

Chapter 28

Development of the Cold War

The seeds of the Cold War were already planted before the end of WW2; it had been put aside to defeat the Germans

Confrontation of the Superpowers

Who's to blame? Both sides made decisions that were unwise or avoidable

But both were operating on assumptions based on the past

The Soviets felt a strong need to protect its western borders: after all, it had been invaded by Germany *twice*

The US was unwilling to give up the power and prestige it had won over the last 30 years

Disagreement over Eastern Europe

The US and Britain had championed self-determination and democratic politics, now in eastern Europe

Stalin feared that eastern Europe might vote for democracy if they had the chance, so he didn't give them one

He installed pro-Soviet governments in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary

That gave him the buffer zone against Western Europe that he wanted

Neither side was happy, but they didn't want to go to war over their differences

The Truman Doctrine

1946: a Greek civil war pitted pro-Soviet and anti-Communist forces

The US responded with the *Truman Doctrine*, pledging money to countries threatened by Communism

The Marshall Plan

1947: intended to rebuild prosperity and stability, the US began the *Marshall Plan*

\$13B for the economic recovery of war-torn Europe, thinking that economic unrest aided Communism

No funds went to the Soviets, so they thought it was to build a bloc obligated to follow US wishes

The American Policy of Containment

1947: knowing that the split was a fact of life, George Kennan (US) advocated a policy of *containment*

After the Soviet blockade of Berlin in 1948, it became formal US policy

Contention over Germany

After the war, Germany was partitioned into 4 zones; the Soviets took their "reparations" by just taking things

They dismantled almost 400 factories in western Berlin and reassembled them in the Soviet Union

Another 200 factories from East Germany were shipped to the Soviet Union

The Americans, French, and British ended up planning to merge their zones and creating West Germany

Seeing that happening, the Soviets blockaded West Berlin, hoping to stop their plan

Not wanting a direct confrontation, they chose to fly over the blockade: they began the Berlin Airlift

At its peak, 13K tons of supplies were flown in each day

Germany was officially split: German Democratic Federation (West), German Democratic Republic (East)

Berlin remained split and was a source of tension between US and USSR

New Military Alliances

1949: Soviets detonated an atomic bomb and both sides built up weapons in an "arms race"

Eventually it evolved first into *mutual deterrence* and later into mutually assured destruction (*MAD*)

Neither side was willing to risk a nuclear strike for fear of massive retaliation

The search for security led to formation of military alliances

1949: NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) was formed

Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway and

Portugal joined the US and Canada in a pact of mutual assistance if any was attacked

Later Germany, Greece, and Turkey joined

1955: Warsaw Pact was created in response

Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the USSR

Globalization of the Cold War

1949: the Chinese Civil War ended with Communist control of China

The Korean War

Korea had been divided after WW2: Soviets supported N. Korea, the US gave aid to S. Korea

1950: (apparently with Stalin's approval) N. Korea invaded the South

The US, seeing it as more Communist aggression, appealed to the UN and led a multinational force

Led by MacArthur, UN forces (mostly US and S. Korean) advanced into the North to “unify” Korea
Mao Zedong sent Chinese forces into the war and pushed UN forces back into South Korea
After 2 more years of fighting, an armistice was signed and the 38th parallel remained “the border”
Little had been accomplished despite the loss of 50K troops (“Communism was contained”)

Escalation of the Cold War

Under President Eisenhower, military alliances were extended around the world

CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) included Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, and Britain

SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Org.) included Britain, France, Pakistan, Thailand, Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand

1955: with the death of Stalin, there was new hope of peaceful coexistence

It was ended with the Soviets crushing of a rebellion in Hungary in 1956

Another Berlin Crisis

1957: Soviet launching of *Sputnik I*, the first space satellite, and the US worried about a “missile gap” sensing weakness, new leader Nikita Khrushchev tried to force the US to remove troops from West Berlin
Eisenhower was unwilling to abandon West Berlin and called the Soviet’s bluff

1961: at a US-Soviet summit meeting in Vienna, Khrushchev threatened new US President Kennedy with another 6-month ultimatum and again his bluff was called

Frustrated, Khrushchev conspired to build the Berlin Wall, >100 miles topped with watchtowers

Since access to West Berlin was still possible from West Germany, the US did not challenge it

The Cuban Missile Crisis

1959: Fidel Castro overthrew Cuban dictator Fulgencio Bautista (who was backed by the US)

The Soviets supported Castro, a left-wing revolutionary

1961: a US-backed invasion of Cuba to overthrow Castro was an utter failure

1962: the USSR decided to install nuclear missiles in Cuba

US wouldn’t allow nuclear missiles that close to the US

Khrushchev pointed out that the US had its own nuclear missiles in Turkey that close to the USSR)

When intelligence spotted ships carrying missiles headed for Cuba, Kennedy chose to blockade Cuba

Agreement: Soviets would turn back the ships if the US promised to not invade Cuba

That a nuclear war was narrowly averted caused both sides to rethink things

1963: a “hotline” between Washington and Moscow was established to improve communications

The Vietnam War

The US had been drawn into another conflict – this time in Southeast Asia

1954: the Vietnamese defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu and Vietnam was divided (like Korea)

Soviets supported the Ho Chi Minh’s nationalist forces in the North; the US supported the South

Kennedy provided military and financial assistance to Ngo Dinh Diem (a corrupt dictator)

His corruption lost the support of his people and led to Vietcong (So. Vietnamese Communist) success

1963: the US supported a military coup to replace Diem, further disillusioning the South Vietnamese

1964: Under President Johnson, the US sent increasing numbers of US troops to fight the Vietcong

Although it was primarily a nationalistic fight, the US feared a *domino effect*

Despite massive military superiority, the US couldn’t defeat the North Vietnamese and Vietcong

Continued failure combined with mounting troop presence (and casualties) led to an anti-war movement

It grew among American college students and spread to Europe

The US was used to getting its way during the Cold War within Europe, but not with everyone

Charles de Gaulle (France) particularly broke with US dominance with the escalation of the war

He called the US “the greatest danger in the world today to peace”

Antiwar sentiment broke out in France in 1966 and 1967 and soon spread throughout Europe

Mounting destruction and brutalization in the war (seen on TV) turned the US public against the war

1973: President Nixon reached an agreement with N. Vietnam that allowed the US to withdraw troops

1975: the North Vietnamese army unified the whole country under Communism

However, the domino theory wasn’t reinforced (partly because of a split between the Soviets and Chinese)

Nixon reached out to China, other SE Asian countries did not fall to Communism

The war demonstrated the limits of US power, the US decided to pursue *détente*, an easing of tensions

Europe and the World: Decolonization

After WW2, independence movements among European colonies increased dramatically

It seemed to conflict with the ideals that the Allies were fighting for

The Allies were exhausted from the war and were less able to afford to resist the movements

Britain and France were the most reluctant to give up their colonies

By 1962, virtually every colony achieved independence

Africa: the Struggle for Independence

Africans had been poorly prepared for self-rule

Early activists included Kwame Nkrumah (Gold Coast) and Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya)

They were non-violent and targeted the merchants, urban professionals, and members of labor unions

But the Mau Maus of Kenya were willing to use terrorism to demand *uhuru* (Swahili for freedom)

Egypt, although “independent” since 1922, was still controlled by Britain

Intellectuals in Egypt were as opposed to the Egyptian monarchy as they were to the British

1952: an army coup overthrew King Farouk and set up an independent republic

In North Africa, the weakened French granted independence to Morocco and Tunisia in 1956

They didn’t grant it to Algeria because of the nearly 2M French who lived there

1954: the FLN (National Liberation Front) guerillas began a war; independence came in 1962

In South Africa, it was much harder, despite the ANC (African national Congress) being formed in 1912

In the 1950s, whites strengthened their system of racial segregation, *apartheid*

Black opposition was punished, including Nelson Mandela’s arrest in 1962

Notable independents: Gold Coast (now Ghana) in 1957; Nigeria, Belgian Congo (Zaire) in 1960; Tanganyika (with Zanzibar, it became Tanzania) in 1961; Kenya in 1963

17 new nations in 1960 alone; 11 more between 1961 and 1965

Conflict in the Middle East

Though Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq had been independent already, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon gained theirs after WW2

An Arab League was formed in 1945, but its members disagreed too much to accomplish anything substantial

The Question of Palestine

Since the mandate of Palestine was created after WW1, there had been tensions between Arabs and Jews

In the 1930s, Britain reduced Jewish immigration and rejected proposals for a Jewish state

With the revelation of the Holocaust, support for a Zionist homeland grew

In 1948, Truman approved of an independent Jewish state, and the UN agreed to split Palestine

Jews immediately proclaimed a state of Israel, but Arab states saw it as a betrayal of Palestinians

Several Arab countries immediately invaded Israel but the attack failed

The Arab states refused to recognize the existence of Israel

Nasser and Pan-Arabism

1954: Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser seized control of the government

1956: he nationalized the Suez Canal Company, threatening European route to the Indian Ocean

Britain and France attacked, joined by Israel (which was tiring of Arab commando raids)

The US, concerned with a revival of colonialism, joined with the Soviets to back Nasser

The British, French, and Israeli troops withdrew

Nasser saw this as a victory and strengthened his grip on Egypt

He began to promote Arab unity (Pan-Arabism)

1958: joined with Syria to create the United Arab Republic (UAR), in which he was president

He hoped it would encourage the other Arab states to join, but they were suspicious

Oil-rich countries like Saudi Arabia didn’t want to share their resources and wealth

The Arab-Israeli Dispute

1964: Egypt pushed for the formation of the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization)

the PLO believed that only Palestinians had a right to form a state in Palestine

al-Fatah, a guerilla group led by Yasir Arafat, was formed and launched terrorist attacks on Israel

Israel – alone except for the support of the US and a few European countries – adopted a new policy:

immediate retaliation for any hostile act by Arab countries and the PLO

1967: learning of an Arab attack, Israel launched a pre-emptive strike against Egypt and others

This “Six-Day War” wiped out the Egyptian air force, seized the West Bank of the Jordan River, occupied all of Jerusalem, and attacked the Golan Heights along the Syrian border
The war tripled Israel’s size and further embittered neighboring Arab states
Besides, another million Palestinians now lived within Israel’s borders
After the war, Arab states focused on the return of occupied territories
1973: Anwar Sadat (Nasser’s successor) launched an attack on Israel on Yom Kippur, a Jewish holiday
a cease-fire was negotiated in 1974, but tensions did not go away

Asia: Nationalism and Communism

1946: the US granted the Philippines independence
1947: Britain granted India independence, but it came at a high price
Hindus and Muslims were unwilling to accept a single Indian state, so a partition was necessary: one country (India) for Hindus and one (Pakistan) for Muslims
Actually, Pakistan was to be 2 separate regions 1000 miles apart
Only Mohandas Gandhi objected: he predicted great bloodshed – and he was right
In traveling to their respective partitions, over 1M were killed
1948: Britain granted independence to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and Burma (Myanmar)
1949: the Dutch granted independence to Indonesia
The French didn’t want to grant independence to Vietnam, leading to a strong nationalist movement
The Vietminh (Communists led by Ho Chi Minh) defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954
The promised elections never happened and the division of Vietnam eventually led to a war
1954: The French granted independence to Laos and Cambodia

China Under Communism

After WW2, two Chinese governments existed simultaneously
Nationalists in the South, led by Chiang Kai-Shek (Jiang Jieshi) and supported by the US
Communists in the North, led by Mao Zedong
1946: Formation of a coalition government failed and a full-scale war broke out
The peasants, who expected to gain land, supported the Communists
1949: 2M nationalists fled to the island of Taiwan, and Mao declared victory
1955: seeking to build a socialist society, Mao collectivized all farmland and nationalized most industry
1958: failing to increase food production, Mao began “The Great Leap Forward”
Farms were combined into gigantic communes of more than 30K people
Bad weather and the resistance of the farmers actually drove food production *down*
1966: Mao tried to establish a classless society, creating his “Cultural Revolution”
He used the Red Guard (party officials and disenchanting students) to cleanse China of the “impure”
They tried to eliminate *old* ideas, *old* culture, *old* customs, and *old* habits
He destroyed temples, foreign books, and jazz records, encouraged public “confessions”
Support decreased over time and in 1976, when Mao died, reformers tried to foster more rationalism

Decolonization and Cold War Rivalries

As independent countries emerged, they became victims of a tug-of-war between Cold War rivals
Many tried to stay neutral; India tried to be a model and provide leadership for others
Some couldn’t (e.g., Indonesia which went back and forth in its allegiance
1950: President Sukarno, backed by China and the Soviets, nationalized foreign-owned businesses
1965: General Suharto restored good relations with the West and sought foreign investment

Recovery and Renewal in Europe

Economic recovery after WW2 took a surprisingly short time – a matter of a few years

The Soviet Union: From Stalin to Khrushchev

WW2 devastated the Soviet Union
Stalin returned to his old method: hard work for little pay, poor housing, and few consumer goods
With the stunning troop casualties from the war, much of the rebuilding fell to women
They were to produce goods for sale abroad, and the incoming capital would restore the economy
But by 1947, industrial production topped prewar levels; Stalin’s 5-year plan took less than 5 years
New power plants, canals, and giant factories were built; new industries and oil fields were established

Stalin's Policies

The Soviets impressed the world with atomic weapons, MIG fighter jets and the first space satellite
But the people at home were neglected: the housing shortage was particularly acute
His fierce expectation for obedience increased
In 1946, all literary and scientific work must meet the needs of the state
Political terror haunted those who did not agree
1953: Mercifully, his death prevented more bloodshed

Khrushchev's Rule

Stalin's successor, he implemented *destalinization* and began to undo the worst excesses of his predecessor
He closed the forced labor camps, lifted literary censorship, reduced the powers of the secret police
This encouraged the satellite countries to consider rebellion
Soviet troops crushed an uprising in Hungary in 1956, and the Soviets downplayed destalinization
Khrushchev encouraged light industry and consumer goods
less successfully, he tried to increase food production, and it damaged his reputation
In the eyes of the Party officials his personality wasn't well-suited for the job – he was a jokester and a clown
His curbing their privileges and his foreign policy made things worse (esp. the Cuban Missile Crisis)
1964: While he was on vacation, he was voted out of office by the party
He was eventually succeeded by Leonid Brezhnev, an “supporter” who had arranged his ouster

Eastern Europe: Behind the Iron Curtain

Soviet forces remained in all the lands they had liberated from the Nazis (except Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia)
Communist governments were firmly entrenched in E. Germany, Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, and Hungary
Only in Czechoslovakia was there opposition, and when it was about to succeed, the Soviets seized control

Albania and Yugoslavia

Their established Communist parties were sufficient (no intervention was necessary)
The Albanian Communist Party established a Stalinist regime *but* grew independent of Moscow
In Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito refused Stalin's demands but asserted his “true” Communism
Regardless, Eastern European satellites pursued *Stalinization*
5-year plans with emphasis on heavy industry rather than consumer goods, collectivizing agriculture
eliminating opposition parties, reestablishing secret police
Soviets forced the satellites to trade only with the Soviet Union (to Soviets' advantage)

Upheaval in Eastern Europe

After Stalin's death, the Soviets repressed any real attempts to protest their system
1956: protests arose in Poland and, fearful of Soviet troops, the new government compromised
Poland chose its own path to socialism, but it promised to remain loyal to the Warsaw Pact
1956: in Hungary, the ruling Stalinist was ousted and replaced by Imry Nagy
To stop a rebellion of his own people, Nagy declared it a free country and promised free elections
3 days later, the Soviet army invaded and placed János Kádár, a reformer, in power
Kádár worked with the Soviets and was able to keep many of Nagy's economic reforms
In Czechoslovakia, “Little Stalin” (Antonin Novotny) kept a tight lid on the country
Eventually, his policies lost favor with his people; in 1967, a writer's rebellion began his ouster
Novotny resigned, Alexander Dubček was elected by the party, and he introduced reforms
Freedom of speech and press, freedom to travel abroad, relaxation of secret police powers
1968: it created a euphoric “Prague Spring
again, with the threat of withdrawal from the Soviet bloc, Red army troops crushed the movement

Western Europe: The Revival of Democracy and the Economy

All the countries of W. Europe faced rebuilding their economies and democracies and deal with Communism
The role of the Communism in the resistance to the Nazis gave them real credibility
They did well in elections in 1946 and 1947, but by aligning with the Soviet plans, they lost support
Only in France and Italy – where they focused on inequality – did they remain influential
Socialist parties did well at first, too, but they also lost support in the years after the war
Their origins as largely Marxist parties hurt them
By 1950, moderate political parties had made a real comeback
Christian Democrats weren't the church-oriented parties of the prewar era that crusaded against liberal causes

They believed in democracy and economic reform

The economic recovery, spurred on by the Marshall Plan, boomed well into the 1960s

France: The Domination of de Gaulle

Charles de Gaulle had an unshakable belief that he was on an historic mission to return France to glory

He had been a leader in the resistance in WW2 and had had a hand in establishing the provisional gov't

The establishment of the Fourth Republic – with weak parties caused him to retire from politics

Eventually he formed a party (French Popular Movement) that was distinctly rightist

He blamed the weak parties for France's problems and called for a stronger presidency

France had stumbled in the 1954 defeat in Indochina and the possibility of civil war over Algeria

Panic-stricken, the leaders invited de Gaulle to take over and draft a new constitution

De Gaulle drafted a constitution for the Fifth Republic, granting himself a stronger presidency

Wanting to be a world player, he withdrew France from NATO and courted third-world countries

He invested in building nuclear weapons: France became the 3rd nuclear power in 1960

He centralized economic planning, and France's gross national product increased 5.5% annually

Nationalization of coal, steel, and railroads increased France's deficit

Consumer prices rose 45% over 10 years; the people were growing restless

1968: student protests, followed by a general strike, shook the government

They seriously undermined people's respect for de Gaulle; he resigned in 1969 (and died within a year)

West Germany: A Reconceived Nation

Within the three Allied zones of West Germany, three major political parties emerged

Social Democrats (SPD), Christian Democrats (CDU), and Free Democrats (FDU)

Konrad Adenauer led the Federal republic back to respectability, cooperating with the US and Western Europe

He also wanted to reestablish a good relationship with France

Oddly enough, the Korean War prompted a concern for FRG's safety

1955: rearmament was allowed and West Germany joined NATO

The "economic miracle" relied on new currency, free markets, low taxes, elimination of controls, and US aid

By 1955, West German gross national product exceeded prewar levels

Wages doubled even though work hours were cut by 20%; they even needed to import foreign workers

It pursued denazification through trials of major Nazi leaders at Nuremberg in 1945 and 1946

The government also made reparations to Israel and to Holocaust survivors and their relatives

Great Britain: The Welfare State

Right after the war, Clement Atlee's Labour Party replaced Churchill's Conservative Party

It had promised social reforms, particularly over shortages of consumer goods and housing

It set about creating a *welfare state*

It nationalized the Bank of England, coal and steel, public transportation and public utilities (gas, electricity)

Also *social security* and medical insurance; it subsidized the unemployed, the sick, and the aged

Socialized medicine: doctors and dentists worked in state hospitals (private practice *was* allowed)

It became the model for several other Western European countries

The cost of building a welfare state meant cutting back foreign expenses: no more British Empire, foreign aid

The Conservative Party returned in 1951 because of a weak economy (and remained in office until 1964)

Although the British economy improved, it was slower than other Western European countries

Trade unions had managed to secure wages that rose faster than productivity

Britons were reluctant to invest in new technologies; Britain was no longer a world power

Italy: Weak Coalition Government

WW2 had caused enormous physical destruction (2nd only to Germany)

1946: the monarchy was abolished; Italy became a democratic republic

1948: the Christian Democrats (aligned with the Catholic Church) remained in power for 5 years

It relied on the support of the upper and middle classes and the southern peasants

Italy, too, experienced an "economic miracle" thanks in part to the Marshall Plan

Increased production of cars, appliances, and office machinery in the north

It spurred the migration of millions of southerners to the more prosperous north

Western Europe: The Move Toward Unity

Western Europe sought military security through unity (NATO) and looked for economic unity

However, because of strong nationalistic tendencies, it avoided political unity
1951: France, West Germany, Italy, and the “Benelux” countries (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg) formed the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)
It created a common market for coal and steel, eliminating tariffs and other trade barriers
1957: European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) for peaceful research of nuclear energy
1957: the Rome Treaty created the European Economic Community (EEC), the “Common Market”
It eliminated internal tariffs, established common external tariffs
It became the world’s largest purchaser of raw materials and exporter of goods

The United States and Canada: A New Era

American Society and Society in the 1950s

Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal of the 1930s shaped American living patterns
The federal government role in people’s lives had expanded as had the power of labor unions
The welfare state began to emerge, and the concerns of minorities began to be addressed
Three Democrats (Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson) and a moderate Republican (Eisenhower) were elected
The economic boom after WW2 gave the country confidence
The shortage of consumer goods, higher wages, and greater family savings during the war helped
From 1945 to 1973 was the longest uninterrupted period of prosperity in American history
Fear of Communism (China had gone Communist in 1949, we went to war in Korea in 1950) increased, too
Truman’s attorney general warned that Communists were “everywhere”
This “Red Scare” was led by Senator Joseph McCarthy, who had “secret lists” of Communists in government

Decade of Upheaval: America in the 1960s

1960-1973 was a period of unusual upheaval
1963: Kennedy was assassinated; his successor, Johnson, used *his* election as a mandate to change society
He pursued his “Great Society,” focusing on healthcare, a “war on poverty,” housing, and education

Civil Rights Movement

Johnson also worked for equal rights for African Americans
The movement began in 1954 with *Brown vs. Board of Education*, a Supreme Court decision
It struck down the practice of racially segregating schools
1960s: the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr. brought the struggle to widespread attention
August 1963: The march on Washington included his “I Have a Dream” speech
April 1963: only 4% thought civil rights as the most pressing issue; by December it was 52%
In 1964 Congress passed the Civil Rights Act, outlawing discrimination in the workplace
It helped greatly, but there remained segregated areas (ghettos) in big cities
Calls for radical action there (esp. by Malcom X) were taken to heart
1965: race riots broke out in Watts (Los Angeles), killing 34 and destroying 1000s of buildings
1966-1967: more riots in San Francisco, Chicago, Newark, and Detroit
1968: after the assassination of Dr. King, more than 100 cities experienced riots
All the unrest and violence led to a “white backlash” and a severely divided country

Antiwar Protests

Further dividing the country were anti-Vietnam War protests, beginning with college campuses
Teach-ins, sit-ins, and the occupying of administration were common
Less common were the radical demonstrations that led to violence (including bombs)
The shooting and death of 4 Kent State University students at the hands of the National Guard was the apex
All the bitterness on both sides exhausted the public and increased the dissatisfaction with the war
The unrest also led to a call for “law and order,” which Nixon exploited in his 1968 election

The Development of Canada

Postwar Society and Culture in the Western World

The Structure of European Society

After 1945, the greatest changes appeared to be with the middle class
It expanded from businesspeople and professionals (e.g., doctors, lawyers) to include a variety of new fields: managers, technicians, supervisors, and administrators
It required specialized knowledge, usually obtained in universities

The new middle class tried to make sure their children were college-educated

A Society of Consumers

Changes occurred among the lower classes, too – chiefly the move from rural to urban

The number of agricultural workers diminished, but the number of industrial workers remained the same

The number of industrial workers eventually declined, as white collar and service jobs increased

An increase in real wages (“buying power”) allowed the lower class to spend in ways like the middle class

It became a *consumer society*: installment plans allowed the purchase of more expensive goods

Workers began to buy televisions, appliances, and stereos – even automobiles

Mass Leisure

Rising incomes + shorter work hours (40 hours/week and more paid vacation days) = more leisure time

All aspects of popular culture – music, sports, media – became commercialized

Mass tourism increased dramatically: package tours and less expensive lodgings expanded travel

Creation of the Welfare State

Although the welfare state was an expansion of governmental powers, it was in the service of the people

Advocates maintained that it would eliminate poverty and homelessness, provide universal healthcare, ensure dignity for the aged, and extend educational opportunities for all who wanted them

Welfare was not a new idea: Bismarck began it in the late 1800s – but not necessarily for the good of the people

It varied from state to state, but there were some common trends

Benefits for sickness, accidents, unemployment, and old age were expanded to cover more people

Universal healthcare was another goal, but it was implemented differently by the states

In some it was free; in others people had to contribute 10-25% of the cost

Some provided a minimum level of material care for children. These *family allowances* were per child

In part it was established to encourage a higher birth rate – due to the population decline of the war

Opportunity to attend universities was expanded, through scholarships, hoping for equal access

Although a good idea, it didn't result in a dramatic increase in admission of the lower classes

Government expenses jumped from 17% in 1967 to 40-50% in the 1980s, but most citizens approved

Gender Issues in the Welfare State

Should women be recognized as a special category if they were mothers?

British welfare was based on the belief that women should stay at home with the children

Working women did not receive such benefits; businesses were encouraged to pay married women less

This encouraged dependence on their husbands

West German laws discouraged women from working (unlike their Eastern European neighbors)

Communist countries encouraged women workers and even provided daycare facilities

France gave working women the same benefits as their husbands and still encouraged a higher birth rate

Woman in the Postwar Western World

Women were removed from the workforce to make room for returning servicemen

Things returned traditional values, and birthrates climbed, creating a “baby boom”

The birthrate began to decline in the late 50s because of widespread birth control (“the pill” arrived in the 1960s)

Women in the Workforce

The decline in the birthrate led to more women available for work – including married women

In the early 1900s, even working-class married women stayed home if they could afford to

But from 1900 to 1970 in the US, the rate of working married women jumped from 15% to 62%

In Sweden it jumped from 47% to 66% from 1963 to 1975; it was above 90% in the USSR

Although the numbers jumped, the patterns remained the same

Women were paid substantially less and were shunted into traditionally “female” jobs

Some women had to work and still raise a family and maintain a household

This inequity led increasing numbers of women to rebel

The Feminist Movement: The Search for Liberation

Women's participation in two world wars had secured voting rights

1918: Sweden, Britain, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia; 1920: the US

1945: France and Italy

Late 1960s: women's movement for equality (then called “Women's Liberation”) paralleled student upheavals

Two writers encapsulated the mood of the times

- 1949: Simone de Beauvoir published *The Second Sex*, writing women were granted second-class status
She had lived a “liberated” lifestyle with independence and a relationship without marriage
- 1963: Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique*, maintaining that the inequality harmed women – not just economically but physically and mentally
- 1966: she formed the National Organization for Women (NOW) to seek for total equality

The Permissive Society

- After WW1, critics charged that it was a *permissive society* (much sex, drugs and pornography)
- The change wasn't that great and it was limited to large cities, but after WW2, it was far more noticeable
- Sweden took the lead in the so-called sexual revolution, and the rest of Europe (and the US) followed
- Homosexuality was increasingly decriminalized, birth control was widely available, sexually explicit movies, plays, and books broke new ground treating formerly taboo subjects
- In cities like Amsterdam, open prostitution and public sale pornography was allowed
- Divorce rates climbed dramatically, as did premarital and extramarital sex
- 1960s: the emergence of a drug culture
- Marijuana was the campus recreational drug of choice; some even experimented with LSD (an hallucinogen)
- A new Youth culture pursued sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll; questioned authority and fostered rebellion

Education and Student Revolt

- Before WW2, higher education was for the privileged, wealthy
- After WW2, equality of opportunity led to a more diverse student body, more college students
- The system didn't fit well: classes too large, courses old-fashioned and irrelevant, professors too authoritarian
- Late 1960s: student unrest in the US (in part because of the Vietnam War) spread to Europe
- 1968: Parisian students demanded a voice in administration, took over buildings, appealed to workers
- Half of France's workforce went on strike in May 1968
- Protests continued through the early 1970s for a variety of reasons (e.g., capitalism, imperialism, materialism)

Postwar Art and Literature

- As they did after WW1, artists and writers tried to understand the horrors of war

Art

- French artist Jean Dubuffet rejected the idea of beauty to capture the effects of war
- Many surrealists fled Europe for the US during the war to avoid persecution
- As a result, the art world was centered in the US: several museums promoted modern art
- Its most famous style was *Abstract Expressionism*: energetic, spontaneous and non-representational
- The most famous abstract expressionist was Jackson Pollock with his drip paintings
- 1960s: *Pop Art* took figures of popular culture and transformed them into art
- Most famous pop artist was Andy Warhol: his works drew from advertising, cartoons, photographs

Literature

- Most significant trend was “Theater of the Absurd”
- Most famous playwright was Samuel Beckett, whose most famous work was *Waiting for Godot*
- No background on the characters is provided, nothing really happens
- Art and literature reflected the meaninglessness of life and an absurd, desolate world view

The Philosophical Dilemma: Existentialism

- Philosophically, that absurdism appeared in *existentialism*
- Most famous existentialists were two Frenchmen, Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus
- Existentialism argued that humans had no preordained destiny and that life had no universal purpose or meaning
- Without external hope, the only source of it was within themselves
- “Man is nothing else but what he makes of himself”
- People must take full responsibility for what they are; they can't be depersonalized by society

The Revival of Religion

- The despair of existentialism elicited an opposite reaction: the revival of religion
- It had been on the decline since the Enlightenment
- Theologians Karl Barth and Karl Rahner tried to reinterpret the (Reformation) church for a new age
- The sinful, imperfect nature of humans would lead to God's solution – not by reason but by faith
- Through Pope John XXIII, the Catholic Church attempted a religious renewal
- He summoned an ecumenical council (“Vatican II) and liberalized the church

Services were performed in the vernacular (not Latin) and dialogue with other faiths were begun

The Explosion of Popular Culture

Culture as a Consumer Commodity

Popular culture is manufactured, distributed, and its images are sold by the economic system that creates it

Industries of leisure emerge: it becomes a product rather than the old, “organic” model of distribution

The Americanization of the World

US movies, television, music, and advertising have shaped the popular culture of most of the world

After WW2, first it was movies (40% of Hollywood’s income was from Europe)

(to a lesser extent, European movies began to be screened in the US)

Though developed in the 30s, television was put on hold during WW2, only to re-emerge in the late 40s

It spread through the US during the 1950s and became nearly universal there by the 1960s

American television shows were spread across the world in the 1960s as the number of sets increased

The shows could be purchased for 1/10th the cost of producing original shows

The US dominated popular music in the 1950s and early 1960s

Jazz, blues, rhythm and blues (“R&B”), rock-and-roll were all of African American origin

These all spread across the world, sometimes returning in new forms (e.g., the Beatles)