carrot and a stick. In an effort to end the spread of Communism in Europe. Called the EUROPEAN RECOVERY PLAN, but

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popularly known as the MARSHALL PLAN, credited to George C. Marshall, formerly the top military man in the U.S. and now secretary of state, it promised significant economic aid to provide the match to rebuild key European industries and reignite their economies – for it was well understood that a stable economy helps to stave off extremism. It went into effect in 1947 and was money well spent (a similar plan was executed in Japan as well). Eastern Europe did not take part when Stalin refused those dominated states U.S. aid. In fact, during 1948 and 1949, Stalin worked to strengthen his hold on Eastern states, stamping out dissident movements and governments that did not tow the line perfectly. Also, during 1958, in an effort to gain power over Berlin (which had been divided into zones as had all of Germany, but located in the heart of the Soviet zone of the nation) all highways carrying food and fuel were closed. It was hoped by Stalin that Berlin, out of the need for self-preservation, would capitulate and become part of the east. What followed was the BERLIN AIRLIFT. It lasted almost a year and was a continuous U.S. precision operation that kept the city alive and also sent a message to Europe that the U.S. would not abandon it, just as it hadn't abandoned the nations of the West previously with its Marshall Plan. When faced with a challenge, it would not go isolationist as it had done in the past and force them to face the new menace to the east alone. Thus, during the post-war period there would be the creation of the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) that would commit the U.S. into a defensive alliance with Western Europe – including the basing of U.S. forces there to help repel aggression. This helped to stabilize the West and in turn forced Stalin to create the WARSAW PACT that was the Eastern military alliance and counterpart to the West's NATO.

In late 1949, Chinese communists seized that nation. The RED SCARE heightened in the West. It only expanded with the invasion of SOUTH KOREA by the north in 1950. The UNITED NATIONS entered the fray (led by the U.S.) to stop the North's aggression (the Soviets were in the midst of a BOYCOTT of the SECURITY COUNCIL – in which they held veto rights over all such actions – so the could not stop it). When the U.S. tried to liberate all of North Korea, Chinese troops poured over the border and World War III was narrowly averted. However, the message was clear, the West was drawing the line in the sand and they would not be passive as they had been in the inter-war period. The Cold War was on and would last until the mid-1980s, and would only truly subside when the East collapsed in 1989-1991 (and it now appears to be rekindling due to the policies of the Putin government).

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THE WESTERN RENAISSANCE, 1945-1968

Soon after the war, all had been chaos. Western Europe was divided, its empires were collapsing, its economy was shot. However, within a few years there was economic boom and societies underwent political transformations that put more power in the hands of the people – bending to their will and less to the whims of the elite. The transformation was both stunning and beyond what anyone could have anticipated realistically as the war ended. It was as though Europe were reborn.

THE POSTWAR CHALLENGE

At the end of the war Europe appeared to be shot. There was no hope on the continent for the future. Hit the worst was Germany. Territories were lost. The nation was split. It was occupied by foreign powers who appeared on the verge of war (and they would be the arena). Millions were forcibly moved off their lands in the east to Germany by the Soviets (the land was now POLAND's (**Map page 994**)). Inflation was out of control. Food was scarce, as was fuel for heat in the winter. Rebuilding factories and getting back to work seemed hopeless – Germany had been bombed into oblivion and the Russians took what was left (literally entire factories) back to Russia (never rebuilt – had no plans, no clue, so the equipment never used on rail sidings).

Mix in Western efforts at DE-NAZIFICATION, and it appeared there was little hope for Germany to become a free and vibrant nation again. The problem was it was a key economy in Europe, and if it did not revive, it threatened the economies of all of the West (and hence their political stability as well). The lessons of World War I and its postwar were still fresh. It was clear something had to be done.

What happened, in hand with the Marshall Plan, was a political transformation across the West. In Italy, France, and the FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY (WEST GERMANY), the new party, the CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS became the key player in politics. They were for DEMOCRACY and also a degree of INTERNATIONALISM. It was understood by those parties affiliated to the CATHOLIC CHURCH that the NATIONALISM of the previous eras had been key to leading to the past wars. In a way they sought a return to an old Europe that was more united along a common principal (as it once had been under the Catholic Church, though without that

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degree of a religious element).

SOCIALISM and COMMUNISM also increased in power (communism less so in the FRG and Britain), in part due to their anti-Nazi efforts during the war. They pushed for better working and social conditions for the working class – in essence of an expansion of the WELFARE STATE, which they got across all of the West. Included in this was the process of the NATIONALIZATION of key industries, especially in Britain, following the KEYNESIAN model of economics. It was hoped via governmental control that the profit motive would be lost for key services and thus the average man could better meet his family's needs. Mixed with the optimism from the Marshall Plan and the NATO commitments of the U.S., and Western Europe was bent on expansion and growth that would move at a rate never before seen (and would last into the mid 1960s).

The new economies were what we refer to as MIXED ECONOMIES. Though the state intervened in key industries, and controlled some basic ones, the rest was left up to capitalism (which was now seen as highly efficient with its resources). Germany followed the capitalist model the most (and its economy reflected the most strength over time). France put more control in its central banks and pushed aid to industries determined key by the government. It worked, but not as well as the German model.

Overtime, there was a push (led by Christian Democrats) to open the flood gates to European trade – as seen as a key to growth, meeting consumer needs, and providing competition to the U.S. and its domination of manufacturing and trade in the postwar world. This new structure would be called the COMMON MARKET.

TOWARD EUROPEAN UNITY

The push for the common market would lead, over time and many morphings, to what we see with the current European Union today (and some see it morphing into one nation if they could get their way) (NATO, WARSAW PACT, Common Market and COMECON Map on page 996). The Common Market was accepted by most as a means of being able to compete economically with the United States. However, others had greater designs, believing it would allow Europe to return to a position of political power in a time when the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. were the only

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superpowers out there. The U.S. had required the West to work together in a council to best use Marshall Plan funds, and visionaries in FRANCE saw this as a start to developing a framework for a return to European Power (with their nation at the helm). The first step was made within the STEEL and COAL industries. Britain would not join (did not want to turn over power to the hated French who had not “earned” it). However, the other key players in West Central Europe did and they were now tied to one another as a common economic force. This new organization, put in place in 1957, was called the EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, in the U.S. the Common Market.

The efforts to expand on this success, especially with politically unity, were slowed due to a rise in French nationalism as the French fought uprisings in ALGERIA (the French did not want to decolonize as the rest of Europe had opted to do). IN facing this and other threats, a FIFTH REPUBLIC was formed under CHARLES DEGAULLE who opted to push French nationalism and power. The French withdrew from NATO, became aggressive in nuclear power and nuclear arms, and though committed to the common market, he would not accept any threat to French power within the structure (thus slowing its development as a political force).

DECOLONIZATION

Key in the process of change in Europe was a period of DECOLONIZATION amongst its holdings in ASIA and AFRICA. Now, some was resisted, some was welcome, however the writing was on the wall. Leaders of independence movements had often been educated in the colonial nations and had returned home. They understood the dominating culture and its politics, and they also understood their own nations. They utilized nationalism to gain power (before World War II and after), and the war experience (where troops from their nations had well acquitted themselves during the war and now were a potential force for independence) only enhance the potential for breakaway. Mix in the postwar weakness of the Western European states, and independence seemed highly viable for those lands seeking it.

Mix in the fact that in most of the European nations the thought of empire meant less in light of the past decade, and it made suffering to maintain the empire less attractive and less of an option for the governments in power.

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INDIA led the way in the massive British empire. MOHANDAS GHANDI had executed the groundwork in the 1920s and 1930s for independence. The pieces were in place by 1935. After the war, the British government had to resign itself to the loss of this colony when it was finally determined how to end the religious problems in the new to be nation – MUSLIMS would be in the new nation of PAKISTAN (which would later subdivide with the east becoming Bangladesh), and the rest into India.

What India achieved via protest and politics, China gained by force. These two nations were the model for independence for everyone else.

The U.S. gave up the Philippines in 1946 (long planned). England also cast off other areas quickly. The Dutch tried to hang on, but could not. The French were the most obstinate in their efforts. U.S. aid to their efforts would lead in time to the VIETNAM WAR with the U.S. fighting the communist forces of Ho Chi Minh.

In the Middle East, most went smoothly except for PALESTINE. The British had previously established separate Jewish and Arab states. When they withdrew the UNITED NATIONS put forth a plan for two states with Russia casting the deciding vote (saw Jewish ideology to Communism and hoped to gain a foothold in the region). On independence day in 1948 the surrounding Arab states and the Palestinians attacked Israel. Israel won and has fought for survival since.

The defeat of the Arabs destabilized much of the region (the surrounding states took the Palestinian territories remaining and kept them for themselves (still hold them), and also weakened the power of their governments. The military overthrow of the Egyptian government was key, to which the British and French responded with war (to protect the SUEZ CANAL). The U.S. and U.S.S.R. forced them out, and the Egyptians became pro-Soviet to build their nation (as many of the newly independent states did hoping to build their economies – they all failed).

The resistance spread to Algeria in 1956. The French had long dreamed of turning this area into another province of France and they fought hard to retain it. By 1962 they threw in the towel.

In SUB-SAHARAN Africa almost all independence was via negotiation. However, it did not lead to stable nations (as most were not prepared to exist as independent

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states as most were made of diverse peoples who had little in common). Ironically, these nations expanded their trade with their old nations (had ties to their markets) leading to many Marxists to claim they were de facto colonies (and this would help push the ideology of future revolutions that destroyed the stability of Africa to this day).

AMERICA'S CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

In the post war world the U.S. economy reached heights unimagined. 5/6ths of all world goods were manufactured in the U.S. Times were flush. Hope was high. Among those with hope were AFRICAN AMERICANS. Though their had been organized CIVIL RIGHTS efforts before the war, they had only limited success. In the post war world, these efforts would go national. The movement first gained steam with Truman's EXECUTIVE ORDER to desegregate the military at once (unheard of, especially for a Southerner). In 1954, BROWN V. BOE (TOPEKA) would heighten the process as key court cases were tried and won that overthrew the legal basis for SEGREGATION.

The movement continued to expand, with much liberal democrat support. Key supporters were JEWISH, via their funds and legal efforts the process was assisted. As the late 60s came, the push for reform for the poor (black and white) continued, and the welfare state was tied into the movement.

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SOVIET EASTERN EUROPE, 1945-1968

While Western Europe took off economically and socially after World War II, in part to American involvement and commitment to the region, the East was a different story. The Soviet Union under Stalin imposed its will, its style of government, its economic system, and required fealty to Moscow. What resulted was less than a resounding success. The regions did get back on their feet again, but only to a lesser degree in economics, politics, and social structures. In addition, all of these states found themselves subject to the changing political tides of the Soviet Union. Thus, any wind of change, any recoil of repression in mother Russia was felt, often dramatically, in these SATELLITE STATES.

STALIN'S LAST YEARS, 1945-1953

By late 1943, early 1945, Stalin was already looking to the future, post-war world. Capitalism was public charged as the next great enemy after fascism. Preparations were made to begin to tighten the social and economic reins once again as the war drew to a close. The masses had hoped for some more freedom, some more input in government, but that was squelched rather quickly and Stalin returned to a tightened, fearful, controlled society. One in which he had absolute, TOTALITARIAN, control.

Those who were seen as threats, or made errors in the war, found themselves returning home only to be purged to labor camps (fewer show trials, now people just disappeared – show trials may have hurt Stalin's grip on power now, unlike before). Stalin's paranoia once again ruled the day. Prisoners of war commit suicide to protect families when repatriated (ironic, survived German prison camps recycling corn, suffering at a level of the Jewish and Gypsy Holocaust, and no kill selves after surviving the war – that says it all about the fear of Stalin).

The arts were purged. Those that did not conform to Soviet models (propaganda included) found themselves headed east. Jews were targets as well (and would suffer until the 1980s as many were finally allowed to immigrate to Israel).

A POLICE STATE was reinstated with internal travel controls, limited internal communications, and a network of neighbor spying on neighbor, which created uneasiness and instability (but also maintained control over the masses due to fear).

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The FIVE YEAR PLAN returned. Once again the focus was on heavy industry and arms production – the old model. Consumer goods and domestic needs were put on the back burner. For this the Soviets would pay, for it helped create avenues for BLACK MARKET activities and ORGANIZED CRIME. In addition, as the world economy shifted it cast Russia behind the curve more and more everyday. The COMMAND ECONOMY could not adjust and meet the needs of the day (or anticipate those of tomorrow) in any way close to that of a DEMAND ECONOMY (something that would finally put the knife in Keynesian economics in the West in the late 1980s and early 1990s – even though its structures of control were far less, those industries it controlled in time collapsed due to this same issue).

The structures were put in place in Eastern Europe as well. Some outdid the Soviets for brutality (Romania) and efficiency (Germany). The collectivization and purging of elites that had occurred in Russia before the war went on in these nations as well. One-party states, with limited membership were the model. Dissent was not allowed. Schools indoctrinated the young. Schools forced Russian language studies. Religion was strongly attacked (yet, often faith survived – though the risks were incredible).

The one nation that did not fall under the Soviet yoke in the east was YUGOSLAVIA under MARSHALL TITO (JOSIP BROZ) who had led the communist resistance in the nation during the war. He loosely tied himself to Russia, and followed suit on key issues, but otherwise struck out on his own path. He did not allow Russian troops in, and he ran his nation as he saw fit (and it worked well, but once he died, the nation began to split up along ethnic lines in the 1980s and in a way was a precursor of what would happen in all of the East soon thereafter).

REFORM AND DE-STALINIZATION, 1953-1964

What followed the death of STALIN was a level of reform, and loosening of restraints, during a period we now call DE-STALINIZATION. In part it was an effort by the new leadership to meet mass desires, in larger part it was needed for them to consolidate power (it was a rejection of the past that not only pleased some, but made opponents vulnerable due to their connections with the past regime). Change was not total, the totalitarianism continued, but it wasn't as psychotic as it had been under Stalin.

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In part it was due to a realization that the Stalinist economic model could not compete with the West. The Soviets, for all their building, were falling behind, especially on the technological curve. In addition, the West was united against the Soviets, which limited the nation's economic and political power. Reducing the HARDLINE image of the past might allow for potential inroads to be made into the West (especially West Europe), and thus reducing the power of the American led bloc.

The reformist charge was led by NIKITA KRUSCHEV. He had achieved fame during the battle of STALINGRAD, the hero who had stepped up into the led of the disaster and saved the city, and hence the war. He was a war hero, and before Stalin died, one of his top men, highly trusted (had to be, or his fame would have put him in the GULAG as a political threat after the war.

Kruschev began the de-Stalinization period with a shocking speech at the 20TH PARTY CONGRESS in 1956. He strode to the podium and listed the crimes against humanity and Russia perpetrated by Stalin and his henchmen. The group was stunned (for it was similar to the actions of Stalin when he began the Great Purge). It put the old guard on notice, but also made all uneasy, for they knew that they could be at risk even if the only tacitly supported Stalin via inaction. In addition, there was fear that if the supported Kruschev and he lost power, they would face repercussions. It forced the party to cast its lot quickly, tie yourself to Kruschev (and hope he succeeds so you survive) or don't and know if he survives you are in deep trouble.

The speech was read to every communist party meeting across the nation at the local level, making this DILEMMA one for all levels in the party. In part, it helped Kruschev to identify his opponents, but also unleash lower level popular support in the party for reform under him. A lot of the old guard was cleaned out, and new, young, vibrant leaders stepped into the void.

Kruschev also began to shift resources to CONSUMER GOODS. However, much was short sighted and out of touch, and as part of a command economy, just did not work (corn flakes story). Some areas helped, AGRICULTURE achieved more production due to some local control and also the loosening of controls on private plots. Workers were given more say in their lives, but that was limited (it was sort of a *taste of freedom* for society). But a taste is not enough.

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The reforms foster hope in Khrushchev that the revolution could take the NEXT STEP and pass the West economically. It prompted him to pound his shoe on his desk at the U.N. and declare to the West that "WE WILL BURY YOU!" (after this period of openness began to close once again in a few years (1960-though wikipedia claims it did not happen, it did – there is film of the outburst). but it did not reach maturation. The standard of living improved, but the gap could not be closed with the West.

One of the most impressive aspects of the period was a boom in ARTISTIC and INTELLECTUAL work in the nation, due to a reduction of fear in those who produced it (potential before to being sent away too high to take a risk). However, even then, some of the great works were not released in Russia due to political content that was not acceptable (questions communism).

One has to note that the reduction of fear meant works were produced, but reality also led to INTERNAL EXILE, imprisonment, and punishment for unacceptable beliefs (Khrushchev's Russia just wasn't quite as free as they had hoped). ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN's ONE DAY IN THE LIFE OF IVAN DENISOVICH was published, for it attacked Stalin's brutality. But in time he too went back to prison.

Khrushchev tried to reach out in foreign policy, in an effort to reduce tensions and the arms race bankrupting his nation. AUSTRIA, previously occupied by East and West, held free elections and became independent (and mostly pro-West – though it walked a tightrope at times). Promises of aid were made to African and Asian nations, trying to woo them as allies (and less so with their old colonial masters). (One has to note, all these changes helped support an undermining of the West – it wasn't just because Stalin was nice).

All reforms had to be shut down (to a great degree) as the Eastern European satellite states began to get full of wild oats. POLAND and HUNGARY flirted with free governments that tried to become independent political players in the world. Russian tanks ended these hopes rather quickly. In part, efforts such as in Hungary were spurred by the U.S. policy of ROLLBACK put in place by DWIGHT EISENHOWER that stated that the U.S. would help roll back communism. However, U.S. forces never came to the aid of Hungary, and its rebellion was crushed.

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THE END OF REFORM

As it appeared things were spinning out of control, COMMUNIST PARTY old guard and hardliners replaced Khrushchev peacefully and replaced him with LEONID BREZHNEV in 1962. Brezhnev put the screws back in place in an effort to gain control over society and the party. Of course, this undermined any economic progress made, and put the screws back in place over the masses and the satellite states.

Khrushchev's dealings internationally had been troubling. The building of the BERLIN WALL, the need for the BERLIN AIRLIFT (in 1948) made the situation confused. There was talk of reconciliation and coexistence with the West at one moment, and an over the top hardline the next. Pounding the SHOE in 1960 is a prime example. Crazy may work to control the subjects of a dictator. It often doesn't with nations that are not your allies. The CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS also had occurred under Khrushchev in 1962. When the Soviets backed down, it was humiliating (and helped seal his fate). Also, there is fear that he was going to provoke a third world war (by those on both sides of the Iron Curtain).

Brezhnev returned some of the hard line. Stalin was REHABILITATED and was okay after all in the history books and society. The ARMS RACE began again (at the expense of the consumer economy). Yet, even as the controls went back in place, satellite nations still had their own reform efforts chugging along. In 1968 CZECHOSLOVAKIA challenged Moscow heading party rule and Soviet hegemony. Once again, the tanks rolled in. It made no difference that the Czechs constantly swore fealty to Russia – the threat of reform was enough for Brezhnev to stamp them out. At this point the BREZHNEV DOCTRINE, where the Soviets and the East Bloc would intervene if needed in any bloc country (essentially to assure its political controls). This doctrine and intervention would be the model for each successive Soviet leader until 1985 (and few lived more than a year or two before dying until 1985 – so no one had time to carry out change).

POSTWAR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS, 1945-1968

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Just as the political and economic landscape was being remade after World War II, so was the social fabric of society. New technologies, new social structures developed, society was reformed. The youth of the world had a greater voice (in part because rising AFFLUENCE allowed more to attend college and have time to avoid the working world).

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

With the growing affluence in society, a marriage formed between THEORETICAL SCIENCE and PRACTICAL TECHNOLOGY was formed that impacted society quickly, and down to the consumer level (this trend was new Post WWII, and it has only accelerated). The table was set for this scientific transformation due to the unique aspect of World War II. The long, total war included both sides investing heavily in science in an effort to gain a military edge. In a way, it was a war that called on brain power as much as upon brawn. New technologies were quickly adopted, refined, and improved. Radar, Sonar, nuclear research, metallurgy, drugs, medicine, engineering, aircraft design, jet propulsion, and rocketry were just a few of the fields in play. Universities became hosts to government and industry supported RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT at a level previously unseen. This trend would continue to the postwar, cold war world.

What was amazing is that the technology of war is adaptable to commerce and society as well. Air travel, improved building design, nuclear power, improved communications, and a myriad of other aspects that helped foster a better life and created new businesses would rise from the wartime work. Universities also were more integrated into the economy of the nations (they were no longer simply these intellectual havens that rose above day to day life).

To make this process work, the book refers to the model of BIG SCIENCE. The capital spent had to be huge. It took massive corporate monies for R&D (and often government subsidies as well). In the Cold War era, both sides new that Science matter. Russians were great at the THEORETICAL side, in part due to the lack of funds and access to technologies to make it happen (no calculators, computers, etc. – but lots of pencils and paper). The West, especially the U.S., dominated in PRACTICAL APPLICATION, taking the idea, the theory, and making it work in real world conditions. Thus, each held their own realm, though the West had the advantage (often pushed by the financial motive) that made it capable of outpacing

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the East over time. To compensate, the East found it cheaper to execute a program of ESPIONAGE, or spying and theft in this realm to backwards engineer the technology for their own needs.

The best example of the SCIENTIFIC RACE was the SPACE RACE. At the end of World War II both countries had gained access to German ROCKETS, technology, and scientists. The potential applications for both military, spying, and peaceful means were mind boggling. The Soviets clearly understood this, and soon launched the first man made satellite, SPUTNIK. The message was clear, if they could do this, they could nuke anywhere in the world, nobody was safe. The EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION responded with a science initiative in American education, offering federal funds to enhance science and math programs in the public schools to help fill the gap long term. It worked. Eventually, this race would turn toward the moon when JOHN F. KENNEDY would set the goal to land on the moon and return before the end of the 1960s. Soon, the U.S., which was playing catchup, with its focus of resources, would surpass the Soviets and achieve the goal. What was just as important is that both DDE's and JFK's investments in science helped spur the economy. Not all kids who improved in science and math went to NASA. They went to corporate America and other businesses. The technologies for space would spur the defense industry, and consumer industries forward as well with SPIN OFF TECHNOLOGIES.

The appetite for American Big Science not only effected the U.S., but also Europe as top scientists and researchers either went to the U.S. for college, government, or private positions, or their firms and schools also took part in the process from Europe itself. Competition was brutal (not just between east and west, but competing institutions – he who was first gained PATENTS and reaped the fame and the financial benefits of their published work, he was second got nothing).

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THE CHANGING CLASS STRUCTURE

Due to the economic and technological booms, Europe was transformed socially. The keyword for the populations was MOBILITY. This includes both GEOGRAPHIC and SOCIAL aspects. The booms in new industries, new fields, called for workers, including skilled workers. People naturally moved to where opportunity lie. In addition, traditional class lines were not as strong, and there was more mobility into upper and middle classes due to the opportunities in the economy. This is not to say class barriers no longer existed, especially in Europe, only that they were far more permeable than in the past. Inherited money only went so far, wealth created in growing businesses and research areas often outpaced stagnant old money. Fields such as management, accounting, and engineering became key growing fields in the postwar era.

In addition, a parent could make sure kid was well-educated and well-connected, but unless one was a business owner, they could not give them the top job when the moved on. Management and other key positions now had to be earned.

Overall, there was a huge rise in WHITE COLLAR employment as economies would slowly began a transformation away from heavy industry (would take decades) toward information, finance, and other SERVICE WORK. Employment in AGRICULTURE began to drop dramatically (in part due to mechanization). In addition, no matter what level of society from which one came, average education levels increased (and would continue to do so).

The WELFARE STATE was powerful, especially in Western Europe. Universal health care, grants to parents of children, unemployment insurance, education, and other needs were often paid for, and to varying degrees. Public housing for the poor also was developed, as were myriad social services.

CONSUMER GOODS were a leveler in society. They got cheaper (as did food) – relatively, and so people could afford more appliances, entertainment gear, cars, and so on. In this way, the gap between rich and poor generally narrowed. In addition, the travel industry and vacation concepts developed (TOURISM INDUSTRY) rose and more and more had disposable income to use for such purposes.

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NEW ROLES FOR WOMEN

The role of women was transformed in the postwar world. This was due to two main factors: Continuing URBANIZATION, and inroads made into INDUSTRY during the war. Though there was a BABY BOOM following the war (as always occurred – think of mortality, leave family name behind), it only lasted about a decade. After that, the forced we saw in the 1800s continued. Thus living in an urban society found it easier to survive and thrive with fewer kids (they cost money). Thus, family size continued to decline, and soon zero growth among native populations were the norm in Europe. Mix in the opportunities women had gained in various industries during the war, and it meant that some would not leave the work force, and those previous experiences had opened doors for more women in the future. Women who often finished having kids by mid-20s, and thus were able to head back to work while relatively young and uninterrupted in their career track from then on. Women were educated (and becoming more so) and had for years had worked in the growth fields of the service sector. The door was open and millions would step through it.

In the communist world almost half the work force was women (it was necessity and a reality of Soviet lifestyle/politics/economics. In the west, it ranged from 20-35%).

YOUTH AND COUNTERCULTURE

The affluence and the changing family structure of the West led to a rise in more youth rebellion and experimentation, called the COUNTERCULTURE. Often, these kids were in college, or tended to be supported by family or others with similar ties. The lack of financial pushes allowed them to explore new life styles and generally be rebellious. It began in the U.S. and moved to Europe. Communal living, drugs, and extreme politics were the most notorious of the manifestations. However, increase in sexual activity at earlier ages, contraceptives, lower of social boundaries also meant for huge changes in lifestyle. Trends that have continued to this way. Heck, some people even lived together during this time without even getting married.

The counterculture, at some elements was adopted by the youth of the baby boom. Students, who often know less than they realize, often embraced romantic ideals,

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They tied themselves to movements (especially in schools), and became radical forces for change socially and with government policy (a true reality with their mass numbers).

The hotbed of the movements became the UNIVERSITIES of both the U.S. and Western Europe. Universities were growing (more and more kids go) and could not help them. Also, some felt disenfranchised by the changing world (literature majors worried about their dwindling role in society to the business majors). The VIETNAM WAR helped crystalize anti-government/establishment moods (often led by radicals), but those discontented with their crowded schools with iffy curriculums were drawn to the process calling for CHANGE as well.

CONFLICT AND CHALLENGE IN THE LATE COLD WAR, 1968-1985

The Vietnam war would be the harmer upon which the traditions of the West would be broken. The alliance of the West would weaken, the traditions of the past would be questioned and sometimes overturned, and the economies would hit their first major postwar problems.

THE UNITED STATES AND VIETNAM

The United States fell into the Vietnam War based upon two issues – Cold War CONTAINMENT and traditional European IMPERIALISM. Though the U.S. was (and still is) accused of having imperialist aims for Vietnam, it was inaccurate. Instead, FRANCE's effort to maintain their empire was the problem. When the French began to crumble to a COMMUNIST REVOLUTION (which only part of the population supported), the U.S. entered into the fray, slowly at first, to contain the spread of Communism. Then, to end the growing conflict, President LYNDON JOHNSON would elevate the war to defeat the communist NORTH VIETNAMESE. It didn't work, but it did arise radicals (many Marxist) and their public messages that drew more and more to their cause.

The war was the first television war, showing unrestricted horrors of battle and the cost of armed conflict (indeed, the U.S. did not fight to the extreme, but acts that were unfavorable would hit the airwaves). College Students, of prime DRAFT age

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became the biggest supporters of the anti-war moment. Instability was the key word of they day, and it spread to Europe as their students and radicals followed suit.

In addition, even as the war was winding down, the NIXON ADMINISTRATION was nailed for corruption for the WATERGATE scandal, which only further undermined support for Western government and trust in the old model of politics. When SOUTH VIETNAM fell soon after the scandal fell out and the U.S. had withdrawn, confidence in America, its will, and its power were shaken within and without the nation.

DÉTENTE OR COLD WAR

With containment an apparent failure, a new policy had to be found to replace it. How could the U.S. (and hence the west) deal with communism? The new concept was DÉTENTE. The policy began in Germany and it means to LESSEN TENSIONS (actually, nobody knows what it really means, but those who supported it claim that – others say it means to be aware of what others believe, to understand in a way). Chancellor WILLY BRANDT was hoping to reinvigorate Germany, but reduce the fear of the nation in Eastern Europe. Ideally, he wanted to see a restoration of Germany. However, he knew that was only possible if the nation was not seen as a threat. Thus, Germany began an outreach to lands it had ravaged previously.

Treaties were signed with the East accepting current boundaries, including the division of East and West Germany, but diplomatic relations began with that nation in hopes of building bridges for future unification (did not work). Indeed, the movement reached its height with the 1975 HELSINKI AGREEMENT where the nations of Europe and the U.S. signed on to that the borders could not be changed by force, human rights would be respected, and so forth. There was some hope in place when a new president was elected.

JIMMY CARTER was the darkhorse winner of the presidency in 1976. He sought to build bridges between east and west, and he seemed to rejected business as usual politics. In light of the Vietnam War and Watergate, he couldn't help but win. Carter firmly supported détente. However, problems were already about that made many doubt it was possible.

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The Soviets were becoming more aggressive across the world, fostering revolutions and uprisings, or using forces to keep allies in office (Africa, AFGHANISTAN, 1979). The Atlantic Alliance appeared to be crumbling (France had pulled out, German youth were anti-U.S.), and thus no group action was possible (beyond verbal protest) to punish Soviet aggression or support democratizing activities in the EASTERN BLOC such as the rise of SOLIDARITY in POLAND. The chaos and weakness of the West could be no better illustrated than the seizing of the U.S. EMBASSY in Tehran, IRAN. When the U.S. did not act, it went from a radical student movement to an official government act and the key moment in the rise of radical Islam and its anti-Western message. The failure to free or rescue the hostages (pre-election screw up) only made it worse. The situation would last over 15 months and would not be resolved until RONALD REAGAN was sworn in as President.

The Reagan Administration would shift things dramatically. He was a true cold warrior, and believe in capitalism as a weapon, and the power of American industry and ingenuity. He would confront the Soviets at every bend he could (including with some questionable alliances of necessity). U.S. confidence and patriotism would be revitalized, but it would also scare the heck out of Western Europe. England would follow the U.S. route (to a degree), but students, radicals, and traditionalists were frightened by the U.S. cowboy attitude (an insult to them, not to most Americans). NATO was strengthened, and results would be world changing (though you would have never have guessed it via the colleges and news media).

THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

The 1970s would be where the women's movement would track root and become a noticed force. The groundwork laid for over a century was now being developed into a political and social force. Not only had we seen more women into the workforce, in new fields, and their traditional fields expanded, but biological freedom was readily available. Mix in a group of intellectual leaders, and the ability to copy aspects of the civil rights movement and the upheaval on campuses

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due to the Vietnam War, and conditions were ripe for exploitation.

In Europe, a key leader was SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR, who was a pioneer in academia and intellectual circles. Connected to the French intellectual elite, you tied women into EXISTENTIALISM. Essentially noting that while they may be “free”, they were still bound by an inflexible society and living conditions that limited that freedom, and instead made her a de facto inferior. Her work was the vanguard for future feminists leaders including BETTY FRIEDAN in the United States. Instead of seeking individual realization via bucking the system, Friedan began to look at her lot in life and note that there had to be more than being a housewife and mother. She and her friends were well educated, but once married had given up the idea of career. She sought COLLECTIVE ACTION to battle SEXISM which had infantilized women and allowed men to make the decisions that determined their lives.

Across the West women’s rights movements developed. Each with their own national flavor and level of radicalism. Almost all sought success via two routes. First, via POLITICAL ACTION. Though the ballot (they were the majority) they would influence the process to change laws to end discrimination in the work place, gain equal pay, and set up a system to allow mothers to work via affordable day care. The second route was GENDER AND SOCIETAL ISSUES, including legal abortion (U.S. has upheld late term abortion ban last week), support for single mothers, prioritization of rape prosecutions, and allowing for divorce).

The Women’s rights movements often were victims of their own success. Once key reforms were gained, many in the mainstream quit supporting them actively – especially when their positions became more and more radical (late term abortion is a key in the U.S., the concept of equal pay for equal work fades when examining reality as women rise to wealth and power – they realize there are other things that limit women in the work place – often limits taken on by choice, and also the extremists often look down upon more traditionalists – at least that is the perception). However, the women’s movement would serve as the model for new, and sometimes more radical movements, including Gay Rights, and disabled rights.

The Troubled Economy

The political instability that began in the latter 1960s also marked a rise in ECONOMIC INSTABILITY. Business hates disunity and chaos. Uncertainty is not

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good. The U.S. had to dump any pretext of the gold standard under the Nixon administration when it could not support the \$35 to an ounce standard it had claimed. The FIXED EXCHANGE RATE was abandoned, and at first this created panic (heck, panic caused the move). This would lead to a new world that no one knew how to work. There was a degree of chaos, mixed with INFLATION, and doubts about the future.

Mix in the madness of the MIDDLE EAST where the ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OPEC) began to flex its muscles. Growth was fueled by cheap, clean energy, and oil was that. However, following the 1973 fourth ARAB-ISRAELI WAR when oil to the U.S. was cut off. Prices soared on the open market, effecting all western nations (they had to compete with the U.S. to buy what was out there unless they deal direct with OPEC, who even then raised prices in light of what the U.S. was having to pay elsewhere).

The West, facing money and energy issues, suffered its worst economic decline since the Great Depression. The Iranian revolution kept the tumble going (Shah was at least pro-Western and had helped curtail OPEC). Recovery would only begin in 1982, and in Western Europe unemployment would peak in 1985.

As things got worse a new measure of the troubled times was created called the MISERY INDEX. It was the addition of the INFLATION RATE and the UNEMPLOYMENT RATE into one, big number. It was a political ploy by the Jimmy Carter election campaign, but it worked and was accepted (it would later be used to help defeat him).

The trouble hit the U.S. hard, and western Europe even harder in a period it called "THE CRISIS", a time when nothing was sure, especially the future (there was a real fear of collapse of some government and social systems). Japan, which was going about its business in its own way wasn't hit so hard, for it was now moving up in the export world with quality, but cheap products. In the midst of the chaos, the EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY actually grew as members and suitors hoped the more integration might help overcome some of the problems.

KEYNESIAN ECONOMICS, which drove Western policies, were baffled. Government intervention could not help the problem. Its models, that said inflation could not happen in times of economic stagnation were wrong (stagflation). Politicians, academicians, and societal leaders were baffled. They had no idea what to do

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except going back to the same well that had failed them again and again, thus hopelessness began to set in). Traditional political leaders trained in the “truth” of the system tried interventions that did not work. It would take an outsider (Ronald Reagan, and his cohort, Margaret Thatcher) to change things up and kick off the recovery).

Society in the Time of Economic Uncertainty

The outlook of Western time in the period of STAGFLATION was striking. Optimism gave way to pessimism. Things were so utopian in outlook, or even realistic, but negative. Doom and gloom permeated society and its institutions, including its universities, government, and many businesses. The WELFARE SYSTEM played a key role by keeping at least a standard of living for many so there was less chance of radical change (ala the Great Depression). Of course, the costs of those system were helping to suck down the economies of the nations due to high tax rates to support them. It was an ugly cycle.

The system had grown rapidly after the war, but taxes had not kept up. National deficits were rising across the West. Governments were struggling to manage all their needs and their debts. Thus, in time during this crisis, AUSTERITY MEASURES had to be taken. The leader of this was RONALD REAGAN in the United States, and MARGARET THATCHER in Great Britain. Though roundly attacked by the intellectual elite and radicals, and their measures which required sacrifice by the population were less than popular, they changed the economic and social paths of their nations and to some extent to the West (the issue is are they a hiccup in the road or a true change – for some of their work has been rolled back to the early 70s levels and beyond).

Both rejected Keynesian economics, believing the free (or freer) market could better meet the needs of the nation and its peoples more cheaply. (Reagan’s quote “Government is not a solution to our problem, government is the problem”)

For Thatcher, her work was to PRIVATIZE key industries in Britain that had funded the welfare state but had become albatrosses on the neck of the nation.

Transportation and telecommunications had not been well supported in regard to R&D and modernization, but had been used as a piggy bank to pay for programs. With no competition they could do this, but now were far behind the curve and

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unable to meet the growing needs of society, its people, and its businesses. Thus, the were sold off (raising a fire storm) so they could return to profitability and at least provide taxes and also help fuel a future economic boom (which did occur). In addition, the poor living in subsidized housing were offered their homes to purchase at very low rates with the hope that ownership would not only drop maintenance costs for the government, but that the tenants/now owners would take care of their homes better (it was good politics as well, for lower income laborers saw themselves as being supported by the CONSERVATIVES and thus some would switch their votes from LABOR.

The Reagan administration, lacking the complete welfare state of Europe, was in a different space. It not only had to help the masses, but it also had to meet the counter-intuitive economic model of Reagan (a traditional model, but to the layman makes no sense) while being the financial and military bulwark against the Soviets and radicalism (other nations could opt out and expect the U.S. to protect the, the U.S. had no such option). Reagan slashed taxes to jumpstart the economy. It was hoped wealth would be created and new investment would revive the economy (which it did – though the book did not notice). Derisively called “trickle down” economics, once in place it created the longest period of economic growth in U.S. history.

Of course, to pay for social spending (which he tried to cut and could not substantially) and increased defense spending, this mean huge initial deficits. Deficits which, if programs had not expanded, would have shrunk. But early on were massive. Over time the deficits began to fall as revenues continued to grow, and might have turned to surpluses under Bill Clinton (never did, bad accounting) if not for further welfare expansion. Indeed, military cuts were possible by the time Clinton came to office due to the collapse of the Soviet empire as a result of the military/economic competition that began under Reagan. Or course, Reagan’s hardline, while reviving U.S. patriotism and confidence, and unleashing the power of business in the economy, also radicalized the left and especially extremists world wide. He was enemy number one among the elites and the young in Europe (and would be a national hero to the newly freed people of the East years later).

FRANCE was the one nation that would not cut any welfare programs during the period. Heck, they expanded them. Under President FRANCIOS MITTERAND he tried to cement the power of his SOCIALIST PARTY via expanding entitlements and spending. Businesses were nationalized, money was thrown around, and it failed.

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Then, only then, did France begin austerity measures (and they were relative).

Under economic duress, many business and government research projects began to decline. The money wasn't there to invest. Thus, the new wave of innovation (often high tech) in the west would come from the lowest levels (small business and individuals).

The tough times led to a re-examination of Western lifestyles and its apparent waste. ENVIRONMENTALISM grew as a force, especially in Europe. Here, GREEN PARTIES would develop, led by Germany. Environmentalism also grew in the U.S. (and has been effective mostly, though extreme current calls tend to be more political than scientific), though it wasn't really a political force (though may be now).

Yet, ironically, when looking to the future, the young, though often radical in college is the image, the vast majority of students were serious and conservative in mapping out their futures. Jobs came first, and thus career choices and studies mattered. And it became a norm for women to be among them charting that career path.

Mutually Assured Destruction Proxy Wars

Summary

The post war period was amazing. Europe recovered rapidly in part through U.S. commitment and influence (the east would lag greatly due to the tie to the Soviets). The Cold War would divide the continent, but there would be a level of stability and heighten U.S. military and economic commitment and formal groups. DECOLONIZATION went pretty well (but where it didn't it was ugly – Israel, Vietnam). The welfare state grew, as did democracy. Science and tech became practical and more immediate, business models changed, as did the work force, and rights movements soared to new successes. Indeed, Europe made moves to reduce barriers and unify in the West, especially economically, and to some degree in the West.

However, there were seeds of trouble, and when things hit, they hit hard. World instability, reliance upon oil and deficit spending took a toll. Keynesian

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economics, once the be all and end all of managing Western economies failed in a new era and radical change was needed – change that shook up the comfort level of many and contributed to the chaos (but would also lay the seeds to the destruction of the Soviet Union).