

Department of Political Science
HISTORY OF TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS

Dr Simone Paoli



Part I

1.1 General Information

- Full course title: History of Transatlantic Relations
- Type of course: Compulsory
- Level of course: Master
- Year of study: 1
- Number of ECTS credits allocated: 6
- Name of lecturer(s) and office hours:
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1.2 Course aims

The course, which is entirely taught in English, aims at providing students with the instruments to grasp, interpret and discuss the historical evolution of the relationship between the United States and Europe in the post-WWII period. The course, in particular, focuses on the bilateral relations in the Cold War era and in the more uncertain and unpredictable post-Cold War period; regarding this, it does not take into account only diplomatic and political-military aspects but also economic, social, cultural and ideological factors shaping the transatlantic relationship in the broader context of the

international politics. This course is to be held in one of the most delicate periods in the history of the relations between the United States and Europe after the end of the WWII; an important aim, therefore, is also to analyse the historical roots of the ongoing phase of redefinition of the concept of West and the role of the American-European partnership in the current global framework.

1.3 Learning outcomes

By the end of the course, students will have acquired knowledge of the key issues and notions concerning the relationship between the United States and Europe in both a historical and current perspective. In this context, in particular, they will have acquired an understanding of the main events and dynamics behind them: the basic trends of continuity and change, cause and effect and the interplay of regional, national, international and global influences. They will be also able to grasp, analyse and discuss the relevant literature and primary sources concerning the post-WWII history of transatlantic relations. They will be able, finally, to develop critical thinking and to conduct independent research in the area of the relations between the United States, the European Community/European Union and the main European countries in the wider global context.

1.4 Course requirements

Students will be required to attend not less than 80% of classes and be prepared for class discussions. Students are encouraged to ask questions and express personal opinions during classes. They are also highly encouraged to take detailed notes, as lectures provide the base of information for the final exam. They are expected to behave properly in class; eating and drinking are not allowed, and cell phones and laptops must be switched off. All students are expected to show respect for their teacher and classmates by being prompt.

All students are expected to present a **research paper** (up to 10 minutes) on a topic of their choosing (previously agreed upon with the instructor) concerning the relations between the United States and Europe. They must transform their oral presentation into a written essay of about 1,500 words by the end of the course. **Only written essay is to be delivered if number of students is above 15.**

Students will have to take a mandatory **final exam**, which will relate to both readings and class lectures. The exam consists of an oral interview on the topics discussed during the course. The oral test consists of a colloquium between the candidate and the instructor, or between the candidate and professor's collaborators. The exam is passed if the candidate correctly answers the questions concerning the basic part of the course.

1.5 Grading plan

The final grade will be determined as follows:

- 10% Class participation
- 20% Oral Presentation
- 20% Written Paper
- 50% Final Exam

Part II

2.1 Course content

Topic 1. Outbreak of the Cold War and US commitment to Western Europe (1945-1949)

Topic 2. Establishment of the transatlantic institutional frameworks (1949-1955)

Topic 3. Peaceful coexistence and transatlantic tensions (1955-1962)

- Topic 4. The Gaullist challenge (1962-1969)
- Topic 5. Great Détente and transatlantic divide (1969-1974)
- Topic 6. Alliance in times of great change (1974-1979)
- Topic 7. The Second Cold War and the redefinition of transatlantic relations (1979-1985)
- Topic 8. The United States, Western Europe and the collapse of Communist regimes (1985-1989)
- Topic 9. The transatlantic partnership in the unipolar era (1989-1995)
- Topic 10. Enlargement and integration in the age of globalization (1995-2001)
- Topic 11. The divided West (2001-2008)
- Topic 12. The transatlantic relations in a multipolar world (2008-2019)

Topic 1.

Outbreak of the Cold War and US commitment to Western Europe (Lectures 1-2)

Content of the lectures and questions to answer

FIRST LECTURE:

Introduction to the course: aims, structure, methodology, assignments, attendance, participation, examination, and grading system.

SECOND LECTURE:

- Origins of the Cold War (1945-1946): reasons, and events
- Truman Doctrine (1947): reasons, contents, and goals
- US economic involvement in Western Europe
 - Marshall Plan (1947): reasons, characteristics, and goals
- US military involvement in Western Europe
 - Precursors: Treaty of Dunkirk (1947) and Treaty of Brussels (1948)
 - North Atlantic Treaty (1947-1949): reasons, negotiations, contents, and goals

Compulsory readings

Hanhimäki, Jussi M., Schoenborn, Benedikt, Zanchetta, Barbara, *Transatlantic Relations since 1945. An introduction*, London, Routledge, 2012: 7-26.

Further readings

Gaddis, John Lewis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2000.

Mastny, Vojtech, *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity: the Stalin Years*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996.

Milward, Alan S., *The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945-1951*, London, Methuen, 1984.

Internet sources

Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library & Museum: <https://www.fdrlibrary.org/>

Harry S. Truman Presidential Library & Museum: <https://www.trumanlibrary.org/>

Topic 2.

Establishment of the transatlantic institutional frameworks (Lectures 3-4)

Content of the lecture and questions to answer

THIRD LECTURE:

- Establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (1950-1952): reasons, principles and aims
- Establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (1950): reasons, structure, and aims
- Failure of the European Defence Community (1950-1954): reasons, negotiations and consequences
- Establishment of the Western European Union and inclusion of West Germany in Western defence system (1955): reasons, negotiations and consequences

FOURTH LECTURE:

- Election of Dwight Eisenhower as president of the United States (1952): roll back, massive retaliation and pressure on European allies
- Death of Joseph Stalin (1953) and the rise to power of Nikita Khrushchev in the Soviet Union: de-Stalinization, peaceful coexistence and national roads to socialism
- Tentative dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union: Geneva conference (1954); Austrian State Treaty (1955); Geneva summit (1955); Konrad Adenauer's visit to Moscow (1955); enlargement of the United Nations (1955)

Compulsory readings

Hanhimäki, Jussi M., Schoenborn, Benedikt, Zanchetta, Barbara, *Transatlantic Relations since 1945. An introduction*, London, Routledge, 2012: 27-44.

Further readings

Kaplan, Lawrence S., *NATO: the Formative Years*, Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 1984.

Powaski, Ronald E., *The Entangling Alliance: the United States and European Security, 1950-1993*, Westport, Greenwood, 1994.

Hitchcock, William I., *The Struggle for Europe: the Turbulent History of a Divided Continent, 1945 to the Present*, New York, Anchor Books, 2004.

Internet sources

Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library, Museum & Boyhood Home: <https://www.eisenhowerlibrary.gov/>

North Atlantic Treaty Organization: <https://www.nato.int/>

Topic 3.

Peaceful coexistence and transatlantic tensions (Lectures 5-6)

Content of the lecture and questions to answer

FIFTH LECTURE:

- Hungarian revolution (1956): origins, evolution and impact on the East, the West and the bipolar confrontation
- Suez crisis (1956): origins, evolution, and impact on the Soviet Union, the United States and Western Europe
- Establishment of the European Economic Community (1955-1958): reasons and aims
- Establishment of the European Atomic Energy Community (1955-1958): reasons and aims

SIXTH LECTURE:

- Launch of the first Soviet satellite into space (1957): repercussions
- European nuclear programmes: Great Britain and France

- Anti-Nuclear movements in Europe
- Deployment of American nuclear missiles in Europe

Compulsory readings

Hanhimäki, Jussi M., Schoenborn, Benedikt, Zanchetta, Barbara, *Transatlantic Relations since 1945. An introduction*, London, Routledge, 2012: 45-65.

Further readings

Beschloss, Michael, *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev 1960-1963*, New York, HarperCollins, 1991.

Moravcsik, Andrew, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*, London, UCL Press, 1999.

Winand, Pascaline, *Eisenhower, Kennedy, and the United States of Europe*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1993.

Internet sources

John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum: <https://www.jfklibrary.org/>

Digital Research in European Studies: <https://www.cvce.eu/en>

Topic 4.

The Gaullist challenge (Lectures 7-8)

Content of the lecture and questions to answer

SEVENTH LECTURE:

- Early tensions between the United States and the European Communities
- De Gaulle's return to power in France (1958): ideas of Europe
- Election of John Fitzgerald Kennedy as president of the United States (1960): flexible response
- Berlin Crisis (1961): reasons, evolution, consequences
- Cuban Missile Crisis (1962): reasons, evolution, consequences

EIGHTH LECTURE:

- Force de Frappe: reasons, and aims
- Plans Fouchet (1961-1962) and US proposal for an Atlantic Community (1962): contents, and aims
- First French veto against British entry into the European Communities (1963): reasons
- Elysée Treaty (1963): reasons, and contents
- Succession to Kennedy (1963) and election of Lyndon Johnson as president of the United States (1964)
- French recognition of Communist China (1964)
- French-Soviet Détente: repercussions
- French withdrawal from the NATO command structure (1966): reasons, and consequences
- Second French veto against British entry into the European Communities (1967): reasons
- Vietnam War: origins, evolution, repercussions

Compulsory readings

Hanhimäki, Jussi M., Schoenborn, Benedikt, Zanchetta, Barbara, *Transatlantic Relations since 1945. An introduction*, London, Routledge, 2012: 66-79.

Further readings

Costigliola, Frank, *France and the United States: the Cold War Alliance since World War II*, New York, Twayne, 1992.

Schwartz, Thomas A., *Lyndon Johnson and Europe: in the Shadow of Vietnam*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2003.

Suri, Jeremi, *Power and Protest. Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2003.

Internet sources

Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library: <http://www.lbjlibrary.org/>

Archives of Charles de Gaulle: <https://francearchives.fr/>

Topic 5.

Great Détente and transatlantic divide (Lectures 9-10)

Content of the lecture and questions to answer

NINTH LECTURE:

- Election of Richard Nixon as president of the United States (1968)
- Vietnamization of the Vietnam War: events, European reactions, and outcome
- Détente with the Soviet Union and treaties on the arms control: characteristics, decisions, and impact on the transatlantic relations
- Nixon Doctrine (1969): reasons, contents, repercussions
- German *Ostpolitik* (1969-1973): origins, evolution, consequences
- Relaunch of the European integration at The Hague (1969): reasons, and consequences

TENTH LECTURE:

- Economic and Monetary tensions between the United States and Europe
- Nixon shock (1971) and its repercussions: Smithsonian Agreements and the Snake in the Tunnel
- First enlargement of the European Communities (1973): repercussions for the European integration process and the transatlantic relations
- Year of Europe (1973): contents and reactions
- Yom Kippur War (1973): origins, evolution, repercussions

Compulsory readings

Hanhimäki, Jussi M., Schoenborn, Benedikt, Zanchetta, Barbara, *Transatlantic Relations since 1945. An introduction*, London, Routledge, 2012: 79-90.

Further readings

Kieninger, Stephan, *Dynamic détente: the United States and Europe, 1964-1975*, Lanham, Lexington Books, 2016.

Loth, Wilfried, Soutou, Georges-Henri, *The Making of Détente: Eastern and Western Europe in the Cold War, 1965-1975*, London, Routledge, 2008.

Nichter, Luke, *Richard Nixon and Europe: the Reshaping of the Postwar Atlantic World*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Internet sources

Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum: <https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/>

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe: <https://www.osce.org>

Topic 6.

Alliance in times of great change (Lectures 11-12)

Content of the lecture and questions to answer

ELEVENTH LECTURE:

- Gerald Ford's succession to Nixon (1974)
- The United States and Mediterranean Europe: Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, Portugal, Spain and Italy
- Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Helsinki Final Act (1975): origins, contents and repercussions

TWELFTH LECTURE

- Election of Jimmy Carter as president of the United States (1976)
- Neutron bomb: impact on US-German relations
- NATO Double-Track Decision: reasons, evolution, implications
- Confirmation of the Atlantic framework: US military commitment to the defence of Western Europe; attempts to give a common response to the OPEC; positive evolution of transatlantic trade relations

Compulsory readings

Hanhimäki, Jussi M., Schoenborn, Benedikt, Zanchetta, Barbara, *Transatlantic Relations since 1945. An introduction*, London, Routledge, 2012: 90-98.

Further readings

Garthoff, Raymond, *Détente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan*, Washington, Brookings, 1994.

Thomas, Daniel, *The Helsinki Effect. International Norms, Human Rights and the Demise of Communism*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001.

Schulz, Matthias Schulz, Schwartz, Thomaas A., *The strained alliance: U.S.-European relations from Nixon to Carter*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Internet sources

Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library and Museum: <https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/>

Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum: <https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/>

Topic 7.

The Second Cold War and the redefinition of transatlantic relations (Lectures 13-14)

Content of the lecture and questions to answer

THIRTEENTH LECTURE

- Iranian Revolution (1978-1979): origins, evolution, implications
- Soviet-Afghan War (1979-1989): origins, evolution, Western responses and implications for the transatlantic relations

FOURTEENTH LECTURE

- Election of Ronald Reagan as president of the United States (1980)
- Reagan Doctrine: anti-Soviet rhetoric, anti-Communist strategies in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe (Poland), economic war, arms race (Euromissile Crisis, Strategic Defence Initiative, Able Archer 83)
- Anti-nuclear protests in Western Europe: origins, manifestations, arguments, impact
- Europe's reactions to the Second Cold War

Compulsory readings

Hanhimäki, Jussi M., Schoenborn, Benedikt, Zanchetta, Barbara, *Transatlantic Relations since 1945. An introduction*, London, Routledge, 2012: 98-104.

Further readings

Coleman, Bradley Lynn, Longley, Kyle, *Reagan and the world: leadership and national security, 1981-1989*, Lexington, The University Press of Kentucky, 2017.

Graebner, Norman A., Richard Dean, Burns, Siracusa, Joseph M., *Reagan, Bush, Gorbachev: revisiting the end of the Cold War*, Westport, Praeger Security International, 2008.

Sjursen, Helene, *The United States, Western Europe and the Polish crisis: international relations in the second cold war*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Internet sources

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum: <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/>

Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Institute: <https://www.reaganfoundation.org/>

Topic 8.

The United States, Western Europe and the collapse of Communist regimes (Lectures 15-16)

Content of the lecture and questions to answer

FIFTEENTH LECTURE

- Turnaround in Reagan's attitudes (1984): reasons and consequences
- Appointment of Mikhail Gorbachev as general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1985): aims and policies
- Reagan, Gorbachev and progresses in the European integration: second enlargement of the European Communities (1981-1986), political cooperation and European Single Market (1986)
- Partnership between the United States and the Soviet Union: the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (1987)

SIXTEENTH LECTURE

- European attitudes towards the Soviet Union: evolution and outcomes
- Election of George H. W. Bush as president of the United States (1988)
- The Autumn of Nations and the end of the Cold War (1989): origins, evolution, implications

Compulsory readings

Hanhimäki, Jussi M., Schoenborn, Benedikt, Zanchetta, Barbara, *Transatlantic Relations since 1945. An introduction*, London, Routledge, 2012: 105-121.

Further readings

Bozo, Frédéric, Rey, Marie-Pierre, Nuti, Leopoldo, *Europe and the End of the Cold War: a Reappraisal*, London, Routledge, 2009.

Njølstad, Olav, *The Last Decade of the Cold War: From Conflict Escalation to Conflict Transformation*, London, Routledge, 2004.

Sarotte, Mary E., *1989. The Struggle to Create Post-Cold War Europe*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2009.

Internet sources

George H. W. Bush Presidential Library Center: <https://www.reaganfoundation.org/>

International Foundation for Socio-Economic and Political Studies (Gorbachev Foundation):
<http://www.gorby.ru/en/>

Topic 9.

The transatlantic partnership in the unipolar era (Lectures 17-18)

Content of the lecture and questions to answer

SEVENTEENTH LECTURE

- German reunification (1989-1990): origins, evolution, outcome, and repercussions
- Gulf War (1990-1991): origins, evolution, outcome, and repercussions
- Disintegration of the Soviet Union (1991): reasons, and implications

EIGHTEENTH LECTURE

- Election of Bill Clinton as president of the United States (1992)
- Launch of the Economic and Monetary Union and establishment of the European Union (1990-1993): reasons, characteristics and consequences
- Economic and Political Partnership: Transatlantic Declaration (1990) and New Transatlantic Agenda (1995)
- Military Cooperation in the Bosnian War (1992-1995): origins, evolution, outcome, and repercussions

Compulsory readings

Hanhimäki, Jussi M., Schoenborn, Benedikt, Zanchetta, Barbara, *Transatlantic Relations since 1945. An introduction*, London, Routledge, 2012: 122-137.

Further readings

Dumbrell, John, *Clinton's Foreign Policy: between the Bushes, 1992-2000*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2009.

Lundestad, Geir, *"Empire" by Integration: the United States and European Integration, 1945-1997*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998.

Nye, Joseph, *Bound to Lead: the Changing Nature of American Power*, New York, Basic Books, 1991.

Internet sources

United States Mission to the European Union: <https://useu.usmission.gov/>

Delegation of the European Union to the United States: <https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/united-states-america>

Topic 10.

Enlargement and integration in the age of globalization (Lectures 19-20)

Content of the lecture and questions to answer

NINETEENTH LECTURE

- Transatlantic political-economic links and rivalries
- Transatlantic political-military agreements and tensions

TWENTIETH LECTURE

- NATO and the Kosovo War (1998-1999): origins, evolution, outcome and repercussions

- Relations between the NATO and the European Union: sources of convergence and divergence

Compulsory readings

Hanhimäki, Jussi M., Schoenborn, Benedikt, Zanchetta, Barbara, *Transatlantic Relations since 1945. An introduction*, London, Routledge, 2012: 138-155.

Further readings

Golgeier, James, *Not Whether but When: the US Decision to Enlarge NATO*, Washington, Brookings, 1999.

Kupchan, Charles A., *The End of the American Era: US Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-First Century*, New York, Vintage, 2003.

Lundestad, Geir, *The United States and Western Europe: from "Empire" by Invitation to Transatlantic Drift*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003.

Internet sources

William J. Clinton Presidential Library and Museum: <https://www.clintonlibrary.gov/>

Historical Archives of the European Union: <https://www.eui.eu/Research/HistoricalArchivesOfEU>

Topic 11.

The divided West (Lectures 21-22)

Content of the lecture and questions to answer

TWENTY-FIRST LECTURE

- Election of George W. Bush as president of the United States (2000)
- September 11 attacks and Bush Doctrine (2001): pillars, implications and reactions
- US Wars in Afghanistan (2001-) and Iraq (2003-): origins, evolution, outcome, reactions and implications

TWENTY-SECOND LECTURE

- Transatlantic tensions over major political and economic issues: Kyoto Protocol; International Criminal Court; war on terrorism, trade relations
- Great Recession in the United States and Europe: origins, evolution, consequences, and impact

Compulsory readings

Hanhimäki, Jussi M., Schoenborn, Benedikt, Zanchetta, Barbara, *Transatlantic Relations since 1945. An introduction*, London, Routledge, 2012: 156-175.

Further readings

Calleo, Davidm *Follies of Power: America's Unipolar Fantasy*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Daalder, Ivo, Lindsay, James, *America Unbound: the Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, Washington, Brookings, 2003.

Kagan, Robert, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*, New York, Knopf, 2003.

Internet sources

Official Website of the European Union: <https://europa.eu/european-union/>

George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum: <https://www.georgewbushlibrary.smu.edu/>

Topic 12.

The transatlantic relations in a multipolar world (23-24)

Content of the lecture and questions to answer

TWENTY-THIRD LECTURE

- Election of Barack Obama as president of the United States (2008)
- Political-Economic Relations: responses to the Great Recession and negotiations for the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
- Political-Military Relations: role of NATO and Arab Springs
- Rise of China and transatlantic relations: challenges and responses

TWENTY-FOURTH LECTURE

- Election of Donald Trump as president of the United States (2016)
- State and prospects of the transatlantic relations

Compulsory readings

Transatlantic Relations: US Interests and Key Issues, in “Congressional Research Service”, 31/5/2019

Further readings

Del Pero, Mario, *Era Obama. Dalla speranza del cambiamento all'elezione di Trump*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 2017.

Powaski, Ronald E., *Ideals, Interests, and US Foreign Policy from George H. W. Bush to Donald Trump*, Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Scott-Smith, Giles, *Obama, US politics, and transatlantic relations: change or continuity?*, Brussels, P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2012.

Internet sources

Barack Obama Presidential Library: <https://www.obamalibrary.gov/>

Heritage Foundation: <https://www.heritage.org/>