Reading Guide for *The Age of Walls* by Tim Marshall
Chapter 7, Europe

This is a challenging chapter, and perhaps the most important one in the book for learning the nuances of politics and economics and immigration and imperialism and on and on. Most high-school students (frankly, most adults) are befuddled by what historians and political analysts mean by liberal and conservative, right-wing and leftist; globalist and nationalist; and fascism, capitalism, socialism, and communism. Terms like liberal democracy are particularly confusing. This chapter reading guide will be very helpful in clarifying what these important terms mean.

Frankly, if you don’t understand what these terms mean, you will be left behind academically.

The last 500 years of global history have been driven by Europe. (Read that “most white people,” or “the Spanish, Dutch, French, English, and Germans.”) Intellectually, the ancient Greeks, the Renaissance Italians, the Enlightenment Scots and English, and various thinkers sprinkled all across Europe produced ideas that today we think are obvious. (They aren’t.) But we are categorizing white people by ethnicity. If we categorized by economic class it would look very different. The poorer Europeans of each country had little agency (control) in their destinies until the last 100 years or so. This chapter analyzes the internal tensions Europe is experiencing and explains why these tensions are leading us to build new walls in the hope that they will protect us from the “others.” They won’t.

The tensions straining the United States today are mirrored in Europe today. Read carefully.

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186. The Iron Curtain & the Berlin Wall. East Berliners fled to the west.
187. August 13, 1961-- the Wall (the Antifaschistischer Schutzwall) goes up.
188. Famous escapes from East Berlin
188. Sealing off East Germany—Imprisoning its workforce—was good for the East German economy. For 28 years the Wall stood.
191. 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev loosened the chains on Communist Russia & Europe.
191. *Perestroika* -- (in the former Soviet Union) the policy or practice of restructuring or reforming the economic and political system.
191. *Glasnost* -- (in the former Soviet Union) the policy or practice of more open consultative government and wider dissemination of information, initiated by leader Mikhail Gorbachev from 1985.
191. The Fall of the Wall & the end of communism in Europe.

192. A united Germany? “Now what belongs together will grow together.” – Willy Brandt, former Chancellor of West Germany

The challenge of unification of a more prosperous west Germany (Wessis) with a less populated and poorer East Germany (Ossis). The “harsher, more selfish aspects of capitalism” were very difficult to east Germans.

193. Migrations of people to regions where economic opportunities were better led to tensions. This is always the case, everywhere.
194. The *Trabant* was an East German car.
195. This was the **European Project**—The dream of a **borderless Europe with a single** currency in which the nation-state (and all those wars for the past 2,000 years) would fade away. People, goods, services, and money would be able to cross borders without passports and tariffs and suspicion. It would all be good.

1990’s War in the Balkans because of suspicion and nationalism—Serbs versus Croats versus Bosnians, Orthodox versus Catholics versus Muslims…

196 The **European Union (EU)** was born. **Brussels, Belgium**, as its capital…A single market (no borders or taxes to impede trade), a single currency (the **Euro**), and freedom for member states’ people to travel to live and find work. Such a good idea in theory…but the numbers of migrants were far greater than anticipated, and the local working-class folks resented the foreigners (Poles and other eastern Europeans) coming in and taking their jobs. *Sound like Trump’s claims about Mexicans and Central Americans?*

198 And this led to the **Brexit vote** in 2016. Folks who felt left behind by the pro-EU movement voted to break away from the EU. They are
considered nationalists. They want Britain to be British, not a mix of various nationalities who take away from Britain that which they consider essentially British.

It’s Globalism versus Nationalism. They are Euroskeptics. Some nationalists are Separatists, and separatism is growing all over Europe—Scotland, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Catalonia,…

199. A key discussion of what nationalism is.

200 The migrant crisis from 2011 to 2015 brought the anti-immigration sentiment to a boiling point. And the sentiment in Europe among the working classes turned against it.

199. And Russia under Vladimir Putin has reasserted itself. It is trying to reacquire lands it lost when the USSR died. The Crimean Peninsula, Ukraine.

200. Viktor Orban, Prime Minister of Hungary, opposes immigration. He claims the refugees from Syria, etc, will increase terrorism.
203-204. Immigrants are needed in European countries where the birth rates are dropping and labor is needed. But the folks who fear their jobs will be taken fear that these immigrants will cost the country via health and housing costs.

205. Denmark as an example of the conflict between the new immigrants’ values and Scandinavian social egalitarianism and European values (individual freedoms like gender equality, sexual equality, freedom of religion, and freedom of speech).

206.-207. The difficulty of Muslims acclimating to European culture, and of Europeans accepting Muslims. Sixty percent of French respondents “believe the religion of Islam in incompatible with the values of the French Republic.”

208. The right-wing (pro-French-only) National Front opposes Muslim immigration because they feel they Muslims do not integrate into French society.

209-210. At the same time, some Muslim religious leaders in France preach against integration into French society. They contribute to the problem.

The influx of non-Europeans into France has led to the right-wing National Front rising in popularity. Its central tenets are fear of Islam and opposition to the liberal principles of the EU.

210. Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany
211. Ghettos emerge quickly
In Germany, attitudes about Immigrants and refugees are harsher and more negative in the east than in the west.

212. The rise of neo-Nazism. “The brown(shirt) nightmare.”

212-213. **PEGIDA & AfD**

1. **Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the Occident**, abbreviated Pegida, is a German nationalist, anti-Islam, far-right political movement. Founded in Dresden in 2014, Pegida believes that Germany is being increasingly Islamicized and defines itself in opposition to Islamic extremism.

2. **Alternative for Germany** is a right-wing to far-right political party in Germany, founded in 2013.

213. The extreme right opposes liberal democratic values. It rejects the **Schengen Area** (the 26 border-free European states).

213-214. **AfD** Platform: “Germany has no place for Muslim practices and beliefs if these run counter to ‘the free democratic social foundation, our laws, and the Judeo-Christian and humanistic bases of our culture.’” It believes **multiculturalism** does not work. It opposes the **Euro**, & wants power returned to the nation-state.

Led by **Marine Le Pen**, France’s **National Front**’s popularity is growing in France.
In Hungary, Viktor Orban’s “illiberal democracy”: “Liberal policies and values can be rejected by an electorate that votes as part of a nationalist party hostile to these things, but the country remains a democracy.”

**Fidesz** – Hungarian Civic Alliance (Hungarian pronunciation: [ˈfides]; in full, Hungarian: Fidesz – Magyar Polgári Szövetség) is a national-conservative, right-wing populist political party in Hungary.

“The crisis has destabilized the politics of the entire European continent, roiling the political systems of individual countries & threatening the solidarity of the EU as a whole.”

214-215. It’s not just about immigration. It’s about economics, trade, sovereignty, and liberalism in general.”
215. “…We must not lose sight of our core values.”

“We need to deal with radical Islamism, manage mass migration, and care for refugees, but in a manner that does not undermine our liberal values and rule-of-law-based systems.”