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## Vladimir Bukovsky and Pavel Stroilov: EUSSR: Study Guide

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# VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY AND PAVEL STROILOV: EUSSR: STUDY GUIDE, 2007 Steven Alan Samson

## Study Questions

1. Mikhail Gorbachev announced that “in foreign policy Europe is irreplaceable. It means the strongest bourgeoisie in the world, not only economically, but politically as well.” Why did Gorbachev place such importance on the “Common European Home?”
2. What was Alessandro Natta’s analysis of the economic imbalance between Europe and the Soviet Union? A summary of his argument for a new strategy: “Trying to build socialism just in one country one would face a very unpleasant choice; if you keep building socialism you lose competitiveness; if you take care of competitiveness, you have no socialism; you cannot combine these two things, even armed cordons along the borders and other kinds of iron curtains do not help; the only solution is to impose socialism on your competitors as well.”
3. Why was Gorbachev willing to “let the conservatives take responsibility for the reorganization of the economy” in Europe?” What led the Soviet leadership under Gorbachev to turn to **perestroika**? The short answer: “*Perestroika* made the Euro-Left’s pro-Soviet stance respectable.”
4. What was the purpose of the Soviet Union’s existence? Gorbachev’s reaction to Natta: “Being realists, [we] cannot wait for new partners, for a more democratic alternative to get into governments in the West. But, in substance, we are enabling such an alternative.”
5. What was the purpose of the European Union’s existence? Analyze the authors’ observation about the visit with Gorbachev by a western delegation that included prominent financial and political figures: “Please note that this conversation was taking place in January 1989, when even the Treaty of Maastricht was not drafted yet, let alone the Treaty of Amsterdam, the Treaty of Nice, or the European Constitution, not to mention the fact that no referenda on any of them was held yet. How did they know, much before we have expressed any consent to these dramatic changes in our homelands, what will definitely happen in 20 years?”
6. What was **Valéry Giscard d’Estaing**’s role in the creation of a European superstate? What did Michel Rocard observe about the difference between America and Europe?
7. But the Soviet empire began collapsing just as the Left managed to hijack the European project, and were preparing to “build the new international order on [a] worldwide scale.” The authors characterize the plan as a Marxian dialectic: “Mitterrand once mentioned that the new Europe is supposed to have ‘two poles’, Moscow and Paris, jointly governing everything between them. This bipolar structure was more than just a fair allocation of powers between two allies. The idea was more devious: the choice [was] between the two ‘poles’, completely excluding any other alternative, to be forced on Europe, first of all on Eastern [Europe]. You can seek safety from the Soviet Union in European integration. Or, if you wish, you can seek safety from the European Union in full unity with Moscow. *Tertium non datum*. Later, the chosen master will decide your fate, in full unity with the other ‘pole’ and the lofty considerations of ‘historical logic in the continent’s development’. . . . In reality, East Europe’s rapprochement with the West, especially with European integration structures, meant also rapprochement with the USSR. Indeed, the plan was very effective, and even now it serves EU and Russia very well.”

8. What is the most important thing for strengthening a union, whether the EU or the USSR?

**Review**

Mikhail Gorbachev's dialectic    finlandization

Worldwide socialist crisis of the 1970s

Felipe Gonzalez                      François Mitterrand

delegation to Gorbachev, January 18, 1989

Michel Rocard

Hans Dietrich-Genscher

Gorbachev's first objective

Alessandro Natta

Henry Kissinger

Valéry Giscard d'Estaing