**Dispense**

**Contemporary World History A/A 2021-2022**

Prof. M. Fforde

**Bibliography**

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**Introduction to the course**

Europe and the West (1945-1989) because we belong to it; because the dominant civilisation of the modern and contemporary era, and because now we perhaps are seeing its end: China and India. Also signs of internal decay and disruption. I will return to this theme later in the course when speaking about desocialisation and deChristianisation in the West.

Historiography as well:

Why study history?

a. Long term processes

b. Comparative perspective

c. Information about man: past a laboratory for understanding what humans are.

d. Correction of errors about the past which can only produce further errors.

e. How is history represented and by whom: books, cinema, TV.

**I. 1945-1989 Europe and the West**

A.

1. The Cold War: the First Stage 1945-1956

2. The Cold War: the Second Stage 1956-1980

3. Italy, Germany, France: Rebirth

4. The Rebirth of Japan and the Pacific Tigers

5. The European Project: the First Stage 1945-1970

6. The European Project: the Second Stage 1970-1989

7. Decolonisation

8. America 1945-1960

9. America 1960-1989

10. The Divergent Path of the United Kingdom: 1945-1979

11. The Divergent Path of the United Kingdom: 1979-1989

12. Collectivism and its Rejection 1960-1989

13. Towards the Fall of the Communist Regimes

14. The Rise of Mass Society

15. DeChristianisation

16. Post-Modernity and Desocialisation

**II. Great Britain 1945-2002**

1. From Imperial Power to Medium Power

2. Stagnation and Recovery

3. The Problem of Europe

4. DeChristiansation, Mass society and Desocialisation

**1. The Cold War: The First Stage 1945-1956**

A. **The Post-War Settlement**

Defeat of Germany, Italy and Japan and their allies by USSR, USA, British Empire

Some moves towards international co-operation:

Nuremberg trials 1945-46

United Nations Organisation based on Atlantic Charter (1941 8 points close to Wilson’s 14 points and Society of Nations), Security Council five permanent members; UK, USA, France, China, USSR UNESCO, FAO.

Bretton Woods agreement 1944 IMF; World Bank; Gatt Oct 1947 (very much USA)

1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights

1949 Council of Europe

But emerged two blocs of the West and the Soviet Union: opposing economic and political systems, and also values: atheism and Christianity.

Here remember the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of 1939; the German/Russian joint invasion of Poland; the German tolerance of Russian expansion in the Baltic States and Finland. The USSR and the Communist International in the 1930s. Strong Communist Parties in France, Italy and Greece at end of Second World War. Stage already set for what was known as the Cold War. Totalitarianism of the Left continued.

B. **Towards Confrontation**

- Roosevelt vague ideas about USSR presence in Europe; some sympathies for Staling. All this changes with April 1945 Truman

- July-August 1945 Potsdam: paper agreements by Stalin.

- 1945-48 Red army and imposition of regimes: Churchill wanted Allies to move eastwards.

Poland: 1947 Communists establish regime

Hungary: 1949 single list

Czechoslovakia: by May 1948 single list

Similar processes in Bulgaria and Romania

Baltic states not even given some space plus Russian immigration

Yugoslavia and Tito; partisan army. Albania

Soviet economic systems. State economies. USSR takes much plant and resources

Comecom Jan 1949

Late 1940s and early 1950s purges of Communist leaders in E. European states; purges also in USSR.

September 1947 Coinform; new version of third international. Italian and French Communist parties belong to it.

1949 USSR atomic bomb; 1953 hydrogen bomb.

1953 workers in East Berlin squashed by Soviet troops.

1956 Polish strikes squashed by Soviet troops.

1956 Soviet occupation of Hungary.

- Churchill March 1946 Fulton ‘iron curtain’.

1947 USA says will support Greece and Turkey Truman doctrine. UK economic weakness.

Communists defeated in Greece 1949; CPs out of government France and Italy 1947.

Germany: 1948 Berlin Blockade Airlift. Soviets stop in May 1949.

May 1949 West Germany created; then same year E. Germany.

June 1947-1952 begins Marshall Plan; w. Europe because Stalin forbids e. Europe participation. USA wealth.

April 1949 Atlantic Pact; NATO; 1955 Warsaw Pact.

USA Hiroshima and Nagasaki 1945

UK develops independent nuclear deterrent 1945-1952 – A-bomb in 1952.

USA: 1950 Internal Security Act; McCarthyism 1950

- Communist revolution in China 1949. Chang Kai Shek useless. Civil war, nationalists go to Formosa. State economy. February 1950 Friendship and mutual assistance treaty with USSR.

June 1950 N. Korea invades south. American and Chinese participation. April 1951 negotiations begun and 1953 division of country. But Mao steers independent course from USSR (nuclear weapons early 1960s)

**2. The Cold War: the Second Stage 1956-1980**

**-** Distension and Status Quo in Europe. Conflict outside

Stalin dies 1953. By 1957 Kruschev in command. End of Cominform 1956

1956 K. denounces errors of Stalin.

March 1955 soviet troops withdraw from Austria.

1956 USA and USSR jointly oppose Suez.

West does nothing over Hungary 1956

West does nothing over Czechoslovakia 1968: invasion by Warsaw Pact.

Eisenhower elected 1952: ex-head of Allied Forces during Second World War. Policy of containing USSR but avoiding war: got USA out of Korean war; avoided war with China during it; eliminated the Suez war of 1956; skilfully averted another Middle Eastern War in 1958. Avoided getting involved in war in Vietnam.

1961 Berlin wall built.

1961 K. and K. hold summit in Vienna.

After Cuban crisis direct telephone between Washington and New York

Both powers have accumulated enormous nuclear arsenals and elaborate spying systems and intelligence networks.

- The problem is outside Europe with the two blocs contending the world, especially in the context of decolonisation. Very important from this point of view the great growth of Soviet navy from 1962 onwards.

a. Vietnam:

1945 communist war against French: 1954 Vietnam divided.

Some support to S. Vietnam under Kennedy (dies 1963); greatly increased under JFK. N. Vietnam and Vietcong helped by Chinese and Russians. Ends under Nixon. Armistice 1973. But over next two years S. Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia fall to Communists.

b. Angola and Mozambique independent in 1975 and establish communist regimes. Ethiopia mid- 1970s

c. Cuba

End of Battista regime in 1959. Rise to power of Castro and communist model. Che Guevara tries to export model in Latin America; killed in Bolivia 1957. Castro involved in Angola and Mozambique, and elsewhere.

1961 bay of pigs failure.

1962 bases for launch of nuclear missiles discovered.

Cuban missile crisis. 1964 Kruschev removed.

d. Nicaragua 1979 communists take power. USA support for anti-communists. for Free elections won in1990 by democrats.

e. USSR invasion of Afghanistan in 1979; 1989 withdraw. US aid as Us aid to Nicaragua.

By the 1980s we are moving towards the fall of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, in which the way in Afghanistan played a significant part.

**3. Italy, Germany, France: Rebirth**

**Introduction**

Second World War shifted power out of Europe to USA and USSR.

About to engage in decolonisation: the old European empires to go.

UK half-European and part of this decline.

Devastating effect on the economies of Germany, Italy and France.

In addition major disruption of their political systems: Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, Vichy in France. In addition, Italy and France has very large Communist Parties.

In fact 1945-1970 extraordinary recovery; Lazarus; as well as launching of European project.

One powerful actor in this was the presence of three extraordinary men, great men do influence history: de Gasperi, Adenauer, De Gaulle, all of advanced age.

**A. Italy**

1. Achievement of political stability through the formation of Christian Democracy with allies.

De Gasperi: Partito Popolare Trentino part of Sturzo’s Partito Popolare. Put in prison by Mussolini, but taken out by Pope XI after Lateran Pact of 1929 and put in the Vatican library. Therefore a man not compromised by the regime – the monarchy was compromised and fell. Support of the Catholic Church. 1948 formation of Catholic trade union organisation.

First elections 1946 CD 35.2%; split of Social Democrats under Saragat 1947. Absolute majority of seats at elections of April 1948. This begins long period of Christian Democrat rule with minor allies PLI, PRI, PSDI (centrismo) leading into the 1960s when the Socialist were co-opted (1963 in government) , and then later in the 1980s with the pentapartito.

Also 1946-1953 de Gaperi era of political stability and reversal of Mussolini era by entering Western Europe and the West to the full: peace treaty with allies in Paris 1947; Italy adopts Marshall Plan, enters NATO (1949), joins the Council of Europe and the European Coal and Steel Community.

2. Launching of il miracolo italiano:

Il piano Einaudi (President 1948) ortodossia finanziaria.

Riforma agrarian 1950 (buwark strategy; small peasant proprietors)

1950 Casa per il Mezzogiorno

After death of de Gasperi DC becomes more interventionist at different levels.

But essential point was extraordinary vitality of free economy, especially small and medium family business in the North.

Between 1953 and 1973 average growth rate 3.8%; 1951-58, 5.3%

Population growth

International trade

Manufacturing industry; decline of agriculture – society of consumption (emigration from south to north).

**B. Germany**

Adenauer also a Catholic; just as de Gasperi Trentino, Adenauer was from Rhineland. Mayor of Cologne, Catholic Centre, dismissed by Hitler in 1933.

1945 Christian Democrat groupings emerge in Germany. Christian Social Union and Bavarian sister party. 1949 elections wins, and remains in power for 14 years, retires 1962, at times in coalition with the Free Democrats. 1957 an absolute majority. SPD only comes to power in 1969. As with Italy, Christian Democratic rule.

President of Parliamentary Council wrote Constitution; federal; how powers for President: rejection of Bismarckian State, Nazi State, with removal of many of the faults of Weimar. As with Italy, an effective Constitution.

British favoured 1945-1950 SPD. What British did was to impose a very favourable trade union movement. 75% majority vote needed for strikes. Not political trade union movement and monolithic.

1951 Co-partnership law: trade unions and workers representatives active in managerial decisions.

During his Chancellorship real incomes tripled.

Very strong German economy allowed strong development of welfare state.

Adenauer tied West Germany strongly to Western culture: Council of Europe, the early moves towards EC; but above all rapprochement with France, and this after two world wars. He declared: ‘There is no European policy without France jus as there is no European policy without or against Germany’. Worked closely with the French Robert Schuman. Then meeting with de Gaulle September 1958, important working together 1958-1962. Anti-British policy of both: 1961 UK’s application to join rejected, with silent Adenauer support: French-German axis in EEC that lasts until the 1980s, and may be reviving now.

**C. France**

The post-war history of France different in that whereas the great recovery for Italy and Germany was 1945-1960, in France it came with De Gaulle in 1958 and the 1960s. We may also note in France the failure of the Christian Democratic movement, differently from Germany (where still strong) and Italy (collapsed in 1990s).

De Gaulle resigns in 1946

First Constitution rejected popular vote

Second Constitution badly done and strong opposition at referendum

Proportional Representation system: large number of parties. Chronic instability, with continuation of large but kept our Communist Party. 1951 elections 6 parties over 10%

Catholic Centre Party (MRP) unable to achieve major role as in Italy and Germany; and this despite Jacques Maritain and Mournier, French theorists of Christian Democracy.

Major problems Indochina (defeated 1954); Algeria 1958, its end.

Economic slow, although Jean Monnet and ‘indicative planning’ and EEC

1948 Benelux; 1951 Common Market in Steel and Coal, 1957 Treaty of Rome Common Market.

But failure of economic take off.

Algerian Crisis 1958 brings de Gaulle to power. New Constitution of Fifth Republic in 1958 massive approval in referendum. Electoral system on second ballot opposing blocs rather than myriad of parties. Presidential power. Gaullist party dominant role right up until the early 1980s.

Long period of political stability, also a problem in France. Got out of Algeria 1962-3, the Evian agreements. De Gaulle resigns 1969 but his party and the Constitution survive.

Economics:

Rueff Chairman of Economic Commission 1958

Deflation, beginning of free market methods; EEC trade.

Very rapid economic expansion: exports doubled 1956-1962

1952-1972 industrial production tripled.

Living standards rose rapidly

Population growth.

Move away from countryside.

Major housing growth.

EEC policy keep UK out.

**4.** **The Rebirth of Japan and the Pacific Tigers**

**Japan**

Like Italy and Germany, Japan also an authoritarian/totalitarian state allied with Hitler’s Germany. Here also a very strong rebirth both politically and economically, and here as with Italy, Germany and later France very successful Constitution and dominant broadly based mass party: the Liberal Democratic Party, not to speak of a major leader of notable quality.

Foundation for recovery an excellent Constitution. Drawn up by MacArthur and promulgated 1947, conservation of Emperor, used best aspects of British and American Constitutions – no major constitutional difficulties 1947-1980. Free press and free trade unions; independent judicary and Supreme Court. Like UK imposition of good trade union system. Local government reform followed.

Emergence of liberal-conservative alliance, the Liberal Democratic Party. Like CD parties and MRP, Very long period of political stability, only ended elections of this year.

Yoshida Shigeru very able leader 1946-1954, like Adenauer, De Gaulle and De Gasperi.

Like Marshall Plan, Japan greatly benefited from American help; broadly aligned with USA, during Korean war used as military base by America, but otherwise like Germany very careful to follow a policy of non-involvement. This after the 1930s.

Post-war reconstruction completed by 1953 and then growth rate of 9.7% annually 1953-1971.

Cars, steel, ships, watches, TV sets, electronics.

Technology: the lesson of the Second World War. Anecdote about building an airport.

During 1970s moved to rival USA as industrial power; 1980s big foreign industrial and raw materials investment. Great emphasis placed on exports on industrial and consumer goods

Much of this helped by very low expenditure on armed forces which in effect had been abolished; as in Italy post-war land reform. Also move from countryside as in France and Italy, providing labour for industrial production. Low government spending, free market methods, and very special corporate, family style, culture – mirror of Italy small and medium sized family businesses.

**The Pacific Tigers**

Japanese economic dynamism greatly helped the adjacent Pacific economies of South Korea, Taiwan (ruled by Nationalists after losing the Chinese civil war), Hong Kong, and Singapore which all experienced extraordinary economic growth, paving the Pacific way for China from the 1990s onwards. Once again great emphasis placed on exports of industrial and consumer goods.

One should stress that in all the countries considered in Europe and the Pacific rim, rejection of the protectionist policies of the 1930s.

**5. The European Project: The First Stage 1945-1970**

- We have discussed the rebirth of Italy, Germany and France, and we have noted how these three countries constituted the three central powers in the early development of the European Community.

- We have also seen how with the Cold War Europe becomes divided between East and West, the division of Germany being a symbol of this. We have also seen NATO and the Warsaw Pact. It should thus be stressed, as this reference to Italy, Germany and France indicates, that the Europeanist Project right up until the 1990s was a project of Western Europe, although a reference should also be made to Greece. It was, therefore, part of the West’s response to the Soviet Union and the international communist movement.

- The Europeanist project must be seen against the background of two world wars which from some points of view were a sort of European Civil War. With major European states at war with each other. The two world wars were for example Franco-German conflicts and also Anglo-German conflicts. Many Western Europeans looked to a European system that would avoid such future conflicts.

- At another level, the 1930s had been a decade of economic protectionism and autarky. The Great Depression had greatly encouraged major economies, one may think of the USA and the UK for example, to create tariff walls. After the Second World the idea was to avoid a repeat of this protectionism and economic opposition.

- One final point: The UK is not a member of the EC until the early 1970s, and had a very difficult relationship, as it still does. So the first stage of the Europeanist project was without the British. Indeed for a while the UK was the principal power behind a sort of rival organisation, EFTA, the European Free Trade Association 1960-1972.

**Western European Union**

1948. UK, France and other countries sign a treaty for economic, cultural and social cooperation.

1954 Italy and W. Germany join and the Western European Union comes into existence. Cultural and social functions transferred to Council of Europe 1960

**Council of Europe**

Following Congress of Europe at Hague 1948. Famous speech by Churchill. Creation of European Movement. Council of Europe created 1949. W. European countries, including UK, note also Turkey and Greece joined 1949. Aim to foster European cooperation. European Convention on Human Rights 1950, which created the European Court of Human Rights in 1959 to examine violations. UK did not accept this jurisdiction until 1998.

**European Coal and Steel Community 1952**

France, Italy and W. Germany and Benelux countries, following the Schuman plan.

**European Community formed by Treaty of Rome 1957**

The same six countries as ECSC. Free trade between them; a single market.

Negotiations had begun at Messina in 1955, British observer withdrawn,.

This also establishes Eurotom – agreement on atomic energy.

1962 EEC agrees common agricultural policy

1966 Luxembourg compromise preserves veto on questions of ‘vital national interest’.

**1959 EFTA**

UK, Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland. Iceland joined later. Removal of internal tariffs.

But change in British view:

1963 de Gaulle vetoes British entry to EEC

1967 de Gaulle does the same.

1969 Hague agreement on beginning British negotiations to apply.

**6. The Europeanist Project: The Second Stage 1970-1989**

- Here we see great expansion of membership; move out of single market and common agricultural policy, common external trade policy towards much wider areas, as well as development of European institutions, for example the European Parliament, and reduction of national sovereignty. Moving towards the European Union of today. A change of direction. But notice also no clear idea of what the EU is or wants to be.

- Notice also the continued problems of the United Kingdom

**Membership**

1973 UK, Denmark and Ireland join; Greece 1982; Spain and Portugal 1986 (emergence of democratic regimes in these countries). At same time UK, Denmark and Ireland leave EFTA. Since that time great increase of Eastern Europe.

At the same time continued importance until 1989 of the Franco-German entente, continued for example by Mitterrand in the 1980s, Socialist President, which still seems to be very important.

**Government**

Treaty of Rome 1957, the Community had four main organs:

The Council of Ministers, the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the European Court of Justice. The first two bodies deciding on EC law.

Since the 1970s growth in power of the European Parliament:

By the Treaty of Rome each country nominated members of the European Parliament. 1984 Community-wide elections for a directly elected European Parliament.

Single European Act 1986 and Treaty of Maastricht 1993 European Parliament increased role in making law in some areas, a trend that has continued. Also got the power to vote in and vote out the European Commission.

Also reduction in power of national vetoes

Also since 1975 regular European Summit of Heads of Government – at least one such European Council during each member’s state’s six month presidency. Twice a year. Before 1975 these were ad hoc.

**Areas**

In 1980s and 1990s expansion of EC from internal market and CAP and EUROTOM and a greater integration of financial and monetary policies – in taxation, land and air transport, manufacturing and environmental standards, a single currency, integrated company law. With Exchange Rate Mechanism ECU 1999 move towards Euro and a shared currency. Regional and social funds. 1991 11 states adopt Social Charter. Also common foreign and security policy and cooperation in justice and law enforcement. 1980 EC applies sanctions on Iran to support USA; 1982 does the same in relation to Argentina at time of Falklands War. This trend culminates in Treaty of Lisbon in 2009 after the failure of the European Constitution. Now the idea of an EU Foreign Minister for example.

**Problems of the UK**

Labour government renegotiates in 1974-5; 1975 referendum in favour.

1978 creation of European Monetary System. UK does not participate.

1979-1980 Thatcher campaign to change UK contribution.

1983 Labour Party manifesto says withdrawal from EU an ‘option’.

1988 Thatcher Bruges speech against further European integration

1989 UK does not adhere to Social Charter

1990 Rome summit leaves Thatcher isolated on monetary union

1990 UK joins EMS

1992 UK leaves Exchange Rate Mechanism

Now very great popular opposition. Brown’s signature of Lisbon Treaty

**The Problems that remains**

National sovereignty; Referendums on European Constitution. Who decides what and how. Recently decision about crucifix in Italian schools. No reference to Christian roots of Europe in Constitution. Also what is Europe: Turkey? Russia? Georgia?

**7. Decolonisation**

- When we consider the period we have been examining one of the great developments is decolonisation: the retreat of the European powers, and in particular Britain and France, from their empires.

- Since fifteenth century European expansion in the world. We may be at the end of that parabola with China and India. The construction of gigantic empires, of which the British was the largest. After the First World war had over 25% of the surface of the globe. Why is English the lingua franca: because of N. America and the Empire.

**-** 1945-1975 decolonisation: no cooperation between the colonial powers about withdrawal, they never met to decide how to do it, there were no informal contacts. In addition, prior to 1939 and even in the years after 1945 the colonial powers, in particular France and Great Britain had no clear programme for their empires and for withdrawing from them. Portuguese African colonies continued into the 1970s

- World scene changes: USA and USSR want end of European colonial empires, not least to extend their own influence.

- This part of decline of European powers. Their economic power not what it was in the nineteenth century. The Europeanist movement an attempt to strengthen Europe within this context, and the federalist project grows with India and China over the last twenty years. For Europe there was a return to the old world from the new.

- One final observation: with certain exceptions (India for example) the European experiments in transferring their democratic and libertarian models of government failed, and this was especially true in black Africa which witnessed government of great corruption and cruelty – Idi Amin in Africa; Mobutu in Zaire. But also Middle East. Decolonisation frequently meant military take overs and dictatorships. For example between 1920 and 1975 UK produced for colonies something like 500 written constitutions, most lasted only a few years, some a few months, some were never applied. None survived into the 1980s.

**France**

De Gaulle’s post-war government not anti-colonial. Rising in Madagascar put down with ferocity. Military initiatives by him in Indo-china. Mitterrand 1957: ‘Without Africa, France will have no history in the twenty-first century’. But 1946 France withdraws troops from Syria and the Lebanon; no colonial goals there.

**Fourth Republic**

1956 independence given to Morocco and Tunisia. But filo-French Western governments

Algeria much more difficult.

Over a million French in the country. Independence movement radicalises with Nasser. 1957 Battle for Algiers. 1958 Comitato di Salute publico; pericolo di colpo di stato in Francia. Brings back de Gaulle. Evian agreements 1962 conceding independence. The film **The Battle of Algiers**.

**Suez**

Egypt formal independence 1922 but continued British presence, especially the Canal. 1952 coup; 1954 Nasser. Arab nationalism, especially within context of State of Israel and Palestinian problem. 1956 nationalises Suez Canal after moving closer to USSR.

1956 French and British occupy Canal; Israel Sinai. French moves in part because of Egyptian support for Algerian independence. Nasser’s position strengthened.

**Fifth Republic**

De Gaulle and Algeria but also Africa. At conference of Brazzaville de Gaulle already held up road for freedom for Black colonies who had joined Free French (Arab and Indo-Chinese territories aligned with Vichy. He decides on independence, but hoping to maintain strong links.

September 1958 referendum, votes in favour of interdependence but this really meant independence. A whole series of African countries this moved to being separate states: Niger, Cameroon, Gabon, Chad, Ivory Coast, Mauritania, for example.

**Great Britain**

- As with France unplanned. In 1942 Churchill declared ‘I have not become Prime Minister of the King to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire’. In 1930s Colonial Office still offering long term careers.

 Some moves during the inter-war period: Egypt independent in 1922 after the nationalist revolt of 1919, but still control over Suez and government of the Sudan. Independence movement in India, India Act of 1935 with new assembly in Delhi and more autonomous regions.

 Dominions 1931, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa effective independence. Also greater independence for Rhodesia in 1923

But otherwise no plan or programme for decolonisation, making the next thirty years rather chaotic. Often armed independence movements leading to rapid withdrawal.

A.

- Decision taken to pull out of Indian sub-continent in 1946 and done very hurriedly. By 1949 India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma had come into existence.

- Middle East: Kingdom of Jordan 1946; Israel 1948; further withdrawal from Egypt 1945; Sudan 1956; Cyprus 1960. The failure of Suez1 1956; Kuwait 1961; 1971 United Arab Emirates, Bahrein, Qatar, Oman. British contact with gulf monarchies – City of London. Cooperation in first Gulf War of 1991.

- Black Africa. 1960 Prime Minister Macmillan declared that winds of change blowing through Africa. Independence of Uganda (1962), Kenya (1963), Tanzania (1963), Zambia (1964), Malawi (1964). Ghana already in 1957, Nigeria (1960), Somalia Britannica (1960), Sierra Leone (1961), Gambia (1965), Lesotho (1966), Botswana (1966), Swaziland (1968).

- The problem of Rhodesia. Strong tradition in Rhodesia meridionale of independent institutions of the settlers, goes back to before the Great War. In 1965 proclaimed independence under Ian Smith. Could have been like Algeria. Imposition of commercial sanctions by British government; no strong support for them. ZAPU and ZANU guerrilla war. 1980 Lancaster House agreement – Zimbabwe created.

- 1957 Malaysia independent after long insurrection; 1963 Singapore, Borneo settentrionale, Sarawak. Also many islands: Barbados (1966), or Mauritius (1968), for example. Hong Kong by end of century.

- 1982 Falklands war; Gibraltar and other small islands remain.

- Problem of South Africa. Had been a dominion. Proclaims Republic in 1961 and left Commonwealth. In 1950s Boers take majority. Policy of Apartheid. Major producer of gold, uranium and diamonds; attracted major immigration from near countries. Only recently black majority rule.

B. The Commonwealth

Association of states previously belonging to empire, with central Secretariat, conferences and games. Queen remains head of state of dominions. Not of major importance. But major countries members, India for example.

**Post-Decolonisation**

Failure of exportation democracy and political liberty; conflict between USA and USSR in Cold War, this we have already discussed: we may remember Castro’s Cuba, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan 1979; Vietnam; Menghistu in Ethiopia after fall of Hailie Selase in 1974.

**-** For example between 1920 and 1975 UK produced for colonies something like 500 written constitutions, most lasted only a few years, some a few months, some were never applied. None survived into the 1980s.

**Middle East**

Israel supported by the West, especially by the USA. Fought various wars – of independence, 1967, 1973. Only true model of liberal democracy in Middle East, although the Lebanon a moderate state based on compromise between internal Christians and Muslims for a number of decades, and also the state of Jordan. Algeria, Tunisia, Libya autocratic regimes; as in Syria, Iraq and Iran, the Sudan, chiefly based on military power and security forces; then autocratic monarchic regimes of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States. In recent decades in some of these countries revival of Islamism, in particular in Iran with fall of pro-West Shah in 1970s. Remained major problem of fate of Palestinian, remains major issue.

**India**

After Ghandi, democratic conditions continued.

Pakistan the establishment of a military dictatorship; 1971 Bangladesh. But both Pakistan, with intervals and Bangladesh unable to sustain democratic procedures in a stable way with the constant interference or dictatorship of the army. Burma fell into military dictatorship. Indonesia dictatorship under Sukarno, and also civil war, and then military dictatorship.

**Africa**

Particularly bad case

Artificial boundaries; imposition of European nation-state on heterogenous ethnic groups

All these states fell into various forms of dictatorship, where usually the army was the key institution.

Idi Amin in Uganda 1971-1979

Mobutu in Zaire.

Bokassa Central African Republic

But many other examples.

No economic lift off and continued major poverty.

**Latin America 1945-1989**

Also characterised by fall into dictatorship and military rule. 1953 end of Peron in Argentina and military dictatorship – ends 1973 then 1976 return and in 1982 with Falklands defeat; 1973 Pinochet in Chile, dictatorship ended in 1989. Uruguay army takes over in 1973. Democratisation in Latin America process of the 1980s onwards. Brazil military regime hands over power and free elections in 1985. 1984-1985 free elections also in Bolivia, Uruguay and Peru.

Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador democratic institutions of some sort remained.

**8. America 1945-1960**

- During inter-war period not part of League of Nations; during 1930s policy of protectionist tariffs. A certain isolationism – for example not active at Treaty of Monaco in 1938. Only came into the war in December 1941 with Pearl Harbour, when attacked, and declaration of war on USA by Hitler. Economic weakness during the 1930s.

All this changed after 1945 when emerged as super power together with USSR: 1945-1960 very dynamic economy, active foreign affairs policy during the Cold War as power shifts away from Europe, political stability under Eisenhower 1952-1960 – parallel here with De Gasperi, Adenauer, De Gaulle and Yoshida Shigeru (one may also refer to Ben Gurion in Israel).

A. **Economic performance**

Despite interventionism of President Roosevelt in 1930s, who had Democratic majority in both houses of Congress, USA economy in 1930s very slow to recover.

1938 unemployment 19%

1938 production still below 1929 levels

The Second World War changed all this. 1939-1945 production doubled, unemployment disappeared, national income increased by 75%. 1946 USA had about 40% of world income and about half of manufacturing capacity.

This launched the USA 1945-1960 on a period of extraordinary economic growth, as with Germany and Japan, and Italy and France 1955-1965. All realities encouraging each other, but because of the sheer size of the American economy, the USA the major stimulant.

1958 J.K.Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*

Symbol of growth such products as the fridge and the TV: 1948 only 172,000 families had TV; by 1960 90% of households had a TV. Of course here also the emergence of very powerful reality of the mass media.

This growth provided economic bases for new activist role of USA on world stage, Marshall Plan after second world war good example, but also foreign aid generally. Truman after 1948 election victory declares ‘bold new programme’ of foreign aid: by the 1970s, when the quantity of aid began to decline, $150 billion spent, two-thirds outside W. Europe.

B. **Foreign activism**

We have already talked about this when discussing the Cold War and decolonisation:

1949 United Nations Organisation based on Atlantic Charter, Security Council five permanent members; UK, USA, France, China, USSR UNESCO, FAO.

Bretton Woods agreement 1944 IMF; World Bank; Gatt Oct 1947 (very much USA).

Marshall Plan.

Southeastern Asian Treaty Organisation 1954 US, Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, Australia, New Zealand, UK, France.

1947 CIA

1947 UK says to USA cannot support Greece and Turkey and USA aware of post-European vacuum.

1948 Berlin Blockade Airlift.

Strong support for Israel, through aid as well, from foundation of State in 1948.

Early 1950s involvement in Korean War.

During 1950s policy of containment of empire of USSR.

C. **The Eisenhower years 1952-1960**

Elected by huge majorities in 1952 and 1956 as moderate and non-partisan candidate. Probably would have won again but 1951 law limited presidency to two terms. But had a largely Democratic Congress. The Democrats had gained majority of Congress in 1930s, ending long Republican dominance since the Civil War, and this continued for many decades (although Republican senate for a while after 1952). Coalition in particular of major urban centres and southern States. His Vice-President Richard Nixon, became President 1968, defeated by Kennedy in 1960.

He succeeded Harry Truman, former Vice-President of Roosevelt, who won elections of 1948, but in some respects a continuator of Truman’s policy.

1. Eisenhower former commander of Allied Forces in Europe and thus great experience in organisation and administration. Gave the impression of being rather removed from government and engaged in delegation but in secret and behind the scenes very active and directive.

2. Policy of low inflation and containing federal expenditure. In social and economic policies conservative, as he himself admitted. Not in favour of development of welfare state; wanted to contain power and role of what he called military/industrial complex. Very little done on civil rights.

3. Foreign policy: containment policy through NATO, SEATO and foreign aid. Got out of Korean War; scotched Suez in 1956; not involvement in Vietnam (come later); let McCarthyism die by allowing McCarthy to destroy himself, which he did by eventually attacking the US army. 1954 the Senate censures him.

**9. America 1960-1989**

From 1960 to 1989 entered into major difficulties at an economic level and also politically, leading on to the major change at all levels of the 1980s and Reaganism. Therefore now 1960 to 1980, and the 1980s.

**1960-1980**

1. **The economy**

The major period of growth came to be challenged in the 1970s and the growing problem of state regulation and expenditure, and declining power of USA economy in world context: 1971 proportion of world production under 30%

GDP doubled during SWW, doubled again by 1957, and again by 1969. Shift of the national economy to the West and the South, reflected in the origins of Presidents.

But:

a. 1960 and 1970s vast amount of regulations: by 1979 calculated that cost 100 billion a year.

Productivity falls: 1967-1977 manufacturing grows 27%, Japan 107%.

1973 abandonment of gold standard and Bretton Woods; no longer dominant at international currency level.

Inflation of post-1973, in particular because of rise in oil price – Arab weapon after war of 1973 and USA saving of Israel.

Becoming big importer: early 1970s 50% of oil; and other raw materials create vulnerability in Cold War – also contraction of navy in 1970s.

b. Growth of social spending. In particular under Johnson 1962-1968 – the ‘great society’. By 1971 Fed gvt spent more on welfare than defence. Fed gvt 16% of GDP 1950; 22% by 1975. This means that after 1975 rapid rise in public debt.

By 1980 social security 21% of federal expenditure and rising.

2. **Political instability**

1960 Kennedy elected but killed in 1962 like his brother Bobby in 1968.

Johnson 1962-1968, but did not run again in 1968.

Nixon elected 1968, but embroiled in Watergate campaign and forced to resign 1974

Major shift of power back to Congress, coupled with major growing power of mass media.

Carter 1976-1980 a one term president.

1960s major civil rights campaign under Martin Luther King; 1968 George Wallace separate candidacy and carries many southern States – beginning of end of supremacy of Democratic Party in South.

1960s counterculture of young and universities which greatly expanded in 1960s. ‘1968’ in the West. Sexual revolution, feminism, rock music, drugs, crystallised around issue of Vietnamese War; violence on campuses 1968 and years afterwards.

3. **Reverses in foreign policy**

**-** Vietnam. Greater involvement by Kennedy and then major involvement under Johnson. Johnson uses tactic of mass bombing but ineffective – no decision to invade the North. Nixon aims at withdrawal through development of ties with China. Jan 1973 USA and N. Vietnam USA agrees to withdrawal but with independent S. Vietnam – USA conserves right to use Carriers in the sea and troops in Thailand and Taiwan, a real sanction. But 1974 after Nixon’s exit Congress prohibits intervention and Ford can do nothing when N. Vietnam invades south. Laos and Cambodia fall to Communists.

- Cuba. End of Battista regime in 1959. Rise to power of Castro and communist model. Castro involved in Angola and Mozambique, and elsewhere as anti-USA power.

- Communist Menghistu in Ethiopia after fall of Hailie Selase in 1974.

- Angola and Mozambique independent in 1975 and establish communist regimes.

- Nicaragua 1979 communists take power.

- USSR invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

- 1979 end of Shah in Iran and establishment with Khomeini of anti-USA regime and rise of political Islamism. Taking of hostages of embassy and failure of rescue attempt by Carter.

**1980s**

Ronald Reagan was an ex-actor and had been governor of California for two terms. Argued in favour of reducing the role of the state in economy and restoring national power.

Won both elections 1980 and 1984 overwhelmingly; always a Democrat House of Representatives, but 3 out of 4 senates small Republican majority. 1994 Republicans capture both Houses for first time since Roosevelt 1932

Very adept as actor in use of TV.

- Economic policy: tax reduction and deregulation. Rapid growth of economy, with fall in inflation and unemployment. Major problem was continued growth in deficits and public debt.

- Foreign policy: expansion of expenditure on armed forces in particular the navy, development of star wars programme. Putting on pressure on the Soviet Union’s poor economy.

1983 invasion of Grenada after Communist regime; 1986 bombing of Libya; supply of mujadeen in Afghanistan; covert backing for anti-Sandinista rebels in Nicaragua.

Preparing ground for fall of Communist regimes in 1989-1990

10. **The Divergent Path of the United Kingdom: first stage1945-1979; the second stage 1979-1989**

We have seen Germany, France, Italy and Japan: new Constitutions, important new political parties, major long lasting politicians. Great economic growth 1945-1970. Move towards the European community. USA 1945-1960 Eisenhower and major economic growth. Decolonisation difficult for France – Algeria – and USA embroiled in Vietnam.

Great Britain follows a rather different path. This a part of its history. An island, Protestant Reformation, no absolutism, localist state, maritime empire looking to world and not Europe, first state of industrialise, very rapid democratisation, early establishment of welfare state. Continues in period 1945-1989 to follow rather different paths.

Two distinct periods: 1945-1979 and 1979-1989

**1945-1979**

All in all very major decline for what was previously a world power

A. **Economic problems. UK an exception**

1950 GNP $47 billion; $75 for the Six; 1970 GNP per capita doubled; the Six grown fivefold. British exports tripled, those of Six increased ten times. This gap widened on 1970s.

Why?

a. Excessive trade union power. British gave Germany an excellent TU system but did not do the same for itself.

1. Restrictive practices decreases productivity and investment

2. Growth of public sector:

3. Wage inflation especially from late 1960s onwards; exploded in middle 1970s.

b. Large and inefficient state sector, nationalised industries and services: 1975 state expenditure 59% of GDP

1976 UK had to ask for help from the IMF

This background helps us to understand the Conservative governments of 1979-1997 and the character of Thatcherism, similar to Reaganism.

B. **Constitutional and political immobility**

a. The old parties: Labour and Conservative continue, alternating with changes in policy, although increase in popular support for Liberal Party in 1970s, a sign of future move away from the old parties. No renewal of these parties and no new dynamic at level of politicians: Attlee, Churchill and Eden for example.

b. No attempt to reform House of Lords or to make it democratic

c. Massive process of centralisation and move away from local government tradition

d. No attempt at reform of electoral system to make it more representative, especially notable in 1970 and 1980s.

e. Also divergent because maintained a monarchy.

d. Continued to have an unwritten Constitution.

C. **Decolonisation**

As we have seen, rapid withdrawal from Empire, largely without planning and cooperation with other colonial powers. But had the advantage of not getting involved in such events and Algeria or Indo-China. Although should be said that successful campaign against armed revolt in Burma in 1950s before independence.

We remember the problem of Rhodesia. Strong tradition in Rhodesia meridionale of independent institutions of the settlers, goes back to before the Great War. In 1965 proclaimed independence under Ian Smith. Could have been like Algeria. Imposition of commercial sanctions by British government; no strong support for them. ZAPU and ZANU guerrilla war. 1980 Lancaster House agreement – Zimbabwe created.

D. **Foreign policy**

Orientation towards Anglo-Saxon world rather than EU

Special relationship with USA, seen most notably in recent Iraqi wars and Afghanistan. Membership of NATO. Identification with Canada, Australia and New Zealand – Queen remains head of state. Strong economic, cultural and political ties with Anglo-Saxon world. An orientation here which means lack of attraction towards the Europeanist project.

European Coal and Steel Community 1952: UK not member

European Community formed by Treaty of Rome 1957: Negotiations had begun at Messina in 1955, British observer withdrawn; UK not member

1959 EFTA

UK, Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland. Iceland joined later. Removal of internal tariffs.

But change in British view:

1963 de Gaulle vetoes British entry to EEC

1967 de Gaulle does the same.

1969 Hague agreement on beginning British negotiations to apply.

1973 UK enters EC.

Labour government renegotiates in 1974-5; 1975 referendum in favour.

1978 creation of European Monetary System. UK does not participate.

1979-1980 Thatcher campaign to change UK contribution.

**1979-1989**

Economic change

- Thatcherism: privatisation; fight against inflation in particular through monetarism; sale of council houses; deregulation, for example of City of London; reduction in taxation; severe curbs on trade union power. The economy begins to recover and sustained growth achieved in 1990s.

- No constitutional reform but continued centralisation. Very unrepresentative electoral system. Rise of other parties: Liberals, Social Democrats, Scottish and Welsh nationalists.

- Various experiments in N. Ireland 1968-2009 to deal with major disturbances in the Province.

- Continued problems with EU:

1983 Labour Party manifesto says withdrawal from EU an ‘option’.

1988 Thatcher Bruges speech against further European integration

1989 UK does not adhere to Social Charter

1990 Rome summit leaves Thatcher isolated on monetary union

1990 UK joins EMS

1992 UK leaves Exchange Rate Mechanism

Does not join Euro

Now very great popular opposition. Brown’s signature of Lisbon Treaty

-Continued closeness to USA, greatly favoured by Thatcher/Reagan entente: Falklands War, Cruise missiles; bombing of Libya 1986.

**12.** **Collectivism and its Rejection 1960-1989**

1970s, especially after 1973, period of high inflation and high unemployment in Western countries. Poor economic performance.

From 1960s growth of state role in economy and society in the West, advanced by left and right. In 1970s un West rising levels of welfare state, and often inefficient state industries and services not supported by sufficient economic growth, involved much higher levels of taxation and a consequent criticism of exaggerated role of the state in the economy and society. Left-wing parties and governments supported this high profile of the state and 1970s.

This led on in 1980s and early 1990s to right-wing parties seeking to reduce the role of the state and to left-wing parties moving in this direction. Monetarism one expression of this as instrument for control of inflation; also privatisation and lower taxation. Problem raised again in early decades of twenty-first century because of the problem of the ageing of the population

**1970s**

**E.g.**

USA: regulation of business in 1960s and 1970s; ‘civil rights’ pressure on business and state sector; growth of welfare sector. Carter presidency 1976-1980; Democrat dominance of Congress.

UK: similar developments. 1975 state expenditure 59% of GDP. Labour Party in power 1974-1979.

Germany: 1970s dominated by Social Democratic Party and Big Government policy.

Italy: DC, strong interventionist orientation with rising levels of public debt.

France: Gaullist party dominates 1970s, but it also a Big State policy.

**1980s**

a. We have already observed the reaction of Reaganism and Thatcherism in 1980s; one may also note that in Germany end of Social Democrat dominance under Schmidt and Brandt ends in 1983 with Kohl and CDU/FD coalition

In Norway, Denmark and Sweden social democrats reduced in power or removed.

b. The movement towards the market and a decreased role of the state on the part of left-wing parties the most significant development:

France: Socialists come to power 1981 with Mitterrand. After initial policies such as nationalisation moved rightwards.

Portugal Socialist Party under Soares also moves rightwards

Spain: Spanish Socialist Party under Gonzalez wins elections 1982 but pro-market

Australia: Labour Party under Hawke, PM 1983, does the same

New Zealand Labour Party under Lange, PM 1984, follows Hawke.

All this symbolised by Tony Balir’s creation of New Labour in UK which achieves power in 1997.

Italy: Socialist party under Craxi who becomes PM 1983 in coalition with DC and other parties. CP had moved in more moderate fashion under Berlinguer and this prepared terrain for much later transformation of CP into what would become the PD in the early years of next century.

No accident that by the end of the 1990s Communist Parties, which had been strong in France, Italy, Spain and Portugal, and exponents of the state economy, had either been transformed out of recognition or had been marginalised.

13. **Towards the Fall of the Communist Regimes**

We have already noticed number of factors which are of great importance in understanding the fall of the Communist regimes in Europe 1989-1991, and the point should be made in Europe: in China, in Indo-China they continued.

1. The new approach of Reagan and Thatcher in the 1980s, a more decidedly anti-Soviet position: Reagan’s backing for anti-Communist insurgents in Afghanistan and Nicaragua for example. Greater defence spending of Reagan, in particular navy and Star Wars project, the location of Cruise missiles in W. Europe. Also the rhetoric – Reagan talked of an ‘evil empire’.

2. Revived strength of the Western economies of USA and UK in particular showed that the Berlin Wall was also a wall between relative wealth and poverty and not only democracy and totalitarianism.

- We may also mention radio and TV broadcasts across frontiers. China now wants to control Internet.

- Of note also how democracy advanced in Latin America in 1980s – once thought fertile terrain for Communists – Che Guevara, Nicaragua, for example.

The collapse begins in Soviet empire in Eastern Europe, whose history we have already studied.

1. The papacy of John Paul II 1978. Early 1980s Solidarity, Catholic inspiration in Catholic country. 1981 General Jaruselski martial law. Pope visits Poland in 1983 and 1987. After Gorbacov negotiations which lead to 1989 free elections and formation of non-Communist government

2. Hungary. Old leader Kadar, active in repression of 1956, removed. New leadership moves towards free elections for 1990. Remove barriers with Austria. Flow of E. Germans through Hungary and Austria to W. Germany. November 1989 removal of Berlin Wall after ousting of Honecker and new leadership.

3. December Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria regimes fall.

After these changes Hungary 1990 right-wing government; CS centre-left; Poland Solidarity; E. Germany CD wins the elections of 1990 and October 1990 with Kohl reunification.

4. Yugoslavia divides into constituent nations that would subsequently see violent Serbian/Bosnia conflict. Albania regime also collapses. Baltic states achieve independence from USSR.

All this greatly favoured by dissolution of USSR:

- Continuing bad performance of economy 1970s and 1980s- had to import cereal for example.

USSR active in 1970s and 1980s abroad and this costs: Cuba, Nicaragua. Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique. But most dramatic was invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. Very expensive and costly war lasts for a decade. Also could not match Reagan’s military expansion.

- Internal rigidity under Breznev – Solzhenitsyn. The economy by 1980s in a very bad state.

1985 arrival of Gorbacov as secretary of CP. Young (54) and thus far from Stalinism. Reforms of glasnost and perestroika, political and economic liberalisation. Elected President of USSR 1990.

- Gobacov make clear 1989-1990 that red army would not be used to crush dissent in E. Europe.

- Opens up space for dissent. De Tocqueville comment. Economic reforms not successful.

- August 1991 coup d’etat by hard-line generals. Eltsin elected President of Russian Federation play key role against.

- Nationalties question major force for dissolution. Georgia, Armenia and Moldavia proclaim independence. Ukraine. December 1991 Community of Independent States. December 1991 Gorbacov resigns. End of USSR.

**14. The Rise of Mass Society**

What do we mean by mass society? The movement away from small, narrow social horizons, towards a mass context with shared mass institutions and broad horizons. J.S.Mill, De Tocqueville aware of this at the time of the industrial revolution. Taken up by the founders of sociology such as Durkheim and Weber. Greatly developed after Second World War in Western societies:

1. Transport. First great leap forward was railways in second part of nineteenth century; after 1945 enormous expansion of motor car, facilitated by motor ways already pioneered in 1930s.

2. Mass communications. Mass newspapers take off end of nineteenth century; cinema and radio in inter-war period. The massive growth of TV post 1950 in the West.

3. More recently spread of Internet and everything connected with it through IT revolution and PC.

4. Continued growth of large cities and urban conglomerations. In Italy, France, Japan and USA continued move away from countryside to cities 1945-1970.

5. Economic boom produced increasingly national markets with national advertising and distribution of consumer goods. Mcdonalds.

6. 1945-1980 also period of mass political parties and mass trade unions, although generalised decline in membership from 1980s onwards.

Move towards wider mass horizons than national territory. Membership of European Community. But most of all globalisation, with English as the lingua franca, generated by Internet and the financial sector in particular, but also by greater contact and interaction between peoples, facilitated by fall of Berlin Wall. Here the impulse is towards what might be seen as a global mass society. Special reference must be made here to very high levels of immigration into Western countries from 1960s onwards, the consequent creation of multiethnic societies, and this process continuing now.

Critics of mass society and also of globalisation stressed that the mass was too large and led to non-belonging and isolation of the individual. I will return to this later when discussion post-modernity and desocialiation.

But now reference to another factor bound up with desocalisation and the loss of social ties- the marked decline in religious culture in the West 1945-1989.

**15. DeChristianisation**

- Many Christian thinkers in the West in first part of twentieth century feel that modernity will bring major decline of Christianity. In England R.H.Benson and T.S.Eliot; in Germany Bonhoeffer. Notable that Communism and Nazism atheist movements which could command mass support.

- USA retained high levels of church attendance but declines in 1980s and afterwards, in particular the traditional Protestant Churches.

Similar patterns in Italy, Spain and France.

Canada an especial fall in the 1960s.

UK collapse. Now about 5% regular attendance; 1980s especial fall.

During the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s retreat from Churches and established religious bodies and consequent retreat of Christian culture.

In this context not surprising the decline of Christian inspired political parties, for example the DC in Italy and the MRP in France.

The preamble of the abortive European Constitution omitted any reference to the Christian roots of Europe, a historical error but also highly significant.

But at same time outside the West revival of religious fundamentalism: most notably on the Muslim world, symbolised by the theocracy in Iran in 1979. But also Protestant fundamentalism in some areas of USA and also in Latin America. Reference may also be made to Hinduism in India and the formation of a distinct Hindu party which was in power at the beginning of the new millennium.

The question of the consequences of the decline of Christian culture in the West, for example the institution of the family. Here we lead on to another question: the loss of social ties from the 1960s onwards.

 **16. Post-Modernity and Desocialisation**

From 1970s onwards a large number of thinkers in West explored increasing loss of ties. Etzioni in USA gives rise to the Community movement. Another writer in USA Putnam. Fukuyama writes The Great Disruption. In Catholic circles the same observations, evident in pronouncements on John Paul II and Benedict XVI. Also Hobsbawm The Short Twentieth Century.

The theme also in a broad range of writers and cinema. Houellebecq in France; Hornby in UK. Films such as Bridget Jones’ Diary or About a Boy.

The same phenomena being seen by people of very different ideological positions

A series of phenomena: break down of the institution of family, more in N. Europe and Anglo-Saxon world.

Rise of number of people living alone: UK 2009 over 9 million.

Massive decrease in mass membership of civil society: trade unions, political parties, Churches and church connected bodies.

Alienation of from political parties and institutions.

Rise of crime and violence.

Distrust between citizens.

The great differences regard the reasons for this phenomenon:

My book locates it principally in decline of Christian culture and affirmation of new visions of man, society and culture which generate selfish individualism.

Perhaps, therefore, the great dynamic of the West 1945-1989 has been towards isolation and the consequent crisis of our civilisation.

**II. Great Britain and Europe 1945-2002 (10 hours)**

**I. From Imperial Power to Medium Power**

1945-1980 period of decline: lack of political regeneration, loss of empire and international status; economic stagnation.

**a. The political system**

**- 1945-1979**

No written Constitution or Constitutional reform; no House of Lords reform; continuing centralisation; monarchy as symbol **(the film The Queen**).

Electoral system: first past the post, almost complete dominance by Conservative and Labour Parties. Examples of general elections. Lack of new political forces such as to be found in Germany, Italy, France and Germany.

Indeed broad agreement between parties on general approach known as Butskellism. Mixed economy and welfare state; trade union power; foreign policy pro NATO and USA; differences over Europeanist project. General tendency for Labour to push leftwards and Conservatives to preserve this.

a. Labour governments of 1945-1951

Clement Attlee; nationalisation; welfare state; mass education. Leadership of Labour Party of thirties and second world war; same to be said of trade union leadership. Pro West; develops independent atomic bomb; NATO, and this despite prestige of Stalin after victory. Strong statist approach.

b. Conservative government 1951-1964.

Return of Churchill 1951-1955; replaced by Eden. Old leadership. Harold Macmillan and then Lord Douglas Home. Some denationalisation but otherwise continuity.

c. Labour governments 1964-1970

Harold Wilson. Further nationalisation; 1960s cultural change policies. Talked of modernisation in 1964 campaign but little achieved. Prices and incomes controls.

d. Conservative government 1970-1974.

Heath projects himself as moderniser, some evocation of free market methods. No major change. Some attempts at reform of trade unions, following on from Wilson’s abortive attempt but leads to miners’ strike and elections of 1974.

- After 1970 growth of Liberal Party, alliance and then fusion with Social Democrats. Strong local government base. Substantial vote in general elections 1974 onwards but penalised by electoral system. Recent years Scottish National minority government in Edinburgh.

e. Labour governments 1974-1979.

First Wilson and then Callaghan – trade union base. No structural change of mixed economy and welfare state; great political power of trade unions. Labour Party moves leftwards – 1983 manifesto. Split of Social Democratic Party

**- 1979-2009**

f. Conservative governments 1979-1997

Thatcher and then J. Major. Privatisation, deregulation, trade union reform, lower taxation, but welfare state essentially remains.

Labour party moderates and moves towards Blair’s New Labour, characterised by much less power for trade unions and a more market economy.

g. Labour governments 1997-2009, under Blair and then Brown. After 2001 very big growth of public sector, greatly increased after banking crisis of 2008 and explosion of public debt. Constitutional change: House of Lords but not elected; Scotland and Wales devolution; N. Ireland whole series of Constitutional experiments led in new century to power-sharing executive and assembly. Foreign policy pro-USA.

**b. Decolonisation**

- As with France unplanned. In 1942 Churchill declared ‘I have not become Prime Minister of the King to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire’. In 1930s Colonial Office still offering long term careers.

 Some moves during the inter-war period: Egypt independent in 1922 after the nationalist revolt of 1919, but still control over Suez and government of the Sudan. Independence movement in India, India Act of 1935 with new assembly in Delhi and more autonomous regions.

 Dominions 1931, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa effective independence. Also greater independence for Rhodesia in 1923

But otherwise no plan or programme for decolonisation, making the next thirty years rather chaotic. Often armed independence movements leading to rapid withdrawal.

A.

- Decision taken to pull out of Indian sub-continent in 1946 and done very hurriedly. By 1949 India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma had come into existence.

- Middle East: Kingdom of Jordan 1946; Israel 1948; further withdrawal from Egypt 1945; Sudan 1956; Cyprus 1960. The failure of Suez1 1956; Kuwait 1961; 1971 United Arab Emirates, Bahrein, Qatar, Oman. British contact with gulf monarchies – City of London. Cooperation in first Gulf War of 1991.

- Black Africa. 1960 Prime Minister Macmillan declared that winds of change blowing through Africa. Independence of Uganda (1962), Kenya (1963), Tanzania (1963), Zambia (1964), Malawi (1964). Ghana already in 1957, Nigeria (1960), Somalia Britannica (1960), Sierra Leone (1961), Gambia (1965), Lesotho (1966), Botswana (1966), Swaziland (1968).

- The problem of Rhodesia. Strong tradition in Rhodesia meridionale of independent institutions of the settlers, goes back to before the Great War. In 1965 proclaimed independence under Ian Smith. Could have been like Algeria. Imposition of commercial sanctions by British government; no strong support for them. ZAPU and ZANU guerrilla war. 1980 Lancaster House agreement – Zimbabwe created.

- 1957 Malaysia independent after long insurrection; 1963 Singapore, Borneo settentrionale, Sarawak. Also many islands: Barbados (1966), or Mauritius (1968), for example. Hong Kong by end of century.

- 1982 Falklands war; Gibraltar and other small islands remain.

- Problem of South Africa. Had been a dominion. Proclaims Republic in 1961 and left Commonwealth. In 1950s Boers take majority. Policy of Apartheid. Major producer of gold, uranium and diamonds; attracted major immigration from near countries. Only recently black majority rule.

B. The Commonwealth

Association of states previously belonging to empire, with central Secretariat, conferences and games. Queen remains head of state of dominions. Not of major importance. But major countries members, India for example.

c. **Towards being a Medium Power**

**-** Retreat from empire means shrinkage of power points and international military presence.

- Communication to Truman of not being able to support Turkey and Greece 1947.

- The Suez fiasco 1956.

- Special relationship with the USA

- New international activism with Thatcher: Falklands War early 1980s; support for bombing of Libya by Reagan – bases in UK; first Iraqi war; second Iraqi war and Afghanistan with Blair’s very pro-USA foreign policy.

**II. Stagnation and Recovery**

*Economy*

Continuing shift onto services sector.

1950 GNP $47 billion; $75 for the Six; 1970 GNP per capita doubled; the Six grown fivefold. British exports tripled, those of Six increased ten times. This gap widened on 1970s.

Why?

a. Excessive trade union power. British gave Germany an excellent TU system but did not do the same for itself.

1. Restrictive practices decreases productivity and investment

2. Growth of public sector:

3. Wage inflation especially from late 1960s onwards; exploded in middle 1970s.

b. Large and inefficient state sector, nationalised industries and services: 1975 state expenditure 59% of GDP

1976 UK had to ask for help from the IMF

This background helps us to understand the Conservative governments of 1979-1997 and the character of Thatcherism, similar to Reaganism.

- Thatcherism: privatisation; fight against inflation in particular through monetarism; sale of council houses; deregulation, for example of City of London; reduction in taxation; severe curbs on trade union power. The economy begins to recover and sustained growth achieved in 1990s. But major problem of huge increase in personal debt 1995-2008. Services sector growth. Manufacturing competition from India and China.

- Banking and financial crisis 2008-2009. Massive state bail out. ‘Free market’ doctrine called into question. Very rapid rise of public debt and risk of sovereign default.

**III. The Problem of Europe**

European Coal and Steel Community 1952: UK not member

European Community formed by Treaty of Rome 1957: Negotiations had begun at Messina in 1955, British observer withdrawn; UK not member

1959 EFTA

UK, Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland. Iceland joined later. Removal of internal tariffs.

But change in British view:

1963 de Gaulle vetoes British entry to EEC

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1988 Thatcher Bruges speech against further European integration

1989 UK does not adhere to Social Charter

1990 Rome summit leaves Thatcher isolated on monetary union

1990 UK joins EMS

1992 UK leaves Exchange Rate Mechanism

Does not join Euro

Now very great popular opposition. Brown’s signature of Lisbon Treaty

**IV. DeChristianisation, Mass society and Desocialisation**

a. *DeChristianisation*

During nineteenth century one of most Christian countries in Europe. 1851 religious census. Activism of Churches, for example schools. Religious issues in politics. Protestant country. Twentieth century withdrawal of Christian culture. 1945-2009 a collapse. Cultural revolution when seen from a long-term perspective – what have been the consequences of this?

- Rise in number of civil marriages: 45.1% of marriages in churches in England and Wales.

By 1989 only 9.5% of adult English population regular churchgoers; by 2005 3.2 million in England.

2006 46% in opinion poll say do not belong to a religion.

1991 only 7% say very or extremely religious

1990s 27% of people say do not believe in God.

Rise of alternative religions.

Opinion poll 2008 more than half of Britons believed Christianity would have died out by end of century.

Politics not important in politics; exception N. Ireland.

Customs and mores: decline of family; abortion; bioethics.

Predictions of this:

Benson; Blake.

Recent poll, one of lowest levels of belief in God in whole of EU.

Interesting movement of many Anglicans to Catholicism 1970 to 2009; recent ordinary of Pope on possibilities of Anglican rite.

- What has taken place of Christianity?

b. *Mass society*.

Growth of cities. Now 90% big city dwellers; London 7 million inhabitants. Anonymity, seen in novels and films.

Standard language.

Giant companies; retail trade; banking concentration; multi nationals, Mcdonalds

Trade union concentration.

Mass recreation and mass media. TV.

Big State and decline of local government.

Impersonal national politics.

Decline of family as barrier to mass society.

Decline of old class and elite formations.

Americanisation; Europeanisation; globalisation.

Leading to uniformity and anonymity.

c. *Desocialisation*

Massive fall in social cohesion and social ties 1970-2009

Decline of family; about half marry – one in 3 end in divorce; cohabitations very unstable. Rise of figure of the single: Bridget Jones.

7 million people living alone; by 2016 third of households one person.

Massive rise in crime and especially violent crime. Record prison population.

‘Anti-social behaviour’.

Alienation from political institutions and parties. Membership; turnouts; distrust.

Scotland and Wales separatist movements

Civil society hollowing

Epidemic of depression.

Lifestyle of selfish individualism.