CHAPTER 28

Europe Divided, 1945–1968

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. The Iron Curtain, 1945–1958
   A. Occupation and De-Nazification
      1. The United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union occupied Nazi Germany’s territories, dividing Germany, Austria, and the city of Berlin into four occupation zones.
      2. The de-Nazification war crime trials (for example, Nuremberg) failed to find and punish all Nazi collaborators, but it did achieve some closure on the Nazi past.
   B. Displaced Persons
      1. Between 11 and 20 million individuals became displaced persons, resulting in the reshaping of eastern Europe into more ethnically homogeneous countries.
      2. Thirteen million ethnic Germans in eastern Europe were forcibly removed, leaving almost everything behind, while hundreds of thousands of Poles from western Ukraine and Byelorussia moved to Poland.
      3. Among the displaced persons were more than 250,000 Jews; more than 130,000 of them settled in British-controlled Palestine (which became Israel in 1948).
   C. Beginnings of the Cold War
      1. The cold war ideological struggle began between Americans and the Soviets as liberal democracy, capitalism, free-market economies, political freedom, and material comforts versus communism, state-controlled economy, equality, and social justice.
      2. The Soviet Union was traumatized by heavy losses in people and resources, more than any other war combatant, and fearing further attack, wanted a buffer zone in eastern Europe and repayment for losses.
      3. The United States had a deep interest in bringing back democracy and capitalist markets in Europe, thus avoiding the Versailles reparations mistake.
      4. Steps toward hostility included the Truman Doctrine (1947), offering to help countries fighting communists; the Marshall Plan (1947), allocating more than $13 billion to rebuild Europe’s economies; Mao Zedong’s successful communist revolution in China (1949); and the military arms race and espionage.
      5. By 1953, the United States spent $50 billion, or almost 40 percent of the federal budget, on the military, while the USSR spent 25 percent of its budget on such expenses.
   D. International Security
      1. The most important step toward a different international order was the establishment of the United Nations (UN) in 1945.
      2. The UN Security Council had China, France, Great Britain, the USSR, and the United States as permanent members, with ten rotating members.
      3. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) held governments accountable for human rights abuses.
      4. Tensions elevated with military defense alliances.
         a) The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), formed in 1949, was made up of the United States, Britain, France, Canada, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium,
Luxembourg, Portugal, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland, later joined by West Germany, Greece, and Turkey.

b) The Soviet Union retaliated with the Committee for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) in 1949, as a counterpart to the Marshall Plan.

c) In 1955, the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact was a counterpart to NATO.

II. The Revival of Western Europe
A. The Economic Miracle
1. Thanks to the Marshall Plan, France and Italy surpassed their prewar production levels by 1950, and in West Germany, production shot up 25 percent between 1945 and 1950.
2. By the 1960s, West Germany was the undisputed economic leader in western Europe in industrial production, research and development, and its ability to put its swelling population to work.
3. Konrad Adenauer, the leader who oversaw this economic miracle, founded the Christian Democratic Union and served as the first postwar chancellor.

B. Recovery in France
1. Until 1958, France was bitterly divided between the USSR-connected left and the U.S.-connected right, with more than nineteen governments going in and out of power.
2. In 1958, a political crisis brought U.S.-friendly, right-wing Charles de Gaulle into office and launched the Fifth Republic at the expense of the left.

C. The European Community
1. The French economist and premier Robert Schuman began implementing a plan to make France and Germany interdependent economically, thus making war materially impossible.
2. In 1951, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was created by Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands; in its first three years, the ECSC increased steel and iron production by 75 percent and raised industrial production by 58 percent.
3. In 1957, the European Atomic Energy Community was created to oversee the development of atomic energy for civilian purposes.
4. The European Economic Community (EEC) in 1958 (also called the Common Market) had four cooperation areas: administrative (Council of the European Union), legislative (European Parliament), economic (European Commission), and judicial (European Court of Justice).

D. Great Britain and the Welfare State
2. The Labour Party initiated welfare programs, nationalizing banks and the coal and steel industries, launching the National Health Service Act of 1946, and establishing social security; Britain became a model for other European countries.
3. The 1944 Education Act expanded education opportunities.
4. Women lagged behind as recipients of these new social welfare programs.
5. These welfare programs allowed workers to partake in consumer culture, enjoy leisure activities, and travel abroad.

III. The Restructuring of Eastern Europe
A. The Communist Takeovers
1. By 1945, Communists were returning to their countries to begin organizing mass movements and build political power.
2. In eastern Europe, a handful of Moscow protégés imprisoned, exiled, or executed all noncommunist politicians and outmaneuvered their political opponents, using Soviet troops and the Cominform to purge communist parties there.

B. Yugoslavia’s Independent Course
1. Yugoslavia was the only country in eastern Europe where the communist victory was due overwhelmingly to internal forces.


3. After 1948, Tito founded the Non-Aligned Movement for Third World countries emerging from colonial rule.

C. Anti-Tito Purges
   1. Following Tito’s defection, Stalin took out his anger on the eastern European regimes, orchestrating vast purges of the communist leadership between 1948 and 1953.
      a) In Romania, Ana Pauker was purged by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.
      b) In Czechoslovakia in 1951, Slánský’s trial used his Jewish background against him and resulted in the purging of Slánský, Jewish survivors of the concentration camps, and idealistic communists.

   2. Most people accepted the antisemitic accusations out of fear and because they shared antisemitic attitudes.

D. State-Controlled Economies
   1. Communist regimes in eastern Europe underwent economic reconstruction with direct Soviet support, requiring each country to specialize in certain areas, ensuring that no one state could gain economic autonomy.

   2. Other goals included the collectivization of agriculture and social restructuring to create a larger urban proletariat and eliminate class enemies such as the middle classes, rich peasants, and religious leaders.

   3. The stamp of Soviet domination was made visible through the renaming of places after Stalin.

E. De-Stalinization
   1. In a secret speech at the Twentieth Party Congress (1956), Nikita Khrushchev denounced Stalin, who had died in 1953, and began a period of de-Stalinization.

   2. Khrushchev freed political prisoners of Stalin’s regime, closed down labor camps, reduced the KGB’s powers, and began purges against Stalin’s supporters.

   3. In October 1956, party conflict resulted in the Hungarian Uprising, which was violently crushed.

   4. De-Stalinization brought improvements because the Soviet state began spending more money on housing, public health, and basic consumer goods.

IV. Superpower Conflicts and Colonial Independence Movements, 1945–1968

A. Superpower Confrontations
   1. In the 1950s, the United States and the Soviet Union had their first direct military confrontation of the cold war in the Korean War, which left Korea divided in 1953.

   2. The United States expanded its military alliances and placed nuclear missiles around the world; the Soviets also built a missile arsenal.

   3. In 1957, the Soviets launched Sputnik 1, the first space satellite, placing them ahead of the Americans in the space race.

   4. In 1961, East Germany put up the Berlin Wall, which became a powerful symbol of what the cold war meant for average people.

   5. The most dangerous confrontation of the Soviets and Americans came in 1962, during the Cuban Missile Crisis, which almost led to nuclear war.

B. Colonial Independence Movements
   1. European countries found it impossible to maintain the same control over their colonies.

   2. The British offered colonies independence through the Commonwealth of Nations; India was a successful model, while African decolonization was more contentious and violent.
3. France chose to repress independence movements in Vietnam and Algeria; in 1954, the communist leader in Vietnam defeated the French, and in 1962, after civil war, De Gaulle gave up Algeria.

4. In the Middle East, authoritarian and often premodern theocracies chose neither communism nor capitalism.

C. The Nonaligned Movement
1. By 1980, the nonaligned movement grew from 25 to 117, becoming the largest UN bloc.
2. The Soviets invested heavily in economic and educational exchanges with the newly independent African states; the United States backed regimes that supported its economic interests, such as supporting an authoritarian monarchy in Iran to protect its oil investments in the Persian Gulf.
3. In the Suez Canal Crisis (1956), Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the canal, securing hefty financial support for Egypt from both superpowers.

V. Cultural Developments and Social Protest
A. Consumption and Conformity
1. Western Europeans sought to forget the past, work hard, and acquire material goods in a culture of consumption; instead of participating in mass political movements, they sought recognition for individual achievements.
2. In eastern Europe, the new communist regimes emphasized conformity, and eastern Europeans sought to avoid deviancy, which was punished with imprisonment or exile to labor camps.

B. Moral and Spiritual Crisis
1. Europeans became more secular, unconcerned with morality and spirituality.
2. Albert Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre promoted personal engagement against injustice.
3. The Catholic Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) allowed the use of local languages, gave reformist bishops more autonomy, and permitted greater involvement in social activism, for example, on behalf of the poor in Latin America.

C. Youth and the Counterculture
1. By the mid-1960s, a new generation’s counterculture rejected the values of their elders, sought more meaning in their lives, and embraced the pop culture of rock and roll with the Beatles, the Who, Bob Dylan, and New Wave cinema.
2. The young, including more women and workers, had unprecedented access to education and became increasingly radicalized and involved in political protest.

D. 1968
1. In 1968, the world seemed headed toward a revolution.
2. In the United States, Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated, which signaled the end of the peaceful civil rights movement and the beginning of more belligerent protests.
3. In France, a powerful student movement, centered in Paris under the leadership of Daniel Cohn-Bendit, made common cause with French workers.
4. In Czechoslovakia, Alexander Dubček started the Prague Spring, attempting to reform socialism without press censorship and allowing criticism, but hardliner Leonid Brezhnev sent in tanks to stop the reforms in August 1968.