The collapse of the Berlin Wall has come to represent the entry of an isolated region onto the global stage. On the contrary, this study argues that Communist states had in fact long been shapers of an interconnecting world, with 1989 instead marking a choice by local elites about the form that globalisation should take. Published to coincide with the thirtieth anniversary of the 1989 revolutions, this work draws on material from local archives to international institutions to explore the place of Eastern Europe in the emergence, since the 1970s, of a new world order that combined neoliberal economics and liberal democracy with increasingly bordered civilizational, racial, and religious identities. An original and wide-ranging history, it explores the importance of the region’s links to the West, East Asia, Africa, and Latin America in this global transformation, reclaiming the era’s other visions such as socialist democracy and authoritarian modernization that had been lost in triumphalist histories of market liberalism.

James Mark is Professor of History at the University of Exeter. He is the author of The Unfinished Revolution: Making Sense of the Communist Past in Central-Eastern Europe (2010), which was nominated for the Longman History Today Book Prize 2011 and selected as one of the ‘best books of 2011’ by Foreign Affairs. He is co-author of Europe’s 1968: Voices of Revolt (2013) and co-editor of Secret Agents and the Memory of Everyday Collaboration in Communist Eastern Europe (2017) and Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World (2020).

Bogdan C. Iacob is Associate Researcher in the Department of History at the University of Exeter. He is editor of the special issue ‘State Socialist Experts in Transnational Perspective: East European Circulation of Knowledge during the Cold War’, published in East Central Europe (2018), and co-editor of Ideological Storms: Intellectuals, Dictators, and the Totalitarian Temptation (2019) with Vladimir Tismaneanu.

Tobias Rupprecht is Lecturer in Latin American and Caribbean History at the University of Exeter. He is the author of Soviet Internationalism after Stalin: Interaction and Exchange between the USSR and Latin America during the Cold War (2015).

Ljubica Spaskovska is Lecturer in European History at the University of Exeter. She is the author of The Last Yugoslav Generation: The Rethinking of Youth Politics and Cultures in Late Socialism (2017).
NEW APPROACHES TO EUROPEAN HISTORY

Series editors
T. C. W. BLANNING, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge
BRENDAN SIMMS, Peterhouse, Cambridge

New Approaches to European History is an important textbook series, which provides concise but authoritative surveys of major themes and problems in European history since the Renaissance. Written at a level and length accessible to advanced school students and undergraduates, each book in the series addresses topics or themes that students of European history encounter daily: the series embraces both some of the more ‘traditional’ subjects of study and those cultural and social issues to which increasing numbers of school and college courses are devoted. A particular effort is made to consider the wider international implications of the subject under scrutiny.

To aid the student reader, scholarly apparatus and annotation is light, but each work has full supplementary bibliographies and notes for further reading: where appropriate, chronologies, maps, diagrams, and other illustrative material are also provided.

For a complete list of titles published in the series, please see: www.cambridge.org/newapproaches
1989

A Global History of Eastern Europe

James Mark
University of Exeter

Bogdan C. Iacob
University of Exeter

Tobias Rupprecht
University of Exeter

Ljubica Spaskovska
University of Exeter
Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

Introduction

Going Global

The Long Transition and the Making of Transitional Elites in Global Perspective

A Global History of the Other ‘1989s’

The End of the ‘1989’ Era?

1. Globalisation

From Socialist Internationalism to Capitalist Globalisation

Debt and Ideological Reorientation

Abandoning Alternative Trade

The West Is Not the Enemy: Reinterpreting Peripheralisation and Backwardness

The Choice of ‘Neoliberal’ Globalisation

Authoritarian Transformations?

Transformation from Within

Conclusion

2. Democratisation

Reforming Elites

Opposition from the Local to the Global and Back

The Journey to Liberal Democracy

Alternatives to ‘1989’: Authoritarianism and Violence

Disciplining Transition and Democratic Peace

3. Europeanisation

The Early Cold War: A Divided Europe

Helsinki – Re-bordering Europe?

An Anti-colonial Europe: Critiquing Helsinki

A Prehistory of Fortress Europe: Civilisational Bordering in Late Socialism

Eastern Europe, a Buffer against Islam?

After 1989: ‘Fortress Europe’?

Conclusion

© in this web service Cambridge University Press

www.cambridge.org
**Table of Contents**

4. **Self-Determination**  
   - The Rise of Anti-colonial Self-Determination 176  
   - The Soviet Withdrawal 186  
   - Peace or Violence 194  
   - Reverberations of Eastern European Self-Determination 215  
   - Conclusion 216

5. **Reverberations**  
   - 1989 as a New Global Script 221  
   - Instrumentalising 1989: The West and New Forms of Political Conditionality 226  
   - ‘Taming’ the Left 231  
   - Interventionism and the ‘1989’ Myth 237  
   - Eastern Europeans and the Export of the Revolutionary Idea 240  
   - From Cuba to China: Rejecting ‘1989’ 246  
   - Market Socialism Re-imagined Beyond 1989 257  
   - Conclusion 263

6. **A World without ‘1989’**  
   - Towards the West? Ambiguous Convergence 266  
   - Who Is the True Europe? The Turn to Divergence 275  
   - Beyond the EU: Post-socialist Global Trajectories 298  
   - Conclusion 309

*Bibliography*  
*Index*
Acknowledgements

We wish to thank the Leverhulme Trust, which generously supported the research for this book as part of the project ‘1989 after 1989: Rethinking the Fall of State Socialism in Global Perspective’. It funded the time required for research and writing for three of the authors, James Mark, Ljubica Spaskovska, and Bogdan C. Iacob as well as the work of Wu Biyu and Alesia Kananchuk who assisted with some research. The book is the product of collaborative writing and research, and of equal effort from the four authors. We would also like to thank Ned Richardson-Little, who climbed the foothills with us, before leaving to ascend other peaks. For careful reading and comments on earlier drafts as well as for providing intellectual companionship, we wish to express our gratitude to a good number of our academic colleagues, amongst them Catherine Baker, Cornel Ban, Florian Bieber, Susan Bayly, Nelly Bekus, Eric Burton, Aron Buzogány, Kim Christiaens, Guillel Colom-Montero, Gregor Feindt, Zoltán Ginelli, Raluca Grosescu, Frank Hadler, Konrad Jarausch, Robert Kindler, Michal Kopeček, Albert Manke, Angela Romano, Chris Saunders, Christina Schwenkel, Quinn Slobodian, Lars Fredrik Stöcker, Balázs Trenčsényi, Joanna Wawryniak and Felix Wemheuer. We are thankful to the three anonymous Cambridge University Press reviewers for their insightful comments and suggestions. We are especially grateful to the ‘1989 after 1989’ project co-ordinators Natalie Taylor and Alison Tytherleigh, whose support has been invaluable. We also wish to thank our proofreader, Martin Thom, whose sterling efforts have hidden the occasional awkwardness of our phrasings and done much to refine our text.
Left ideas and cultural practices easily crossed bloc boundaries, but Brown demonstrates that the 1960s in Europe did not simply unfold according to a normative western model. Everywhere, innovations in the arts and popular culture synergized radical politics as advocates of workers' democracy emerged to pursue longstanding demands predating the Cold War divide.