# The Rebirth of the West

The Americanization of the Democratic World, 1945–1958

PETER DUIGNAN AND L. H. GANN



# Contents

Acknowledgements ix Preface x Introduction I

## PART I THE STATE OF EUROPE: 1945

- Trial by combat 9
  Trial by combat 9
  The physical damage 22
  The blood toll 29
  Military losses 32 Death camps 35 Enforced migrations 40
  The war of the civilian 44
  The military war experience 55
  Collaboration and resistance 63
- 2 Politics and Economic Conditions 80

The Cold War Begins 80
The setting 81 Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam 92 Clash of opinion 96
Country Profiles 108
The US and Canada 108 Great Britain 120 Germany and
Austria 133 France 149 The Mediterranean countries 157 The
smaller northern democracies 166

## PART II POLITICS IN THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

Political Cultures 177
The United States 178
Great Britain 191
Germany 199
France 210
Italy 219

4 Parties and Politicians 225

Secular conservatives 227
Introduction 227 The US Republican Party 228 The British
Conservative Party 233

The Christian Democrats 239

Introduction 239 The German CDU and Austrian
ÖVP 240 France: the Mouvement Républicain Populaire
(MRP), and the Gaullists 248 The Christian Democrats in
Italy 252

Secular reformists 258

Introduction 258 The Democratic Party in the US 259 The British Labour Party 266 The German SPD and the Austrian SPÖ 275

The Communist Parties 283

Introduction 283 The French Communist Party 288 The Italian Communist Party 294

#### PART III EXTERNAL RELATIONS AND DEFENSE

The Cold War Continues 303

The War within the West 305

Britain holds the line 310

Marshall Plan and Berlin blockade 315

The West consolidates 321

The shaky balance 326

6 Western European Association and the Atlantic Community 336

Early attempts 338
OEEC, EPU, and Marshall Plan 342
Council of Europe, and European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) 351
The European Economic Community (EEC) 357

7 The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) 365

National components 369
Great Britain 369 France 374 The German Federal Republic 382
Italy and the smaller European countries 389 The North Americans:
US and Canada 395
Organization and strategy 401

8 Cultural, Diplomatic, and Organizational Aspects of International Relations 409

The sentiments of nations 409
Cultural diplomacy 420
America's response to world leadership 429
Foreign affairs bureaucracies 430
The US academic and philanthropic institutions 432

Decolonization 436
 The overseas background 437
 The bastions fall 443

#### PART IV THE SHAPING OF SOCIETY

10 Economic Development 455

An overview 456

Economy and government 470

The state and planning 473 Bureaucratic ascendency 478 The state as entrepreneur 483 Government, science, and technology 490 Britain and Germany: a case study 491

Energy and industry 497

Fuels 498 Iron and steel 503 Consumer goods 505 High technology 508 Workers and unions 513 Management 517

Agriculture 519

Population, health care, and migration 538
Migration 542
Housing, cities, and planning 546
Women, marriage, and the family 555
Crime, drugs, and drink 567
The welfare state and society 573

Private services and the consumer revolution 529

## PART V THOUGHT AND CULTURE

12 Education 585

An overview 585 Elementary, technical, and secondary schools 592 Higher education 601

- 13 Science and Technology 614
  - An overview 614
    Revolutionary applications 624
- 14 The Arts 637

ć

An overview 637
Literature and the theater 648
Literature 648 The theatre 654
Radio and TV 660
The movies 665
Music 670
Art 675

## viii CONTENTS

15 Religion 680

The global scene 680 Churches in politics and society 688

16 Conclusion 699

# Maps 715

- 1 Axis expansion in Europe, 1942 716
- 2 US foreign aid, military and economic, 1945-54 717
- 3 Europe in the Cold War 718
- 4 The six EEC members 1958 719

# Index 721