

Contents

List of Documents	14
List of Tables	22
Introduction	23
1. Europe without War and Peace	23
2. The Unexpected Change	25
3. The Conception of this Volume	28
I. Expectations and Disappointments of the First Post-war Years (1945–1947)	33
1. The Plans for a Pan-European Peace Settlement	33
1.1. The Resistance Movement and Europa	33
1.2. Allied Plans for Post-war Europe	35
1.3. »Federalists« and »Realists« in Conflict	38
Documents 1–7	41
2. Stalin's Concept for Europe	46
2.1. The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe	46
2.2. Eastern Europe's Return to a System of Nation States	48
2.3. Soviet Bilateralism	50
Documents 8–11	51
II. Europe in the Cold War (1948–1962)	54
1. The Beginnings of Economic and Political Cooperation in Western Europe	55
1.1. Marshall Plan and OEEC	55
1.2. The Council of Europe	59
1.3. The European Coal and Steel Community	62
Documents 12–19	64

2.	The Consolidation of the Eastern Bloc	77
2.1.	The Development of the East European Treaty Network	78
2.2.	The Foundation of Cominform	80
2.3.	The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance	82
2.4.	The Integration of the German Democratic Republic into the Eastern Bloc	83
	Documents 20–23	84
3.	The Search for Security – Return to the Alliances	86
3.1.	Between Cold War and <i>Détente</i>	86
3.2.	The Building of Regional Alliances	88
3.2.1.	The Creation of NATO	89
3.2.2.	From the EDC to the West European Union	90
	Documents 24–25	93
3.3.	The Eastern System of Alliances	96
3.3.1.	The Foundation of the Warsaw Pact	96
3.3.2.	The Soviet Armed Forces in Eastern Europe	99
3.3.3.	The Transition to a Multilateral System of Treaties	100
	Documents 26–29	101
3.4.	Regional Alliances in Northern and Southern Europe	106
3.4.1.	The Balkan Pact	106
3.4.2.	The Nordic Union	107
	Documents 30–31	108
4.	Western Integration and Eastern Cohesion	111
4.1.	Economic Cooperation in Western Europe	111
4.1.1.	The European Economic Community	112
4.1.2.	European Cooperation in Science and Technology	113
4.1.3.	The Fusion of Joint Institutions	114
4.1.4.	The European Free Trade Association (EFTA)	115
4.1.5.	From OEEC to OECD	117
	Documents 32–35	118
4.2.	The Soviet Union and the Cohesion of the Eastern Bloc	127
4.2.1.	The Consolidation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance	127
4.2.2.	»Socialist Internationalism«	129
	Document 36	132

III.	Consolidation of the Status quo (1963–1972)	133
1.	West European Integration: Between Stagnation and Enlargement	133
1.1.	Enlargement of European Organisations	134
1.2.	The Development of the EEC	135
1.3.	The Franco–German Treaty	138
	Document 37	138
2.	Atlantic Partnership and a New East–West Dialogue	141
2.1.	From American Domination to Transatlantic Partnership	141
2.2.	Europe and the Superpowers' Dialogue	144
	Documents 38–40	146
3.	Disintegration in the Eastern Bloc	151
3.1.	Crisis of Authority and Polycentrism	151
3.2.	The Conflict with Albania	153
3.3.	The Special Case of Romania	154
3.4.	Moscow's Treaty with the GDR	155
	Documents 41–43	156
4.	The »Prague Spring« and Economic Cooperation	158
4.1.	Beginning and End of Reforms in Czechoslovakia	158
4.2.	The Comecon »Complex Programme«	160
	Documents 44–48	162
5.	Germany, Berlin and the »Ostverträge«	167
5.1.	The »Ostverträge«	167
5.2.	The Four-power Agreement	169
5.3.	The Basic Treaty between the two Germanies	169
	Documents 49–52	171
IV.	Détente and Security (1972–1985)	175
1.	The European Community between Enlargement and Renewal	175
1.1.	The First Enlargement: Great Britain, Denmark, Ireland	175
1.2.	The Southern Enlargement: Greece, Spain and Portugal	177
	Document 53	177

2.	Europe's Search for an Identity	179
2.1.	European Political Cooperation	179
2.2.	The European Monetary System	181
2.3.	The Bridge between EC and EFTA	182
2.4.	Space Vision, the Eureka Project and Education	183
	Documents 54–56	184
3.	The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)	189
3.1.	The Road to Helsinki	189
3.2.	From Helsinki to Paris	190
	Documents 57–58	192
4.	The East and the Polish Crisis	202
4.1.	Rebellion within the Communist Movement	202
4.2.	The Integration of the GDR	203
4.3.	The Polish Crisis	204
	Documents 59–61	206
5.	Europe between Rearmament and Disarmament	209
V.	Change in Europe	213
1.	The Twofold Change	213
1.1.	The Way to the Single Market	214
1.2.	The European Economic Area: Bridge-building between EC and EFTA	215
1.3.	Prospects for Common Security	218
	Documents 62–64	223
2.	Europe in a Period of Radical Change	230
2.1.	Eastern Europe's New Freedom	230
	Documents 65–66	235
2.2.	End and Restart of Alliances	237
	Documents 67–71	240
2.3.	Germany's Unification and Reconciliation with Eastern Europe	247
	Documents 72–73	250
2.4.	Strengthening the European Community: Maastricht, Schengen-Dublin	257
	Documents 74–75	261

2.5.	The Disintegration of the Soviet Union	271
	Documents 76–78	275
2.6.	The Yugoslav Tragedy	283
	Documents 79–82	287
VI.	The Reorganisation of Europe	297
1.	From Maastricht via Amsterdam to Nice	297
	Documents 83–86	302
2.	Multi-Layered Regional Cooperation	309
	Documents 87–93	314
3.	From CSCE to OSCE	327
	Documents 94–98	332
4.	Widened Horizons for EU and NATO	344
4.1.	The Alliance and Russia	344
	Documents 99–104	346
4.2.	The EU Faced with Reform and Enlargement	358
	Documents 105–108	362
VII.	Europe's Future as a Task	371
1.	Nice: Starting-point or Ending?	371
2.	Europe's Enlargement	373
3.	Europe's New Frontiers	375
4.	Europe's Constitution	380
5.	Outlook	384
	Documents 109–120	385
Appendix		
	Tables	423
	The Agencies of the European Union	429
	Selected Bibliography	431
	List of Abbreviations	436
	Index of Persons	438