EUROPE SINCE 1980

This book tells the dramatic story of the economic, social, political, and cultural transformation of Europe during the transition from the Cold War to the European Union. Ivan Berend charts, in particular, the overwhelming impact of the collapse of communism on every aspect of European life. Europe became safer and more united, and Central and Eastern Europe started on the difficult road to economic modernization. However, the western half of Europe also changed. European integration gained momentum. The single market and the common currency were introduced, and the Union enlarged from nine to twenty-seven countries. This period also saw a revolution in information and communication technology, the increasing impact of globalization, and the radical restructuring of the political system. The book explores the impact of all of these changes as well as the new challenges posed by the economic crisis of 2008–9 and asks which way now for Europe?

IVAN T. BEREND is Distinguished Professor of History at the University of California, Los Angeles, and member of the British Academy and six European Academies of Sciences. His numerous publications include From the Soviet Bloc to the European Union (2009), An Economic History of Twentieth-Century Europe (2006), and History Derailed: Central and Eastern Europe in the “Long” Nineteenth Century (2003).
THE WORLD
Since 1980

This new series is designed to examine politics, economics, and social change in important countries and regions over the past three decades. No prior background knowledge of a given country is required by readers. The books are written by leading social scientists.

Titles in the series

*The United States Since 1980*; Dean Baker
*Brazil Since 1980*; Francisco Vidal Luna and Herbert S. Klein
*Israel Since 1980*; Guy Ben-Porat, Yagil Levy, Shlomo Mizrahi, Ayre Naor, and Erez Tzafadia
*Mexico Since 1980*; Stephen Haber, Herbert S. Klein, Noel Maurer, and Kevin J. Middlebrook
*Japan Since 1980*; Thomas F. Cargill and Takayuki Sakamoto
*Russia Since 1980*; Steven Rosefielde and Stefan Hedlund
Contents

List of Illustrations  page viii
List of Tables  x
Acknowledgements  xi

Introduction  1
1 Europe Approaches the 1980s: The Dual Crises (1968–80)  10
2 The End of “Two Europes” and European Integration  42
3 The New Cultural and Political Setting  96
4 The Economic Response to Globalization; Recovery and Growth; the Integration of Eastern and Western Europe  158
5 Dramatic Demographic Changes, Consumerism, and the Welfare State  222

Epilogue: Quo Vadis Europa?  286

Bibliography  303
Index  319
Illustrations

1. A huge crowd in front of the Hungarian parliament building listening to the announcement of the establishment of a democratic republic in place of the “people’s republic,” Budapest, 1989. page 49
2. The fall of the Berlin Wall, November 1989. 50
3. Mikhail Gorbachev. 52
4. Baltic demonstration in 1990, on the anniversary of the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1940. 53
5. Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany and Prime Minister Gyula Horn of Hungary. 57
6. Jacques Delors. 63
7. Euro banknotes. 67
8. Silvio Berlusconi. 111
9. Margaret Thatcher. 115
10. Jacques Chirac of France and Tony Blair of Britain. 120
11. Chancellor Angela Merkel with Central European prime ministers. 122
12. Civil war in Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. 125
13. Serb demonstration in Belgrade protesting the announcement of Kosovo’s independence. 125
14. United Nations peacekeeping forces try to stabilize the situation in Kosovo after NATO intervention. 128
15. Chancellor Gerhard Schröder and President Vladimir Putin. 130
16. Twenty-first-century urban architecture: London. (Photo by Joe Klemke.) 155
17. Twenty-first-century urban architecture: Berlin, Potsdamer Platz. (Photo by Kati Radics.) 156
List of Illustrations

18. Tim Berners-Lee. (Courtesy of CERN, the European Organization for Nuclear Research.) 160
19. The Super Proton Synchrotron. (Courtesy of CERN, the European Organization for Nuclear Research.) 176
20. French bullet trains. 181
21. The Airbus. 183
22. The Audi factory in Győr, Hungary. 208
23. Beggars in Košice, Slovakia. 240
24. Roma. 242
25. Roma emigrants from Romania in Sweden. 243

Credits: Photographs courtesy of the Photo Archive of the Hungarian News Agency unless otherwise stated.
## Tables

2.1. Comparative growth rates, GDP per capita  
4.1. Leaders of catching up (GDP per capita 1973–2005)  
4.2. Comparative GDP growth rates per capita  
5.1. Population (in 1,000s) 1973–2005
Acknowledgements

I should like to express my gratitude and thanks to those who contributed to my work on this volume. First, I thank Michael Watson, Editor at Cambridge University Press, with whom I have worked harmoniously for years on the books I have previously published with Cambridge, and who initiated this exciting enterprise. As always, I am also grateful to the anonymous reviewers at Cambridge University Press who called my attention to important issues and helped my work with invaluable advice.

The University of California, Los Angeles, my intellectual home for two decades, also has to be mentioned here. Besides its intellectual environment, UCLA offers the limitless resources of the superb Charles E. Young Research Library, as well as generous research grants from the International Institute, which helped me to realize this project.

Finally, I am, as always, most indebted to my wife, Kati, who is the best reviewer, editor, advisor, and help at every stage of my work. She is the best partner for discussing and debating conceptual questions, performing practical library work, and for critical reading of drafts. She tolerated it when I transformed our evening hours and weekends into work hours and days – partly since that gave her time to work undisturbed on her own drawings and paintings.

Ivan T. Berend