

History of Transatlantic Relations in the Long Twentieth Century

Instructor: Alessandra Bitumi; abitumi@unite.it

Teaching methods: Online lectures, seminar discussions

Assignments: See below

Schedule

2/5-1/6

Tuesday and Wednesday, 17.30-19.30; Friday, 8.30-10.30

1. 02 maggio 17.30-19.30
2. 03 maggio 17.30-19.30
3. 05 maggio 8.30-10.30
4. 09 maggio 17.30-19.30
5. 10 maggio 17.30-19.30
6. 12 maggio 8.30-10.30
7. 16 maggio 17.30-19.30
8. 17 maggio 17.30-19.30
9. 19 maggio 8.30-10.30
10. 23 maggio 17.30-19.30
11. 24 maggio 17.30-19.30
12. 26 maggio 8.30-10.30
13. 30 maggio 17.30-19.30
14. 31 maggio 17.30-19.30
15. 1 giugno 8.30-10.30

Tuesday and Wednesday Link

<https://tel.meet/rtq-gocf-cpb?pin=6601138380854>

Friday Link:

<https://tel.meet/vjy-fnnf-exa?pin=1475748074190>

Link on 1/06

<https://tel.meet/gxh-zoxm-koh?pin=9469749756074>

Assignments

Written skills

Paper of 1,500 words. Word limit includes footnotes but not bibliography. Deadline for the submission: June 15

Non-written skills

1 short presentation (free choice of topic and supporting tool. More info in class).

Class participation

I will assess attendance and quality of contributions to seminar discussions.

History of Transatlantic Relations in the long XX century

Course description

The course is designed as an in-depth and multifaceted analysis of the evolution of US-European relations since 1945, within the wider framework of international history.

Two major overarching themes will run through our seminars. The first concerns the framework of postwar transatlantic relations: the political, intellectual, cultural, economic, social as well as diplomatic and military ground on which they developed.

Specific questions will be raised and discussed: how do we conceptualize and investigate the Atlantic Community in an international context characterized by the East-West conflict? On which pillars was it established? How was it constructed, what actors, discourses and networks made it possible? How did it relate to its different constitutive parts, American and Western European?

The second major theme revolves around the development of the European integration narrative within the framework of the Atlantic Community. You will be asked to think of broad and challenging questions: How do we interpret the creation and development of the European Community in this scheme? Have the two processes been reinforcing, competing or independent from one another?

The period covered runs from the end of the Second World War to the present. Particular attention will be paid to specific transitions (the Cold War, the 1970s, the end of the Cold War, 9/11) and to the frequent controversies within the Atlantic alliance and between the United States and its main European partners. After a broad introductory lecture, the seminars will follow a chronological pattern.

Aims: besides developing a firm grasp of the timing and nature of the most important developments in the history of transatlantic relations, by the end of the course you should be able to engage critically and actively with the historiographical debate. You will also be asked to read, comment, and use a wide range of primary sources.

Format: short lecture followed by seminar discussion. Students will be asked to comment on the primary sources.

May 2, 17.30-19.30

1. Presentation of the course and Introduction. The Great War and beyond

Questions for the seminar discussions

- 1. What was the impact of WWI on the Euro-American balance of power?*
- 2. How did transatlantic entanglements evolve?*
- 3. What were the drivers of the US isolationist turn of the second half of the 1930s and how did it impact US-European relations?*

Suggested reading: B. Blower, "From Isolationism to Neutrality: A New Framework for Understanding American Political Culture, 1919–1941", *Diplomatic History*, 38.2 (April 2014), pp. 345-376

Primary Sources:

- Woodrow Wilson, Address to a Joint Session of Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany, April 2, 1917 <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=65366>
- Address to the Italian Parliament in Rome January 3, 1919, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=117751>

May 3, 17.30-19.30

Constructing the Atlantic Community: the early years of the Cold War in Europe

Questions

1. What were the pillars of the Atlantic Community?
2. How do you interpret the establishment of the European Community within the framework of the Atlantic Community?
3. In what sense can we define the Marshall Plan as a "master narrative"?

Suggested reading: W. I. Hitchcock, "The Marshall Plan and the Creation of the West", in M. Leffler and O.A. Westad (eds), *Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol. 1: Origins (Cambridge UP, 2010)

Primary Sources

- "George Kennan's 'Long Telegram'," February 22, 1946, <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116178.pdf?v=7a7b69bd3c47e05a3ca88476d232e326>
- The Schuman Declaration, 9 May 1950

<https://www.robert-schuman.eu/en/doc/questions-d-europe/qe-204-en.pdf>

May 5, 8.30-10.30

The globalization of containment and the failure of a common Western European security policy

Questions

1. How did the "German dilemma" influence US-European relations in the early Cold War years?
2. How did Western Europe react to the "globalization of containment"?
3. What were the limits of transatlantic diplomacy between 1950 and 1954?

Suggested Reading: R. Dwan, "Jean Monnet and the European Defense Community, 1950-1954", in *Cold War History*, Volume 1, 2001, Issue 3, pp. 141-160

Primary Source

- Statement by John Foster Dulles on the rejection of the EDC by the French Parliament (31 August 1954)

https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/statement_by_john_foster_dulles_on_the_rejection_of_the_edc_by_the_french_parliament_31_august_1954-en-4d3967ad-81b6-4cfb-bacd-663e6eae3479.html

May 9, 17.30-19.30
“The Gaullist challenge”

Questions

1. *How did the development of the Cold War in the early 1960s influence US-European relations?*
2. *How compatible were JFK and De Gaulle’s “Atlantic” designs?*
3. *What drove the crisis of Atlanticism?*

Suggested reading: G. Martin, “General de Gaulle’s Challenge to the Atlantic Community, 1958-69”, in G. Scott-Smith, G. and Aubourg, V., (eds.) *Atlantic, Euratlantic, or Europe-America?: the Atlantic Community and the European Idea From Kennedy to Nixon*, Soleb, pp. 84-103

Primary Source

- President Kennedy Speech at Independence Hall, Philadelphia 4 July 1962

<https://www.ifklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/RrjaDhW5B0OYm2zaJbyPgg.aspx>

May 10, 17.30-19.30
Different security approaches, Differential Détentes

Questions

1. *What were the main differences between Superpower détente and Ostpolitik?*
2. *Why did Henry Kissinger define Ostpolitik as “fuzzy-minded and dangerous”?*
3. *What was the meaning and impact of the Helsinki Final Act on Atlantica?*

Suggested reading: J. Hanimaki, “They can Write it in Swahili”: Kissinger, the Soviets, and the Helsinki Accord, 1973-1975, *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 1 (1), 2003, pp. 37-58

Primary source:

- 265. Minutes of Secretary of State Kissinger’s Staff Meeting, Washington, December 9, 1974

<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v39/d265>

May 12, 8.30-10.30
European Community, Atlantic Community: the redefinition of the transatlantic partnership in the 1970s

Questions

1. *How did the erosion of US hegemonic power appear in Europe in the early 1970s?*
2. *How did Western Europe challenge the US?*
3. *What was the impact of the “Shock of the global” on the American and European collective identities?*

Suggested reading: N. P. Ludlow, “The end of symbiosis: the Nixon era and the collapse of comfortable co-existence between European and Atlantic integration” In: Scott-Smith, G. and Aubourg, V., (eds.) *Atlantic, Euratlantic, or Europe-America?: the Atlantic Community and the European Idea From Kennedy to Nixon* (Paris, Soleb), pp. 61-81

Primary Sources

- Address given by Henry A. Kissinger (New York, 23 April 1973)

https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2002/9/30/dec472e3-9dff-4c06-ad8d-d3fab7e13f9f/publishable_en.pdf

- Declaration on European Identity (Copenhagen, 14 December 1973)

https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/declaration_on_european_identity_copenhagen_14_december_1973-en-02798dc9-9c69-4b7d-b2c9-f03a8db7da32.html

May 16, 17.30-19.30

The Reagan administration, SDI and the Second Cold War

Questions

1. *What was the impact of the election of Ronald Reagan on the Atlantic Community?*
2. *To what extent did Western European and American strategic concerns converge during the Second Cold War?*
3. *On what pillars were transatlantic relations centered and advanced throughout the 1980s?*

Suggested reading: B. Fischer, "US foreign policy under Reagan and Bush" in M. Leffler e A. Westad (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War. Vol. III: Endings*, 2010

Primary sources

- President Reagan's SDI Speech, March 23, 1983

<http://www.atomicarchive.com/Docs/Missile/Starwars.shtml>

- "Star Wars" luring Europe, NYT, August 5 1986

<https://www.nytimes.com/1986/08/05/business/star-wars-luring-europe.html>

May 17, 17.30-19.30

The End of the Cold War: US and European 'triumphalisms'

Questions

1. *How has the end of the Cold War been read and interpreted?*
2. *What were the original assumptions with regard to the post-Cold war international system?*
3. *What was the impact of the end of the bipolar confrontation on transatlantic relations?*

Suggested reading: M. Cox, *Another Transatlantic Split? American and European Narratives and the End of the Cold War*, "Cold War History", 1, 2007

Primary Sources

- J. Shattan, "Remembering Our Cold War Heroes", November 2, 1999, <https://www.heritage.org/political-process/commentary/remembering-our-cold-war-heroes>
- L.H. Gelb, "Foreign Affairs; Who won the Cold War? ", *New York Times*, 20 August 1992

May 19, 8.30-10.30

Enlargements

Questions

1. *What was the rationale for NATO's expansion?*
2. *What was the American attitude towards the EU enlargement?*
3. *Were NATO's enlargement and EU's enlargement complementary or competitive/antagonistic processes?*

Suggested Reading: G. Kolko, "The Crisis in NATO", *Counterpunch*, Feb 18, 2003, <https://www.counterpunch.org/2003/02/18/the-crisis-in-nato/>

Primary Sources:

- "A Europe Whole and Free". Remarks to the Citizens in Mainz, President George Bush, May 1989, <https://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/ga6-890531.htm>
- T.L. Friedman, "Foreign Affairs; Ben & Jerry & NATO", *The New York Times*, 28 April 1998

May 23, 17.30-19.30

The Wars in Yugoslavia, the tragic Hour of Europe and the impact on US-European relations

Questions

1. *What were the drivers of American interventionism?*
2. *How do we explain the failure of the "hour of Europe"?*
3. *What was the impact of the Balkan crisis on the Atlantic Community?*

Suggested Reading: S. Wertheim, *A Solution from Hell: The United States and the Rise of Humanitarian Interventionism, 1991-2003.* "Journal of Genocide Research", 2010

Primary Sources:

- R. Hoolbroke, "America, A European Power", *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 1995 Issue
- <http://www.ina.fr/video/CAB92045470>
- J. Delors, *Speech*, Bruxelles, 10/08/1992, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-92-77_en.htm

May 24, 17.30-19.30

9/11-2016: Atlantica amid terrorism and the crisis of globalization

Questions

1. *What was the impact of 9/11 on transatlantic relations?*
2. *What were the main differences between the NSS 2002 and the EU Security Strategy 2003?*
3. *How did the Bush Administration nurture a renewed sense of European exceptionalism?*

Suggested Reading: F. Romero, "The Twilight Of American Cultural Hegemony. A Historical Perspective On Western Europe's Distancing From America", in David Farber (ed.), *What They Think of Us. International Perceptions of the United States since 9\11* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 153-176, PDF

Primary Sources:

- *The National Security Strategy of the United States*, September 2002, <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/63562.pdf>

- European Security Strategy. A Secure Europe in a Better World, December 2003, <https://europa.eu/globalstrategy/en/european-security-strategy-secure-europe-better-world>

May 26, 8.30-10-30

Obamania

Questions

1. *How do we explain Europe's infatuation with Obama?*
2. *What were the main elements of transatlantic convergence?*
3. *What did the EU represent to Barack Obama?*

Suggested Reading: M. Keller, *Obama's Time, a History* (2015), Introduction (PDF)

Primary Sources:

- Senator Obama's Speech Against the Iraq War, Chicago, "National Public Radio", 2 October 2002, <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=99591469>
- T. Garton Ash, "I saw Americans dance with history, chanting "Yes we can", but can they?", *The Guardian*, 6 November 2008, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2008/nov/06/barack-obama-race>

May 30, 17.30 -19.30

The Atlantic gap: the Obama Administration and Europe

Questions

1. *What were the main elements of transatlantic tension during the Obama Administration?*
2. *How did the US and Europe react to the financial crisis of 2008?*
3. *How did the euro-zone crisis represent for the US?*

Suggested Reading: J. Goldberg, «*The Obama Doctrine*, *The Atlantic*, March 2016

Primary Sources:

- C. Forelle, Geithner Warns Europeans, *The Wall Street Journal*, September 17, 2011, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424053111903927204576574032795752132>
- JD. Foster and J. Roberts, Flashing Red: European Debt Crisis Signals the Collapse of Social Welfare State, *The Heritage Foundation*, 16 August 2011

<https://www.heritage.org/europe/report/flashing-red-european-debt-crisis-signals-collapse-social-welfare-state>

May 30, 17.30-19.30

The "return of the barricades": Atlantica and international disorder

1. *How was the election of Donald Trump interpreted in Europe?*
2. *What are the current threats to the Atlantic Community?*

Suggested Reading: X. Wickett, Chatham House Report, "Transatlantic Relations. Converging or Diverging?", January 2018

<https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/2018-01-18-transatlantic-relations-converging-diverging-wickett-final.pdf>

Primary Sources:

- Speech by the High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini at the AmCham EU Transatlantic Conference: “Room for three? The implications of Brexit on the EU-US relationship”, 10 March 2017

https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/22516/speech-high-representativevice-president-federica-mogherini-amcham-eu-transatlantic-conference_mt

- Speech by President Juncker at the European Parliament on President Trump's decision to withdraw the U.S. from the COP 21 Climate Agreement, Strasbourg, 14 June 2017, [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release SPEECH-17-1647_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-17-1647_en.htm)

June 1, 8.30-10.30

Conclusion

In this concluding class, we will watch the Russell Kirk Lecture at The Heritage Foundation’s B. Kenneth Simon Center for Principles and Politics, December 8, 2015, delivered by Roger Scruton – “The Future of European Civilization: Lessons for America”.

We will then debate it and reflect over some of the major themes of our course.