

UNIT 3.- THE COLD WAR AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

The Cold War

From the end of the Second World War until the 1960s, international relations had the following characteristics:

1. Europe lost completely its dominant role in world politics. After the war, Europe was in ruins and economically weak. The USA and the USSR were the new leaders and contenders in world politics. They were the two world great powers with their own influence zones.
2. This fact favoured the creation of two political blocks led by one of these great powers. These blocks were: The capitalist block, led by the USA; and the socialist block, led by the USSR.
3. Both great powers were eager to have the most extended area of influence they could, while avoiding the other to extend their own areas of influence. The United States and the Soviet Union tried to expand their influence at the expense of the other.
4. There was a permanent tension between the two great powers and the countries integrating those blocks. There is a situation in which a fine balance is established, based on fear and on the destructive power of each power related to its weapons –particularly nuclear weapons- but tensions never reach the point of a general war. Each one was checking each other by each other's massive nuclear arsenal and the doctrine of mutual assured destruction. This situation is called *The Cold War*.

Mutual assured destruction (MAD): MAD is a military doctrine that comes from the USA doctrine of massive retaliation, coined in the 1950s when Dwight Eisenhower was president of the US. Massive **retaliation** called for a vast attack against the USSR in case of aggression, with traditional or nuclear weapons. MAD would mean that nuclear great powers could use the threat of nuclear power, that would destroy both contenders to deter the enemy from using these same nuclear weapons.

The Cold War was the most important political issue of the early post-war period. As stated above, it originated from long-lasting disagreements between the Soviet Union and the United States regarding their political and economic ideas. In 1946, the British premier Winston Churchill gave a speech called “The Iron Curtain Speech”. The iron curtain was the symbolic line that divided both blocks. The Western block defended liberal, democratic political regimes within a capitalist economy, where corporations were the beneficiaries. The Soviet Union and its allies defended a kind of state socialism where the working class was supposed to have the relevant political power. In reality it ended up being a group of dictatorships within a state based economic system where the hierarchy of the single party, the Communist Party, became the new dominant class. During World War II, the two countries found themselves allied, but at the end of the war, the same antagonisms emerged once more but more virulent. Germany became a divided country, with a Western zone under joint American, British, and French occupation and an Eastern zone under Soviet occupation.



arms race in the confrontation between America and Russia. The sign says: "Don't deter"
http://www.johndclare.net/cold_war12.htm

Several events triggered these developments:

1. The abandonment of the policy of isolationism by the US and the Truman Doctrine. The focus of the Truman Doctrine was the containment of the Soviet Union and was American policy in the post-war years.
2. The Marshall Plan. This plan was made public in 1947 and later approved by the US administration in order to subsidise Western Europe with funds for economic recovery. The US needed allies which had economic strength, but not enough to challenge their dominance over the world, and they also needed a market for their goods. Europe, ruined by the war, was the natural ally for the US. According to the scholar Noam Chomsky, the US elite wanted to organise the world in the interests of the corporate sectors that they represented. Industrial societies had to return to conservative business rule, and the first step was to reconstruct Japan and Germany but also France and Britain. This was, of course, done under their supervision. To do that, the anti-Fascist resistance had to be destroyed, as many belonged to left-wing parties, and Fascist collaborators, even some war criminals, had to be in power. Next, to organise the restructured world, there was the implementation of the Marshall Plan and the rebuilding of traditional colonial relationships to keep exploiting the Third World countries.
3. The Berlin blockade. The unilateral implementation of each country's policies in occupied Germany led to the unification of the Western zone, including the Bank of the German States –later replaced by Deutsche Bundesbank- and a new currency, the Mark, replacing the Reich mark. As a response, in the spring of 1948, the Soviets proceeded to blockade West Berlin. The Western powers, but particularly the USA, responded with the establishment of a shuttle service to supply food and fuel to the city until the Soviets lifted the blockade in May 1949. Then, the Federal Republic of Germany was created in the Western zone, and a little later the Democratic Republic of Germany was created in the Eastern zone. Germany was divided into two countries.

The United Nations (UN): On April 25, 1945, representatives of 50 nations met in San Francisco to set up the United Nations. The United Nations was to replace the League of Nations as an international association of governments facilitating cooperation in international law, security, economic development, and social equity. On December 10, 1948, the general assembly adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The declaration was promoted by Eleanor Roosevelt, who chaired the committee that drafted and approved the declaration.

During the Cold War, there were a series of conflicts, including the Korean war (1950-1953), the Berlin wall (1961) and the tense nuclear confrontation of the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962). Within the United States, the Cold War prompted concerns about the “devil of communism”, and also resulted in government efforts to encourage research towards military objectives, including the space race. The concern over communism led to the McCarthy era, from 1950 to 1953, when many Americans were persecuted and accused of being a communist, in a witch-hunt led by senator McCarthy, who believed in a supposedly “communist conspiracy” backed by homosexuals. Many intellectuals, artists and other people along with homosexuals, were prosecuted, ostracised, lost their jobs and went to prison for not abiding with the senator’s idea of a “patriot”. Even Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, who led the production of the nuclear bomb during World War II was fired from his position in the Atomic Energy Commission.

Soon after World War II there was also the process of independence of the former European colonies, although, as stated above, they maintained ties with the old metropolis and with the USA and continued being economically dependant. In this process the Indochina War was important (which had two phases: 1946-1954 and 1957-1975).

Also during this time the Israeli-Arab conflict started , when, in 1947, the UN decided to create a Jewish state, Israel, by dividing Palestine into two areas, one with Arab-Palestinian government and another one with a Jewish-Israeli government. After that, several conflicts made the area one of the most sensitive in the world: the Arab-Israeli wars, the crisis of the Suez Channel, the Six-Day War...

After Stalin’s death in 1953 there was some time of “peaceful coexistence”, which did not have immediate results. In 1955 the Warsaw Pact was created as a response to NATO. During this time, the USSR tamed its own ranks. The soviet army intervened in Hungary in 1956 after a revolutionary and democratic revolt started by students. Something similar happened again in 1968, in what is called the “Prague Spring”, when after an attempt of liberalisation by Czechoslovakia’s government, which last for about eight months, troops from the USSR and the Warsaw Pact invaded the country.

The Cold War continued through the 1960s and 1970s. In 1962 there was the Cuban Missile Crisis when, after the USSR was starting to install nuclear missiles in Cuba, the US government under John F. Kennedy had to face the crisis and finally avoid the outbreak of a war. During the 60s and 70s, the Non-Aligned Movement, which started in the 1950s, became stronger. They were like a third block –or Third World- who refused to be within any of the two blocks and condemned racial discrimination, colonialism and war.



John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas on November, 22, 1963
<http://images.rarenewspapers.com/ebavimgs/webimages/60045.jpg>

The United States also entered the Vietnam War (1959-1975), a political and military failure that became more and more unpopular in the US and fed already existing social movements including pacifists and minorities. The period, particularly after May 1968 in Paris and its extension in Europe and the US saw the birth of feminism and the environmental movement as political forces.

The European Union

The origins of European organisations: The OECD and the European Economic Community.

Under American initiative, in 1948 the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), came into being. It was formed to administer American and Canadian aid under the Marshall Plan for reconstruction of Europe after World War II, above all to supervise the distribution of aid. Later its membership was extended to non-European states, and it was reformed into the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the OECD in 1961. The OECD is an international organisation of those developed countries that accept the principles of representative democracy and free market economy. Also under American initiative, democratic European countries and the USA and Canada founded, in 1949, NATO, a military alliance opposed to the Soviet Union and its acolytes during the Cold War.

After World War II, and taking into account the role of steel and coal industries in the war, and particularly, coal and steel from the Ruhr area that had provoked friction between France and Germany, Robert Schumann, in a speech inspired and prepared for him by Jean Monnet, proposed that France and Germany, and any other European

country willing to join them should pool their coal and steel resources together, under joint control by a High Authority. This was the “Schumann Declaration” of 1950, and was the beginning of the European Coal and Steel Community (1951) and what later would be the European Union.

Jean Monnet and Robert Schumann are considered the inspirers, architects and founders of the European Union. During World War II, at a meeting of the National Liberation Committee in France in 1943, Monnet declared that "There will be no peace in Europe if the states are reconstituted on the basis of national sovereignty... The countries of Europe are too small to guarantee their peoples the necessary prosperity and social development. The European states must constitute themselves into a federation...".

In 1951 Belgium, France, Germany (West), Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands signed the Treaty of Paris, establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), and the ECSC Treaty entered into force. The institutions were set up in Luxembourg with Jean Monnet presiding the High Authority and Paul-Henri Spaak, the Common Assembly. Another precedent of the European Union was Benelux, created in 1944 but in force since 1947, establishing a **customs union** among Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

In 1956 the foreign ministers of the six founding countries above decided at a meeting chaired by Paul-Henri Spaak to open negotiations for the development of two treaties setting up the European Economic Community (EEC) that would be later the European Union, and an Atomic Energy Community. The results of this meeting were called the Spaak report. One year later, in 1957, the Treaties of Rome established the European Economic Community, that was at first basically a customs union, and for this reason was popularly named the European Common Market. All tariffs among member states were abolished and the same custom tariff was established for products coming from third countries. The treaties also established the European Atomic Community (Euratom). The intention of Euratom was to develop atomic energy in Europe, distribute it and market it outside the European Economic Community. Nevertheless, aspirations were limited by the complexity of this energy sector and interests of its national members states. The EEC and Euratom Commissions were set up in Brussels and the Parliamentary Assembly and the Court of Justice were common to the ECSC, EEC and Euratom. The organisational structures of those three institutions merged in 1967, after the Merger Treaty. From then on, there was only one commission and one council.

Before the creation of the European common market, national markets had difficulty competing with larger markets such as the USA or Japan. It was evident that to have a market of 370 million people would allow economies of scale, that is, producing in larger scale means having less input costs.

In 1960 seven European countries that were not EEC members founded the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). Some of the countries that joined EFTA left to be part of the European Union, then EEC, such as the United Kingdom.

Aims of the European Union

The European Union is a heterogeneous assemblage of states and regions within those states. There are differences in social and economic development levels, and an important cultural diversity, including linguistic variety. There are 20 official languages and three working languages: English, French and German.

The aims of the European Union are:

- To lay the foundations of an even-closer union between the peoples of Europe.
- To promote balanced and sustainable economic and social progress by creating an area without internal borders, by strengthening economic and social cohesion and by establishing economic and monetary union.
- To project the Union to the rest of the world, through the common foreign and security policy, and a common defence policy.
- To strengthen the protection of the rights and interests of the nationals of its member states through the introduction of a citizenship of the Union.
- To develop close cooperation on justice and home affairs. To develop freedom, security and justice.
- To keep and develop a sense of community through common laws and rules.

EU Institutions

The main European Union institutions are:

1. The **European Parliament**. The European Parliament has 730 members elected by European Union citizens every five years. Together with the Council it has legislative power, but it cannot initiate legislation. It amends, approves or rejects legislation. Laws in areas like workers' rights, immigration or the environment have to be approved by both bodies. In other areas the parliament has the right just to be consulted. Other tasks of the European Parliament are the supervision of the executive power, the European Commission, having to approve all appointments to it, and control over the budget. The Commission proposes a draft budget and the Parliament and the Council have to agree.
2. The **Commission**. The European Commission has the executive power in the European Union. They initiate proposals for legislation, it is guardian of the treaties, manager and executor of European Union policies and internal trade relationships. It is a body independent from national governments and it has 25 members or commissioners, one for each member state, leading its administrative body of thousands of civil servants and headed by a president. Its members are appointed by the Council and approved by the Parliament and serve for a period of five years.



Source from BBC

3. The **Council of the European Union or Council of Ministers**. The Council has, together with the Parliament, the legislative power in the EU. Its members are the ministers of foreign affairs of the governments of all member states. If relevant to the topic, other ministers may intervene, i.e. education ministers in topics related to education issues in the EU. Its presidency rotates every six months. It is said that the Council is the most important decision-making body of the European Union and its tasks are: Member states legislate for the union and the Council passes laws endorsed by the Parliament and the Commission. It also sets political objectives and coordinates national policies.
4. The **Court of Justice**. It has the judicial power in the EU, as the Supreme Court of Justice in the matters in which it has competency. It is composed of 25 judges and 8 advocates general. They are appointed by member states for a term of office of six years. The Court makes sure that the European Union law is observed in the interpretation and application of the treaties. It can be summoned to decide on cases brought by member states, individuals or community institutions, although individuals cannot bring issues directly to the Court, but through the Court of First Instance.
5. The **European Council**. Also called “European summit”, it is not really an institution. It refers to the regular meetings –four a year- of the heads of state of the European Union. It defines the general political guidelines of the EU.
6. Other institutions are the European Central Bank, the Committee of the Regions and the Economic and Social Committee, among others.

The Single European Act, the Maastricht Treaty, and the treaty of Amsterdam.

The foundation of the European Economic Community, as explained above, implied the creation of an unified market but did not imply free movement of people and capital. The Single European Act signed in 1986 agreed to a progressive establishment of a common market, meaning free movement of goods, capitals, people and services that was to be completed by 1992. This was an important step towards economic and monetary union, that is, towards the integration process. Then, the Maastricht Treaty or Treaty of the European Union was signed. From then on, The European Economic Community was named the European Union and implied the will of being also a political union. The Treaty decided to enforce monetary union, to boost citizens' participation through elections to the European Parliament, established new rights for citizens, policies of internal solidarity with less developed regions, and outlined aims for a common foreign policy and defence. The Treaty named three pillars of the European Union. The first pillar would be the European Communities, the second pillar would be the Common Foreign and Security Policy and the third pillar would be cooperation on Justice and Home Affairs.

In 1997 the Treaty of Amsterdam made some amendments to the Maastricht Treaty, making it more democratic, containing new rights for citizens, freedom of movement, employment and strengthening the institutions.

The Treaty of Amsterdam did not solve some of the problems of the European Union. The adaptation of the institutions and its efficiency due to successive enlargements of the union is still a problem to solve. For some it did not do enough to achieve a closer political union, while others –like the United Kingdom- are concerned about leaving their future in the hands of supranational institutions. The remaining democratic deficit of the Union has been criticized, despite improvement. The European Parliament is the only institution elected by citizens, and despite its greater importance, its role has not been sufficiently strengthened. In fact, in 1999 the European Commission was accused of favouritism, nepotism and chronic inefficiency of virtually **unaccountable** bureaucrats and the whole commission including its president were forced to resign.

In 2004 the Treaty establishing a European Constitution was signed, but despite this Constitution being ratified by some countries such as Spain, it was rejected by important founding members, France and Holland. If the Constitution had been ratified by all members it would have come into force by November 1, 2006. This rejection has made the future of the Constitution uncertain.

From ECU to EURO. A look at the single currency.

In 1979, in order to provide a single standard upon which to base exchange rates of the currencies of the member states of the European Economic Community -later European Union, the European Currency Unit (ECU) was created. It was an artificial currency, a common unit used by the European Monetary System (EMS). This was an exchange rate system that outlined how much the real currencies could fluctuate against each other. The ECU was a precedent of the euro and worked until the establishment of the euro in 1999.

The Maastricht Treaty in 1992, gave a boost to the idea of a single currency for the European Union with the approval of the Economic and Monetary Union. Members wanting to participate in the single currency had to meet rigorous economic criteria in areas such as budget and debt deficit, low inflation and average interest rates. In 1999, 12 of the then 15 member states adopted the euro, since then the only currency for those countries. The different member currencies were retired from circulation from 2002. Denmark and Sweden did not join the euro because it was rejected in a referendum and the United Kingdom did not join the euro because many are afraid this would be the start of a European mega-state that would mean decision-making would be done far from British people and their interests.



Euro sign in front of the European Central Bank in Frankfurt
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/24/Euro_ECB.PNG

The euro makes the circulation of goods and capital easier, because it saves the expenses derived from currency exchange.

The future shape and direction of the EU. Enlargement and consequences.

The European Union has had several enlargements since its foundation as the European Economic Community in 1957. Founding member states are Belgium, France, Germany (West), Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. In 1973 there was the first enlargement, and Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom joined. The United Kingdom, that at first did not want to be part of the European Economic Community and was a founding member of EFTA, applied for membership already in 1961, when it realised that the EEC was far more successful economically than EFTA. Nevertheless,

the French veto avoid the possibility of joining at that stage. French president, Charles De Gaulle, considered that the UK was not sufficiently European minded and was too close to the USA, particularly in defence matters. He also feared that after the UK many other countries would be willing to apply for membership and thought that would not be positive for the EEC.

The second enlargement was in 1981, with Greece joining the EEC, and in 1986 the third enlargement took place, with Portugal and Spain joining. In 1995, with the fourth enlargement, Austria, Finland and Sweden acceded to the already then named European Union. Nevertheless, it was in 2004 when the enlargement affected a great number of countries with a combined population of 75 million people. The difference in GDP (Gross Domestic Product) has never been so big either. The number of languages in the European Union has increased as a result as well. In 2004 former states from soviet influence joined the Union, that is; Eastern European countries - Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Slovakia, plus two from the Mediterranean- Malta and Cyprus. Part of the reason for this enlargement was to reunite Europe after the division caused by the Cold War, when this finished in the eighties. From January 2007 Bulgaria and Romania are also members of the EU, which means the current number of members is 27. It will be a test for the Union to work with such a great number of countries and maintain its cohesion, plus being effective.

Solidarity in the European Union

Structural Funds and Cohesion Funds

One of the policies of the European Union is to correct economic unbalance among the different member states. This has two purposes that are linked to each other. The first one is to support the poorest regions in Europe and the second one is to create an integrated European infrastructure in different areas, such as transport.

The Structural Funds have as target regions from all member states that fall behind. The main structural funds are:

- The European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), that gives credit for programmes for regional development and finances investment in education and health, in sustainable employment, local and technological development, and in infrastructures, that is, transport, telecommunications and energy.
- The European Social Fund (ESF) has as its main objective to fund vocational training in order to combat unemployment, focusing on areas and groups of people with low income.

The Cohesion Funds help to reduce social and economic disparities among member states. It finances major projects related to the environment and transport infrastructure. Eligible countries for these funds are those with a **Gross National Product** (GNP) per capita below 90% of the European Union average. Among these countries are Spain, Portugal, Greece and all the new members from 2004.

Common Agricultural Policy

Since the foundation of the European Economic Community the agricultural policy has been one of the most characteristic and sometimes polemic issues in the EU. The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) is a scheme of subsidies and programmes in the agricultural sector. At first, this policy contributed to the modernisation of equipment and installations and improved production. Increasing productivity, gave a good standard of living to farmers and peasants and the stabilization of markets has been among the main objectives of these policies. A problem has been that the increase of production has been greater than Europeans' consumption capacity. **Surplus** is difficult to sell outside the EU, where prices are lower than the ones the European Union offers to its farmers and cattle farmers. This is why the European Union plans to reduce guarantee prices paid to farmers and reconvert part of the farmland into recreational forest, reducing cultivated land.

SOURCES AND ACTIVITIES

The Cold War

The Marshall Plan

“It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. Such assistance, I am convinced, must not be on a piecemeal basis as various crises develop. Any assistance that this Government may render in the future should provide a cure rather than a mere palliative. Any government that is willing to assist in the task of recovery will find full cooperation, I am sure, on the part of the United States Government. Any government which manoeuvres to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect help from us. Furthermore, governments, political parties, or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit there from politically or otherwise will encounter the opposition of the United States.

It is already evident that, before the United States Government can proceed much further in its efforts to alleviate the situation and help start the European world on its way to recovery, there must be some agreement among the countries of Europe as to the requirements of the situation and the part those countries themselves will take in order to give proper effect to whatever action might be undertaken by this Government. It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this Government to undertake to draw up unilaterally a program designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe. The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of a European program and of later support of such a program so far as it may be practical for us to do so. The program should be a joint one, agreed to by a number, if not all, European nations.”

Speech by George Marshall, delivered at Harvard University in June 5, 1947.

U.S. Economic Assistance Under the European Recovery Program

April 3, 1948 - June 30, 1952

(Total Amount in Millions of U.S. Dollars)

United Kingdom	3,189.8
France	2,713.6
Italy	1,508.8
Germany (West)	1,390.6
The Netherlands	1,083.5
Greece	706.7
Austria	677.8
Belgium/Luxembourg	559.3
Denmark	273.0
Norway	255.3
Turkey	225.1
Ireland	147.5
Sweden	107.3
Portugal	51.2
Iceland	29.3

Source: USIA

http://www.turnerlearning.com/cnn/coldwar/marshall/mpln_re1.html

“Did the Marshall Plan have as its aim to prevent an economic recession? A great deal of politicians have been influenced by the fear to recession.

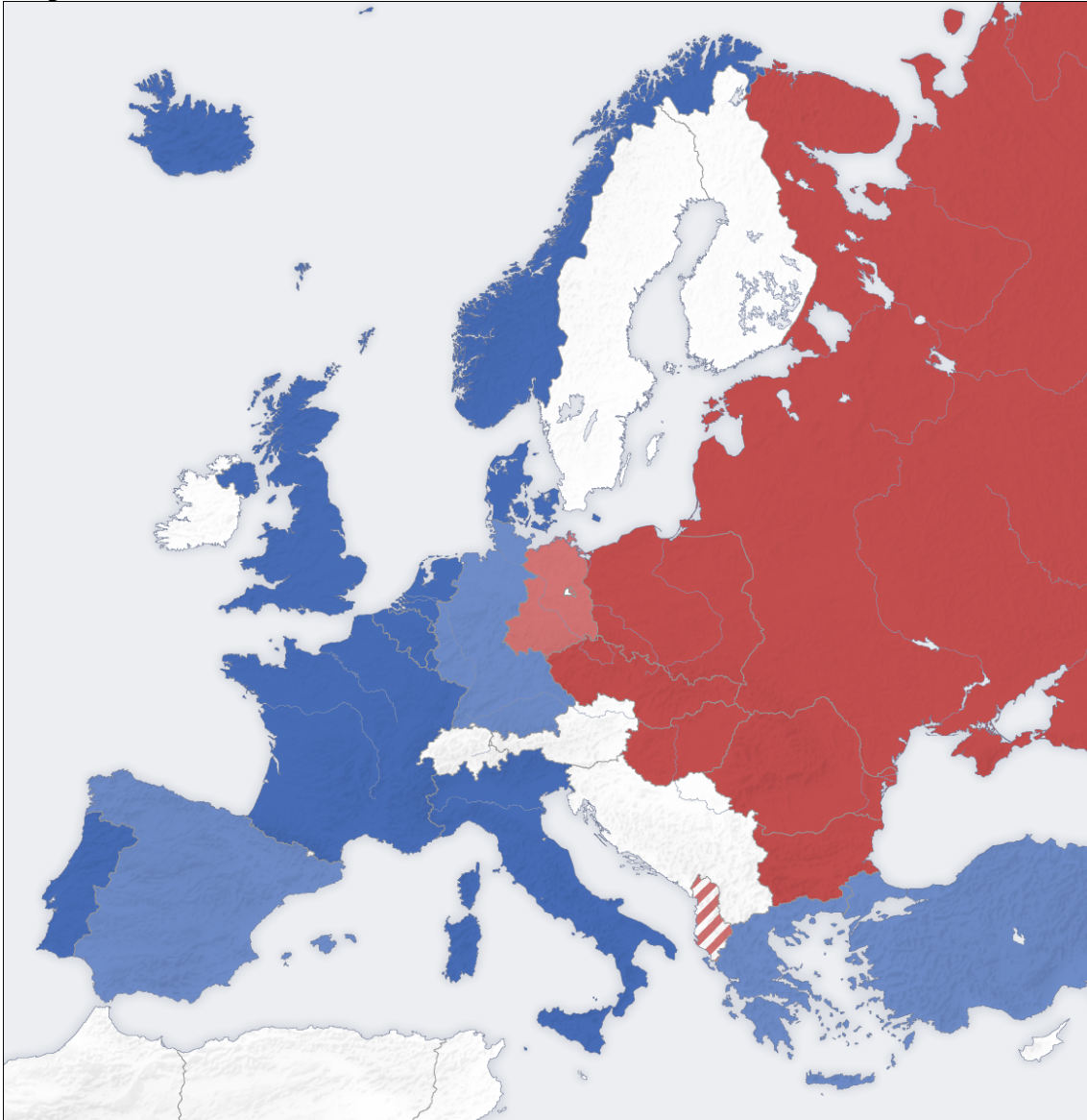
The Marshall Plan is simply an attempt to restore the world’s ability to buy American products, starting by our best customers. Our economy would collapse, our prosperity would disappear in a flash if the huge production of American factories -which production capacity has raised 50% during the war- could not find overseas markets to flood.”

Excerpt by Freda Kirchney from *The Nation*, 26 June 1947

Activities:

1. Describe the philosophy of the Marshall Plan. Which issues do you consider most important?
2. What is Freda Kirchney’s vision of the Marshall Plan. Compare her point of view with what George Marshall says in his speech.
3. Which countries received most of the help? Why do you think that is?

Map of The Cold War



http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/87/Cold_war_europe_military_alliances_map.png

“The shift in world politics had started in the early nineteenth century with the development of modern means of communication: the steamship, the railway network, the telegraph. The European system was gradually giving way to a world system, but all that seemed to happen at first was the transformation of the balance of power in Europe into a balance embracing the whole world (...). The Second World War brought the Russians into the heart of Europe; Eastern Europe and most of the Balkans were now under Soviet domination. (...) The old European equilibrium was replaced by the global balance of power between America and Russia”.

Walter Laqueur, *Europe in Our Time*, 1992.

“The peculiarity of the Cold War was that, speaking objectively, no imminent danger of world war existed. More than this: in spite of the apocalyptic rhetoric on both sides, but especially on the American side, the government of both superpowers accepted the global distribution of forces at the end of the Second World War, which amounted to a highly uneven but unchallenged balance of power. The USSR controlled, or exercised predominant influence in one part of the globe –the zone occupied by the Red Army and/or other communist armed forces

at the end of the war, and did not attempt to extend its range of influence further by military force. The USA exercised control and predominance over the rest of the world as well as the western hemisphere and the oceans, taking over what remained of the old imperial hegemony of the former colonial powers. In return, it did not intervene in the zone of accepted Soviet hegemony.”

Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes. The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991*.

“During the night of August 13 (1961), units of the East German army closed all crossings from East Berlin to the West, and in subsequent days a wall was built along the Soviet sector. This was in violation of the four-power status, which provided free access to all parts of the city, and it came as a great shock for West Berliners and West Germans (...) ...as the news were received of the circumstances, in which East Germans had found their death while trying to cross the border, the general excitement reached a climax.”

Walter Laqueur, *Europe in Our Time*, 1992.

“But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course—both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms—and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce. “

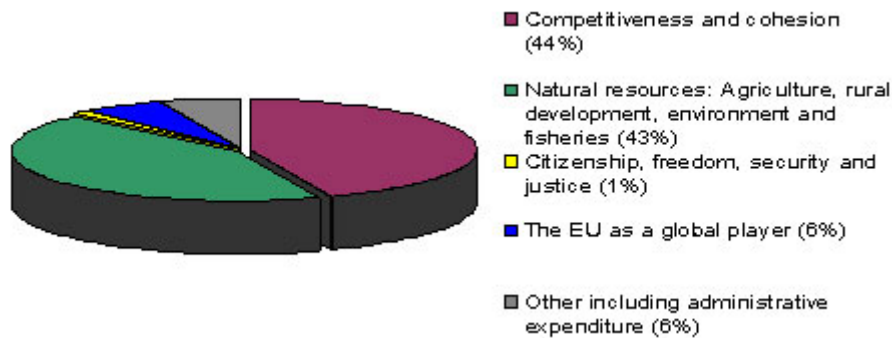
Inaugural Address of President John F. Kennedy, January 20, 1961

Activities:

1. How did world political power change between the 19th and 20th centuries? What was the world political situation after World War II?
2. What is the Cold War?
3. Identify the blocks on the map.
4. What is the Truman doctrine? Who was Truman?
5. What does *Mutual Assure Destruction* refer to?
6. How would you define the relationship between the URRS and the USA during this time? Look for the meaning of “pacific coexistence”, a term coined by the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev.
7. What were the reasons for building the Berlin Wall?
8. What course is John F. Kennedy referring to? Name and number those elements of Kennedy's speech that encourage “pacific coexistence”.
9. What has the role of the UN been since its foundation? Has it been a success? Why?
10. Newspaper library exercise: Look for five newspaper stories with reference to the confrontation between the two blocks during the Cold War (i.e. in an online newspaper library such as <http://news.nynl.org/ogdensburg-advance/search.html>), and: a) Print the news. b) Put a headline different to the one in the news. c) Summarise the news content. d) Compare and analyse them.

The European Union

The Budget



http://ec.europa.eu/budget/budget_glance/what_for_en.htm

The budget
What is the budget for ? Funding European Union activities, agricultural and fisheries policies, environmental protection, culture, telecommunications networks, education, the Structural Funds for the regions, energy, the Cohesion Fund for the poorest States, internal policy actions, development programmes, etc.
How is the budget financed ? From own resources agreed by the Member States after consultation with the European Parliament. 1.24% of the GNP (gross national product)
How is the budget adopted ? The Commission proposes a preliminary draft budget. The European Parliament and the Council have to agree
Who controls spending? European Parliament also monitors the proper use of public funds through its Committee on Budgetary Control. Scrutinising the management of funds, acting continually to improve the prevention, detection and punishment of fraud, and sees whether the best possible results have been obtained.

European Institutions

European Parliament

- represents the **490 million citizens** of the European Union
- Members: **785** (elected for 5 years)
largest multinational Parliament in the world
- Meeting places:
Strasbourg for monthly plenary sessions, **Brussels** for committee meetings
- EP numbers close to 100 political parties, organized in 8 political groups

785 Members of European Parliament

Number of seats in the European Parliament per country 2007–09

Austria	18
Belgium	24
Bulgaria	18
Cyprus	6
Czech Republic	24
Denmark	14
Estonia	6
Finland	14
France	78
Germany	99
Greece	24
Hungary	24
Ireland	13
Italy	78
Latvia	9
Lithuania	13
Luxembourg	6
Malta	5
Netherlands	27
Poland	54
Portugal	24
Romania	35
Slovakia	14
Slovenia	7
Spain	54
Sweden	19
United Kingdom	78
Total	785

http://europa.eu/abc/12lessons/lesson_4/index_en.htm

Council of the European Union

“In Brussels, each EU Member State has a permanent team (“representation”) that represents it and promotes its national interest at EU level. The head of each representation is, in effect, his or her country’s ambassador to the EU. These ambassadors (known as “permanent representatives”) meet weekly within the Permanent Representatives Committee, known by the French acronym COREPER. The role of this committee is to prepare the work of the Council, with the exception of agricultural issues which are handled by the Special Committee on Agriculture.”

National Forum on Europe. Exploring Ireland’s future

<http://www.forumoneurope.ie/index.asp?docID=967&locID=113#council>

Activities:

1. Discuss the idea and the concept of Europe before and after 1914.
2. Explain the process of European reconstruction, from the Marshall Plan to the European Union. Relate with the Cold War.
3. Why did the UK and Sweden decide to form EFTA instead of going into the EEC? What was EFTA?
4. Relate the above with the foundation of NATO. What were the interests of the USA regarding an integrated Europe?
5. From the six original member states to the future. Discuss the past and the future of the European unification.
6. Look at the following link:
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/75/European_Union_enlargement.gif
 Comment on the process of enlargement of the European Union since the EEC was founded in 1957.

Euroscepticism



A sensationalist British newspaper criticising the, then, president of the European Commission Jacques Delors about the united European currency (ECU) that would materialise into the euro
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/1/shared/spl/hi/pop_ups/06/programmes_enl_1146754853/img/1.jpg

“According to the world’s biggest on-line encyclopedia, Wikipedia, "Euroscepticism has become a general term for opposition to the process of integration". This definition reflects quite

well the general misconception floating around the word "euroscepticism" (...)To put it on a provocative way, in the current European context one should actually be careful when publicly criticizing the European Union as that might lead to the label of "eurosceptic". This process labels quite unfairly people that are willing and entitled to exert their freedom of expression to dispute some of the irregularities that affect the European Union. (...)

Like all ideologies, Europeanism is a dream that started in a very restricted group of people, the fathers of Europe (Churchill, Monnet, Schuman, Spaak). The idea was thought to be noble and the integration dynamic was then widely supported by intellectuals all around Europe. But today, the Brussels' bubble and the Commission have become the core centre for Europeanists for which there can be no alternative to further integration until a United-States-of Europe-like state is achieved. In this forced march, Europeanists seem to favour quantity over quality, causing the European Union to be criticized by democrats around Europe and digging into the gap that separates institutions from citizens. Some Europeanists are so blind that their compulsive obsession to dismantle national states – thought to be responsible for all misfortune in Europe – drives them to build a centralized omnipotent state. (...)

In this context, "Euroscepticism" appears as a healthy way to promote democracy.

"Euroscepticism" is the representation of the right of the people of Europe to debate the future of Europe. It is the opposition's voice to a certain system, and the plurality of its arguments make it difficult to identify it to mere nationalist claims. In fact, among the group of so-called "Eurosceptics", many would rather call themselves "EU-critics" or "EU-reformists".

Géraud de Ville, commissioner officer of the Eudemocrats. Published at *Politeia*, October 2007

Activities:

1. What is *Euroscepticism* according to the text?
2. In which groups could *eurosceptics* be divided?
3. What is Europeanism and what has it become according to the author?
4. Why are British traditionally *eurosceptics*?
5. What's the meaning of the headlines in *The Sun* newspaper?

Other activities:

For the Cold War:

Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb, by Stanley Kubrick and with Peter Sellers (1964).



Peters Sellers in Dr. Strangelove

<http://www.britannica.com/eb/art/print?id=94069&articleTypeld=0>

Comment on this movie taking into account: the role Dr. Strangelove represents, the American president and the Soviet president, the plot and what it refers to, the direct telephone line from Washington to Moscow.