<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>NYU London</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class code</td>
<td>HIST.9156.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructor Details</td>
<td>Dr. Andrew Crozier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Class Details**

Europe Since 1945

Location to be confirmed.

**Prerequisites**

None

**Class Description**

The course will begin with an examination of the background to and condition of Europe in 1945. The outbreak of the Cold War and the division of Europe will be discussed as will the promotion of European unity, the establishment of NATO and the emergence of COMECON and the Warsaw Pact. The pressures leading to the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) will be considered together with the firm establishment of the democratic principle in Western Europe. The Suez Crisis and Decolonisation in Britain and France will be explored together with the corollary, the first application by Britain for membership of the EEC. The effect of President de Gaulle’s presidency on France, NATO and the EEC will be considered.

The end of Stalinism in the USSR will be examined as will the first cracks in the Soviet Empire in Eastern Europe in Hungary and Poland. This will be followed by a discussion of the merits and demerits of Khrushchev’s period in power, the U2 crisis and the construction of the Berlin Wall. The Prague Spring off 1968 will be discussed.

The continued integration of Europe will be analyzed together with the impact of Ostpolitik in Germany. Brezhnev’s domination of the USSR and Détente in the 1970s will be examined. Following this, the forces that led to the triumph of Neo-Liberalism in Britain will be considered, as will the return of conservatism in Germany and the cohabitation of Mitterrand’s France. The re-launch of the European Community in the 1980s will be analysed. In Eastern Europe the Gorbachev era and the rise of Solidarność will be explored and the course will conclude with an examination of the disintegration of the Soviet Empire in Eastern Europe, the reunification of Germany, the collapse of the Soviet state and the conclusion of the Maastricht Treaty.

The final class will look at Europe since 1992 and consider whether the hopes for a better world, as heralded in Francis Fukuyama’s *The End of History and the Last Man*, have been fulfilled.

The course will consist of lectures and discussions. There also will be a compulsory visit to Winston Churchill’s home, Chartwell, in Kent, date to be confirmed. This will be combined with a visit to Hever Castle, the home of Anne Boleyn, and latterly the home of Waldorf Astor. There will also be a compulsory visit to Eltham Palace and its Art Deco modernization, date to be confirmed.

The course will consist of lectures, discussions, field trips and commentaries on original documentation.

**Desired Outcomes**

- A firm grasp of the centrality of the German Question from 1945-1992
- A clear understanding of the conflict between individualism and collectivism 1945-1992
- A comprehension of the forces driving Europe towards integration
Assessment Components

- One short 1,000 word essay, worth 20% regarding the field trips to be submitted on 14 May 2018
- One short 1,000 word essay, worth 20%, to be submitted on 28 February 2018
- One essay of 2,000 words, worth 30%, to be submitted on 28 March 2018
- One essay of 2,000 words, worth 30%, to be submitted on 14 May 2018

Failure to submit or fulfil any required course component results in failure of the class

Assessment Expectations

Grade A: The student will have a thorough knowledge of the subject and a clear understanding of the major historiographical debates. There will be evidence of firm conceptual grasp, high analytical ability, lucid argumentation, clear originality and a sophisticated written style.

Grade B: The student will display good knowledge and be aware of historiographical debates. There will be good conceptual understanding with clear analytical ability and a polished written style. Analysis may be lacking in originality.

Grade C: The student will show satisfactory knowledge and have some awareness of historiography. Conceptual grasp may be flawed and essays will show a tendency toward narration rather than analysis. There will be little originality and work will display a strong dependency upon sources. Written style will be adequate, but lacking in polish.

Grade D: Factual knowledge will be adequate, but there will be little awareness of historiography. The student will display little or no conceptual grasp and written work will be confined and undiscriminating. There will be evidence of lack of reading and critical awareness.

Grade F: The student will demonstrate poor knowledge, both factual and historiographical. Written style will be unsophisticated and there will be strong evidence of lack of research and critical awareness.

Required Text(s)


Supplemental Text(s) (not required to purchase as copies are in NYU-L Library)

D. Dinan, *Ever Closer Union?*, (Macmillan: Basingstoke, 1999) 0-337-73242-


There is another book, John Laver, Chris Rowe and David Williamson, *Years of Division: Europe Since 1945*, (Hodder & Stoughton: London, 2004), 0-340-69726-1), that is quite useful for acquiring a
straightforward factual background to the subject. It is currently out of print, but can be obtained through Amazon.com or Amazon.co.uk. For a sophisticated overview of the subject the work listed by Tony Judt is highly recommended, not least because the author was Director of the Remarque Institute at New York University.

Internet Research Guidelines

There are no guidelines as such, but useful information can be obtained from appropriate internet researches.

Additional Required Equipment

N/A

Session 1

The Background to Europe in 1945

This session will look at the structural changes in the balance of power in Europe brought about by German unification in the nineteenth century and the emergence of the ‘German Problem’. It will then look at the two world wars of the twentieth century as failed attempts to solve the German Problem. The consequences of the wars – the weakening of Britain and France as imperial powers, the rise of Bolshevism in Russia, and the rise of the USA as a determining factor in European politics and economics – will be considered. The political and economic position in Europe in 1945 will be assessed.

Questions:

What constitutes the ‘German Problem’ and why had it become such a critical element in European politics and economics by 1945?

Why did the Allies win the Second World War?

Basic Reading:

Tom Buchanan *Europe’s Troubled Peace*, pp. 1-29.

Session 2

The Outbreak of the Cold War.

This session will first consider the Allied proposals for post-war Europe elaborated at the Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam Conferences. It will then go on to consider the emerging conflict between the victors particularly over the future of Germany. The question as to which of the Western Powers – Britain, or America – was first to doubt Soviet intentions will be examined. The Soviet penetration of Eastern Europe will be discussed in the context of the Churchill-Stalin Percentages Agreement of October 1944. The steps that led to the formation of NATO – the Treaty of Dunkirk, the Brussels Pact and the Berlin Blockade – will be examined and analysed. Historiography of responsibility for the Cold War will be covered.

Questions:

Were Soviet intentions in Eastern Europe ideologically motivated?

Was NATO the inevitable outcome of the Treaty of Dunkirk?

Basic Reading:

Buchanan, p. 30-50.

Judt, pp. 100-64.

Wegs/Ladrech, pp. 1-26.
Supplementary Reading:


Fulbrook, pp. 196-227

Laver, pp. 375-392.


---

Session 3

First Steps in the Integration of Western Europe.

The inter-war background – Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi and Pan European Union, the Briand Plan, Federal Union – will be addressed. Wartime hopes of post-war European Union will be covered alongside the attitude of Britain towards them. The change in the American attitude towards European integration will be critically analysed in the context of the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and the notion of the export of the American ‘New Deal’ to Europe. The historiographical debate on the significance of the Marshall Plan for the economic development of Europe will be examined. The emergence of the Third Force concept will be discussed. The Hague Congress, the establishment of The Council of Europe, and the formation of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation will be assessed in the light of Britain’s attitude towards them. The debate over intergovernmental or supranational European institutions will be considered.

Questions:

Why did so many of Europeans favour a united Europe after 1945?

How critical was the Marshall Plan for the economic recovery of Europe?

Basic Reading:


Judt, pp. 153-60.

Wegs/Ladrech, pp. 12-7, 36, 41-3 45-59, 121-3.

Supplementary Reading:


Fulbrook, pp. 101-123, 196-226.


Laver, pp. 332-7.


**Session 4**

**Democracy and Welfare in Western Europe 1945-1957.**

The following topics will be covered:

(a) France: General de Gaulle and the Foundation of the Fourth Republic; economic revival and the Monnet Plan; governmental instability; imperial retreat and the Algerian ulcer.

(b) West Germany: Four Power Control in Germany; Denazification; the creation of Bizonia; the currency reform of 1948; Konrad Adenauer and the emergence of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949; the gradual reacquisition of full sovereignty and the economic miracle.

(c) Britain: The election of Labour and Attlee’s quiet revolution; imperial retrenchment; nationalisation and welfare; the impact of the Suez crisis and economic decline. The question as to whether or not 1945 marks a great caesura in British political life will be discussed.

**Questions:**

Discuss and compare the success of post-war readjustment in France and West Germany.

How transformed was Britain by the Labour governments of 1945-1951?

**Basic Reading:**

Buchanan, pp. 51-62, 75-82, 87-97.


Wegs/Ladrech, pp. 27-77, 80-88.

**Supplementary Reading:**


**Session 5**

**Democracy and Welfare in Western Europe 1945-1957.**

The following topics will be covered:

(a) France: General de Gaulle and the Foundation of the Fourth Republic; economic revival and the Monnet Plan; governmental instability; imperial retreat and the Algerian ulcer.

(b) West Germany: Four Power Control in Germany; Denazification; the creation of Bizonia; the currency reform of 1948; Konrad Adenauer and the emergence of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949; the gradual reacquisition of full sovereignty and the economic miracle.

(c) Britain: The election of Labour and Attlee’s quiet revolution; imperial retrenchment; nationalisation
and welfare; the impact of the Suez crisis and economic decline. The question as to whether or not 1945 marks a great caesura in British political life will be discussed.

Questions:

Discuss and compare the success of post-war readjustment in France and West Germany.

How transformed was Britain by the Labour governments of 1945-1951?

Basic Reading:

Buchanan, pp. 51-62, 75-82, 87-97.


Wegs/Ladrech, pp. 27-77, 80-88.

Supplementary Reading:


P.M. Williams, Crisis and Compromise: Politics in the Fourth Republic, (London, 1964)

28 February 2018 Date for Submission of First 1,000 word essay.

Session 6

The USSR and the Soviet Empire in Eastern Europe 1945-1964.

This session will look at the closing years of Stalinist rule in the Soviet Union, the extension of Stalinist rule into Eastern Europe, the creation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), and the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact. This will be followed by an analysis of the power struggle that followed Stalin’s death, resulting in the emergence of Nikita Khrushchev as the most dominant personality. Destalinisation and Khrushchev’s speech to the 20th Party Congress in 1956 will be examined together with the sequel of the Hungarian Revolution of October 1956 and the ‘Polish Spring’ of the same year. The implications of the Soviet space programme will be examined. This session will end with a discussion of the U2 Crisis, the erection of the Berlin Wall and Khrushchev’s ouster in 1964.

Questions:

How successful was Khrushchev in destalinising the Soviet Union?

What factors promoted disturbances in the Soviet satellite countries and how stabilised was the Soviet system in Eastern Europe by the time of Stalin’s fall?

Basic Reading:

Buchanan, pp. 120-139.

The Decade of De Gaulle.

The following issues will be covered:

(a) De Gaulle, decolonisation and the founding of the Fifth Republic; the Franco-German Reconciliation Treaty of 1963; de Gaulle, the EEC and the Luxemburg Compromise; domestic unrest and de Gaulle’s resignation;

(b) The end of the Adenauer era in West Germany; the electoral triumph of the SPD; Chancellor Brandt and Ostpolitik;

(c) The Macmillan era in Britain – ‘You never had it so good’; the European Free Trade Association (EFTA); full convertibility of sterling and the alteration of Britain’s pattern of trade; the acceleration of decolonisation; Anglo-American relations and Britain’s first application for EEC membership – British appeasement of America?; the election of Labour and Prime Minister Wilson in 1964; further economic failure and the second application for British membership of the EEC; Labour the Trade Unions and electoral failure.

Questions:

Why was President de Gaulle so hostile towards British membership of the European Community?

What factors determined West German policy towards the European Community, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe?

Basic Reading:

Buchanan, pp. 98-119.

Judit, pp. 324-421.

Wegs/Ladrech, pp. 53-8, 61-77, 89-99, 139-170, 196-205.

Supplementary Reading:

Balfour, op.cit.


Fulbrook, pp. 34-8, 95-123.


---

**Session 8**

**The Brezhnev Era in the USSR, Détente and the Prague Spring.**

This session will look at the situation in the Soviet Union following the ouster of Khrushchev. The retightening of the Soviet system under Brezhnev and Kosygin will be discussed in the context of the Sinyavsky-Daniel Trial. Simultaneously, the Cold War thaw and détente will be discussed from the Nixon-Brezhnev summit in 1972 to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1979. Consideration will also be given to the Helsinki Accords. The continued problems for the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe will be discussed in relation to the ‘Prague Spring’ of 1968. Finally, economic stagnation under the Soviet system, the rise of Solidarność in Poland and the end of the Brezhnev era will be examined.

**Questions:**

Does the term ‘stagnation’ accurately reflect the main characteristics of the Brezhnev era in both the Soviet Union and the satellite states of Eastern Europe?

Is the term ‘détente’ a misnomer when applied to international relations in the 1970s?

**Basic Reading:**

Buchanan, pp. 133-39.

Judt, pp. 422-449, 578-584, 592-594.

Wegs/Ladrech, pp. 205-9, 216-46.

**Supplementary Reading:**

Fulbrook, pp. 45-9.

Hosking, *op.cit*.

Laver, pp. 114-9, 132-6, 141-8, 168-9, 177-9, 189-90, 192-5.


Swain and Swain, *op.cit*.

---

**Session 9**

**The End of Consensus and the Rise of Neo-Liberalism in Western Europe.**

This session will examine the failure of Conservative and Labour governments to solve the problem of Labour and the Trade Unions during the 1970s. It will also focus on Britain’s successful entry into the European Community in 1973 under the Conservative government of Edward Heath and the second thoughts under Labour reflected in the referendum of 1975. It will then examine the elaboration under Mrs. Thatcher of a monetarist and anti-statist Neo-Liberal politics that ended the post-war consensus. The election to the premiership of Mrs. Thatcher in 1979, it will be argued, marks the great caesura in British politics and economics in the twentieth century.

**Questions:**
Were the British Labour governments of 1974 to 1979 a failure?

How radical was the first government of Mrs. Thatcher?

**Basic Reading:**


Wegs/Ladrech, pp. 288-97.

**Supplementary Reading:**

Fulbrook, pp.39-45.


Sked and Cook, *op.cit.*

Hugo Young, *One of Us*, (London, 1989)

---

**Session 10**

**The Failure of Socialism in France and the Return of the Right in West Germany.**

This session will look at France in the 1970s following the fall of de Gaulle. The presidencies of M. Pompidou and M. Giscard d’Estaing will be considered in the context of the oil crisis of the early 1970s, and the rise in unemployment and emergence of economic difficulties by the early 1980s. The rise in the fortunes of the Socialist Party under the leadership of M. Mitterand will be examined together with the reasons for Mitterand’s success in the presidential elections of 1981. The economic failure of the socialist programme in France will be discussed, together with the subsequent programme of austerity and the phenomenon of *cohabitation*. The session will also cover West Germany under the leadership of Helmut Schmidt and the decline in the fortunes of Social Democracy in Germany after 1979. It will also assess the process by which Helmut Kohl and the CDU (Conservatives) came to power on the basis of a neo-liberal programme.

**Questions:**

To what extent did the presidency of M. Mitterrand confirm the success of the Fifth Republic?

How far were economic difficulties responsible for the collapse of Helmut Schmidt’s government?

**Basic Reading:**

Buchanan, pp. 171-183

Judt, pp. 547-558

Wegs/Ladrech, pp. 264-77.

**Supplementary Reading:**

Fulbrook, pp. 39-44.


28 March 2018 Date for Submission of second 2,000 word essay

Session 11

The Relaunch of the European Community in the 1980s.

The relative stagnation of the European Community in the 1970s will be considered culminating in the establishment of the European Monetary System (EMS) in 1979. This will be followed by a discussion of the emergence of Britain under Mrs. Thatcher as the awkward partner in Europe. This session will then consider the pressures for institutional reform in the Tindemans Report, the Genscher-Colombo Plan, direct elections to the European Parliament, the Spinelli Institutional Committee and the Mediterranean enlargement of the European Community. The Addonino and Dooge Committees and the Single European Act of 1986 will then be discussed. Finally, the impact of Jacques Delors presidency of the European Commission will be examined together with Mrs, Thatcher’s Bruges Speech in 1989.

Questions:

What were the fundamental characteristics of Britain’s relations with the European Community during the 1980s?

Did the Single European Act markedly erode the sovereignty of member nations of the European Community?

Basic Reading:

Buchanan, pp. 197-201.

Judt, pp. 504-534.

Wegs/Ladrech, pp. 132-7.

Supplementary Reading:

Dinan, *op.cit*

Fulbrook, pp. 234-9.


Laver, pp. 351-365.

Young, *op.cit*.

Session 12

Solidarność, Glasnost and Perestroika.

This session will look at the continued impact in Poland of Lech Wałesa and Solidarity. It will then consider the impact of the presidency of Ronald Reagan in the United States and the possibility of an arms race that the Soviet Union could no longer afford. The appointment of Mikhail Gorbachev as Soviet leader in 1985 and the significance of his policies of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) will be reviewed. This will be followed by a discussion of the process by which the USSR’s bonds upon the states of Eastern Europe were loosened, which will cover the renunciation of the Brezhnev Doctrine in 1989, the effect of liberalisation in Kadar’s Hungary and Solidarnośc and the Polish elections of 1989.

Questions:

How significant were events in Hungary and Poland during the 1980s in hastening the collapse of the
Soviet System?
Did Gorbachev unleash a train of events that he could not control?

**Basic Reading:**
Buchanan, pp. 205-219.
Judt, 559-633.
Wegs, 216-48.

**Supplementary Reading:**
Fulbrook, 45-52.
Laver, 117-151, 161-197
Swain and Swain, *op.cit.*

---

**Session 13**

**The Reunification of Germany and the Treaty of Maastricht.**

This session will look at the flight of the citizens of East Germany into West Germany through Hungary and the way in which Gorbachev government effectively failed to support the Honecker regime in East Germany. The resignation of Honecker and the opening of the Berlin Wall at the end of 1989 will be explored. This will be followed by an examination of the disintegration of Communist rule elsewhere in Eastern Europe. Reservations about the reunification of Germany in Paris and London will be discussed. The reunification process in Germany in 1990 and the conclusion of the Two plus Four treaty of the same year will be analysed. This session will conclude with a discussion of the proposition that with the reunification of Germany in the context of a European Community that was to be deepened in the European Union of the Treaty of Maastricht of 1991 the German Problem had come to an end.

**Questions:**
Why did the prospect of German reunification excite such anxiety?

Discuss the view that the events of 1989-1990 show that the Soviet system never had legitimacy anywhere in Eastern Europe.

**Basic Reading:**
Buchanan, pp. 199-201, pp. 219-225.
Judt, pp. 637-664 701-748,
Wegs, 132-7, 264-72.

**Supplementary Reading:**
Dinan, *op.cit.*
Larres and Panayi, *op.cit.*
Session 14

The End of the Soviet Union and ‘The End of History?’

This session will focus on the events that led to the collapse and disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 and there will follow a discussion of the view of the former US State Department official, Francis Fukuyama, that in the ideological struggle between Marxism-Leninism and Liberal Democracy the latter had won a clear victory and could not be challenged in the future.

Questions:
Was the collapse of the Soviet Union implicit in the adoption of glasnost and perestroika?
Assess the problems left by the collapse of the Soviet regime.

Basic Reading:
Buchanan, pp. 223—225, 227-274.
Wegs, 220-4.

Supplementary Reading:

Session 15

Date for the submission of third 2,000 essay and 1,000 word essay relating to field trips

Classroom Etiquette
Toilet breaks should be taken before or after class or during class breaks.
Food & drink, including gum, are not to be consumed in class.
Mobile phones should be set on silent and should not be used in class except for emergencies.
Laptops are only to be used with the express permission of the teacher.
Please kindly dispose of rubbish in the bins provided.

Required Co-curricular Activities
Visit to Winston Churchill’s home at Chartwell and to Hever, date TBC
Estimated Travel Costs

Visit to the Art Deco reconstruction at Eltham Palace, date TBC

These visits are a mandatory part of the course. Absence will only be excused for medical and pressing personal reasons. Do not make any travel arrangements without first confirming that they do not conflict with the dates for these visits. Casual absence will incur a penalty that will affect your final grade.

Suggested Co-curricular Activities

Dr. Andrew Crozier was educated at Queen Mary College, University of London, The School of Oriental and African Studies and The London School of Economics, where he completed his Ph.D. He was Lecturer in Modern European History at the University College of North Wales for 20 years when he returned to the University of London to teach Modern German History at Queen Mary and Westfield College. He also has an interest in the History of the European Union and in this respect was appointed Jean Monnet Chairholder in the History of Contemporary Europe. In this capacity he was on several occasions Visiting Professor at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok. He has published widely on the relationship between the European Union and the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and has written a pioneering study of the history of the latter organization. His principal publications are *Appeasement and Germany*: *Last Bid for Colonies* and *The Causes of the Second World War*, a pioneering study of the origins of the Second World War in both Europe and the Pacific. He is currently completing a biography of Neville Chamberlain and writing a study of post-war Europe.

NYU GLOBAL ACADEMIC POLICIES

Policies and procedures for Global Academic Centres, including policies on academic integrity and the Study Away Standard, can be found here: [https://www.nyu.edu/about/policies-guidelines-compliance/policies-and-guidelines/student-services.html](https://www.nyu.edu/about/policies-guidelines-compliance/policies-and-guidelines/student-services.html)

Absences: Key information on NYU London’s absence policy, how to report absences, and what kinds of absences can be excused can be found here: [http://www.nyu.edu/london/academics/attendance-policy.html](http://www.nyu.edu/london/academics/attendance-policy.html)

NYU London work submission policies can be found here: [http://www.nyu.edu/london/academics/academic-policies.html](http://www.nyu.edu/london/academics/academic-policies.html)

Classroom conduct: Academic communities exist to facilitate the process of acquiring and exchanging knowledge and understanding, to enhance the personal and intellectual development of its members, and to advance the interests of society. Essential to this mission is that all members of the University Community are safe and free to engage in a civil process of teaching and learning through their experiences both inside and outside the classroom. Accordingly, no student should engage in any form of behaviour that interferes with the academic or educational process, compromises the personal safety or well-being of another, or disrupts the administration of University programs or services.

Please refer to the NYU London Disruptive Student Behaviour Policy at [https://goo.gl/Nvt5Vu](https://goo.gl/Nvt5Vu) for examples of disruptive behaviour and guidelines for response and enforcement.