

*University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Department of History*

HIST 890 -- Fall 2012

Transatlantic Relations & Contemporary Geo-Politics: from the Cold War to the Present.

**The Atlantic Security Alliance, the U.S. and the Unity of Europe
& current developments in world politics**

Prof. Klaus Larres



Our class meets once a week:

Wednesdays, 6.00pm – 8.15pm

In Hamilton Hall, Room 523

Office hours in Room 416 Hamilton Hall:

Tuesdays: 3.00-4.00pm

Wednesdays: 4.00-5.00pm

or by appointment

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**HIST 890–Fall 2012 - Transatlantic Relations & Contemporary Geo-politics:
from the Cold War to the Present – Prof. Klaus Larres**

Overview for quick orientation

DATE	TOPIC	GUEST	<u>YOUR NOTES</u>	MISC
Aug. 22	Overview: 1945 to the Present			
Aug. 29	THE BASICS 1 – c. 1945-late 1950s			
Sept. 3	THE BASICS 2 - late 1950s-late 1970s			
Sept. 7 – Friday, 12noon, FedEx Building	Ireland & transatlantic relations: from the NI peace process to the Euro crisis	Michael Collins (Ambassador of Ireland)		
Sept. 12	Intelligence & Political Warfare	Prof. Richard Immerman (Temple Univ.)		
Sept. 19	THE BASICS 3 - 1980s to present & end of Cold War			Class conducted by 2 students

Sept. 26	Obama, Europe & the Global Economic & Financial Crisis	Dr Kris Bledowski (Manufacturer's Alliance, DC)		DEADLINE: First essay
Oct. 3	Kennedy's Grand Design			Independent reading
Oct. 10	End of Bretton Woods & 1970s			
Oct. 17				NO Class: Fall Break
Oct. 24	Legacy of the end of the Cold War	Prof. Mark Kramer (Harvard Univ.)		
Nov. 2 - Friday	The Presidential Election 2012 & Transatlantic Relations	Prof. Robert Guttman (Johns Hopkins Univ./SAIS)		
Nov. 7	Cooperation in the Post-Cold War world: the Clinton and George W Bush administrations			
Nov. 14	Georgia and the Caucasus in World Politics: Relations with Russia and the U.S. post-1990	Temur Yakobashvili (Ambassador of Georgia)		

Nov. 21				NO class: Thanksgiving holiday
Nov. 28	Transatlantic Relations & the Middle East: Iraq, the Arab Awakening & Beyond	Ambassador David Litt		DEADLINE: Second essay
Dec. 5	Final Class: Summary and Assessment of Transatlantic Relations, 1945- 2012			Social outing?

BRIEF COURSE DESCRIPTION:

This course considers transatlantic relations and the desire of the U.S. to construct a more united European continent since the end of World War II. In view of the intensifying Cold War with the Soviet Union, U.S. policy toward Western Europe had two major strands: 1. the security dimension exemplified by the creation of NATO and the Atlantic security alliance, including Washington's nuclear predominance; 2. the western world's ambition to build a united Europe ('ever closer union') that would eventually lead to a federally organized United States of Europe on the model of the U.S.A. Both strands overlapped, complemented and competed with each other over time. Within both strands serious difficulties, animosities and power struggles developed and have continued to the present day. American hegemony in the transatlantic alliance has never remained unchallenged. In fact since the 1960s and early 1970s an ever intensifying transatlantic power battle can be observed.

This course will focus on both of the above strands with perhaps a somewhat greater emphasis on the second strand which tends to be neglected in the literature. We will consider and analyze the complex history and politics of transatlantic relations during both the Cold War and the post-Cold War years; we will thus deal with the years from the Marshall Plan of 1947/48 to the Maastricht treaty of 1991/92 and beyond, including the global economic & financial crisis and the Euro crisis (and Washington's response to the crisis) of the last few years.

In addition the course will to some extent also focus on developments in world politics since 1990. In particular some of our guest speakers will cover this area and draw a link to past and present issues in transatlantic relations.

It is the main aim of this course to give students a structured overview of transatlantic relations and geo-political developments during the Cold War and the post-Cold War years. The course wishes to aid students' analysis of transatlantic relations and world politics in their manifold dimensions.

This course differs in two main respects from more traditional graduate classes:

1. At the beginning of the course a three-week component "The Basics" will provide participants with the main elements of the history and politics of transatlantic relations since 1945 for quick orientation. The other sessions will serve as 'case studies' to deepen our knowledge and understanding of transatlantic relations since 1945.
2. There will be a number of guest speakers, both academics and practitioners, who will come and talk to us. This will give us a great deal of practical political and economic insights and will greatly enhance our understanding of the issues under consideration. As the visits of these guest speakers had to be coordinated with their availability, the chronological sequence of the course cannot always be strictly maintained.

As in other graduate classes: students are expected to read at least one book and several articles each week (see below)

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

- **Students are expected to give at least one oral presentation in class (c. 10 min.).**

During most weeks there will be one or two student presentations in class and it is expected that occasionally a student will take the lead regarding the class discussion.

- **WEEKLY REQUIREMENT: Assessment of your reading**

For each week every student is obliged to submit a listing of the book(s) and articles/chapters you have read, briefly summarizing the main arguments of this reading, discuss and assess the book's/articles' content and arguments and point out whether or not this literature was useful. This can be done on c. 3-4 pages per week.

You ought to list the name of the author, title of the book(s), and title of the chapters/articles, and publisher and year of publication at the top of each listing (and list your own name of course).

*** The assessment of this weekly requirement will count toward 20 per cent of your overall grade for this course ***

If there was a guest speaker in the previous week, your weekly reading assessment of the following week should include a brief summary of the guest speaker's main points which he/she made during the talk and the subsequent discussion.

- **Students are expected to write two essays of c. 2500 words each:**

Students are requested to pick a topic of their choice dealing with the theme of the course.

Your chosen essay topics and the essay questions need to be agreed with your professor. Naturally, the two essays (which have to cover two very different topics/questions) need to be well structured (feel free to use sub-headings), well-written and have to include footnotes/endnotes and a bibliography of the books/articles you have used.

The essays should include the following features:

- clear and logical thesis statement
- substantive detail and knowledge about the subject
- clear and coherent structure (logical transitions from one section to the next)
- the use of two to four sensible sub-headings is recommended
- grammar and spelling to a high standard
- presentation and referencing system (footnotes/endnotes) to a high standard
- bibliography of the material used

- **Naturally, students are also expected to attend regularly, read intensively and participate actively in class.**

GRADING:

- Oral presentations & regular attendance & active participation: 20%
- Weekly submission of summary of your reading: 20% in total
- Essay 1: 30%
- Essay 2: 30%

DEADLINES:

- Essay 1: Wednesday, September 26
- Essay 2: Wednesday, November 26

READING REQUIREMENT:

In general students are expected to read one major book a week for this course as well as at least two additional articles or book chapters. Please select the relevant book from the reading listed for each week.

Students are required to find and select the relevant articles/chapters dealing with the topic of the respective weeks themselves (either online or best by browsing in the library and using the library data bases, such as JSTOR etc).

Students are strongly encouraged to browse in the libraries (for example under D1065) and discover many other good books and articles by themselves.

Recommended general introductory reading for background information:

[if in the course of this course you find that you appear to lack certain background information, then please consult some of the books below to fill in the missing details and facts]

- Geir Lundestad, *The United States and Western Europe since 1945* (OUP, 2003)
- Geir Lundestad, *'Empire by Integration': The United States and European Integration, 1945-1997* (OUP, 1998)
- Klaus Larres (ed.) *The Blackwell Companion to Europe since 1945* (Blackwell, 2009).
- William Cromwell, *The United States and the European Pillar: The Strained Alliance* (Macmillan, 1992).

Links to online resources on contemporary history and international and current affairs are also available via my website: <http://klauslarres.com/> -- click on "Online Resources."

Overview of Themes & Topics

<u>DATE</u>	<u>CLASS THEME & READING</u>	<u>SESSION CONTENT</u>	Things to keep in mind
WEEK 1 Wed., Aug. 22, 2012	Introduction to the course Course Organization <u>Overview:</u> “Transatlantic Relations from World War II to the post-9/11 world” <u>Required Reading:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consult the introductory reading listed above • Also investigate the latest developments with the help of the <i>Economist</i>, <i>Financial Times</i>, <i>New York Times</i>, <i>Washington Post</i>, <i>Guardian</i>, <i>BBC website</i> [www.bbc.co.uk/news]. 	General introductions	

<p>WEEK 2</p> <p>Wed., August 29</p>	<p>The BASICS - ONE:</p> <p>The U.S., Europe, and transatlantic relations from the Marshall Plan to the late 1950s</p> <p><u>Question for Presentation:</u></p> <p>“Assess the main problems, and the attempted solutions, in the transatlantic security relationship that had arisen by the mid-1960s. What was at the heart of these problems?”</p> <p><u>Required Reading:</u></p> <p><u>Book:</u></p> <p>Alan Milward, <i>The European Rescue of the Nation State</i> (Routledge, 1992)</p> <p><u>Or</u></p> <p>Lawrence Kaplan, <i>NATO and the United States: the enduring alliance</i>, updated ed. (Twayne, 2004)</p> <p><u>Articles/Chapters:</u></p> <p>Select and read two relevant articles/chapters of your choice.</p>	<p>Student presentation</p> <p>Discussion of weekly topic & weekly reading</p>	
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<p>WEEK 3</p> <p>Wed., Sept. 5</p>	<p>The BASICS - TWO:</p> <p>Transatlantic Relations from the late 1950s to the late 1970s</p> <p><u>Question for Presentation:</u></p> <p>“Assess the increasing importance of transatlantic economic and monetary relations since the late 1960s. How relevant and constructive were the attempted solutions?”</p> <p><u>Required Reading:</u></p> <p><u>Book:</u></p> <p>Barry J Eichengreen, <i>Globalizing Capital: A History of the International Monetary System</i> (Princeton UP, 1996)</p> <p><u>OR</u></p> <p>Barry J. Eichengreen, <i>The European Economy since 1945: coordinated capitalism and beyond</i> (Princeton UP, 2007)</p> <p><u>OR</u></p> <p>Robert Solomon, <i>The International Monetary System, 1945-1981</i>, updated ed. (Harper & Row, 1982)</p> <p><u>Articles/Chapters:</u></p> <p>Select and read two relevant articles/chapters of your choice on transatlantic security relations in the 1960s and 1970s.</p>	<p>Student presentation</p> <p>Discussion of weekly topic & weekly reading</p>	
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<p>WEEK 3</p> <p>Friday, Sept.7</p>	<p>Special CLASS SESSION with the Ambassador of Ireland</p> <p>Friday, September 7, 12noon (in FedEx Center)</p> <p>Mr Michael Collins (Ambassador of Ireland to the U.S.)</p> <p>“ Ireland & transatlantic relations: from the Northern Ireland peace process to the Euro crisis”</p> <p><u>Reading – read at least one book & Paul Bew’s article:</u></p> <p>Matt Cooper, <i>How Ireland Really Went Bust</i> (Penguin, 2011)</p> <p>Conor O’Clery, <i>Daring Diplomacy: Clinton’s Secret Search for Peace in Ireland</i> (1997)</p> <p>Paul Bew, “Unbearably Old-Fashioned and Pointless: the era of the Troubles, 1968-2005,” in Paul Bew (ed.), <i>Ireland: The Politics of Enmity, 1789-2006</i> (OUP, 2009), ch.9: 486-555.</p> <p>Other books on Ireland and the financial crisis you may wish to consult:</p> <p>* Shane Ross, <i>The Bankers: How the Banks Brought Ireland to Its Knees</i> (Penguin)</p> <p>* David McWilliams, <i>Follow the Money</i> (Gill & Macmillan)</p> <p>* Fintan O’Toole, <i>Ship of Fools: How Stupidity and Corruption Sank the Celtic Tiger</i> (Faber & Faber)</p>	<p>Brief talk by the Ambassador and subsequent discussion</p>
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<p>WEEK 4</p> <p>Wed., Sept. 12</p>	<p>Guest speaker:</p> <p>Prof. Richard Immerman (Temple University)</p> <p><u>Discussion Topic:</u></p> <p>“Intelligence & Political Warfare as a Factor in Transatlantic Relations from World War II to the Present: Eisenhower’s 1953 ‘Chance for Peace’ speech as a case study”</p> <p><u>Following 3 articles and one book need to be read for the class:</u></p> <p>Richard H. Immerman, “Trust in the Lord but keep your powder dry: American Policy Aims at Geneva,” in Saki Dockrill and Gunter Bischof (eds), <i>Cold War Respite: The Geneva Summit of 1955</i> (Louisiana State UP, 2000), pp.35-54.</p> <p>Klaus Larres, “Eisenhower and the First Forty Days after Stalin’s Death: the incompatibility of détente and political warfare,” <i>Diplomacy and Statecraft</i> 6 (1995), pp.431-69.</p> <p>Klaus Larres, “The Road to Geneva 1955: Churchill’s Summit Diplomacy and Anglo-American Tension after Stalin’s Death,” in Klaus Larres and Kenneth Osgood (eds), <i>The Cold War after Stalin’s Death: A Missed Opportunity for Peace?</i> (Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), pp.137-155.</p> <p>Richard H. Immerman, <i>Empire for Liberty: a history of American imperialism from Benjamin Franklin to Paul Wolfowitz</i> (Princeton UP, 2010).</p>	<p>I</p>	
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	<p><u>For more general infos on Cold War intelligence matters and U.S. national security system:</u></p> <p>Robert Jervis, <i>Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War</i> (Cornell UP, 2011)</p> <p><u>OR:</u></p> <p>David J. Rothkopf, <i>Running the World: The Inside Story of the National Security Council and the Architects of American Power</i> (Public Affairs, 2005).</p> <p><u>OR:</u></p> <p>Richard Clarke, <i>Against all Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror</i> (Free Press, 2004).</p>		
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<p>WEEK 5</p> <p>Wed., Sept. 19</p>	<p>CLASS to be guided by one or two students:</p> <p>The Basics THREE:</p> <p>Transatlantic Relations from the 1980s to the Present with a special focus on the end of the Cold War</p> <p><u>Required Reading:</u></p> <p><u>Book:</u></p> <p>Philip Zelikow and Condoleezza Rice, <i>Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: as study in statecraft</i> (Harvard UP, 1994)</p> <p>Also select and read two relevant articles/chapters of your choice</p>	<p>Discussion of weekly topic & weekly reading</p> <p>PREPARATION of first essay</p>	
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<p>WEEK 6</p> <p>Wed., Sept. 26</p>	<p><u>Guest Speaker:</u></p> <p>Dr Krzysztof Bledowski (Senior Economist and Council Director, Manufacturers Alliance, Washington, DC).</p> <p>Obama, Europe & the Global Economic and Financial Crisis</p> <p><u>Reading:</u></p> <p>Some interesting books on the crisis (please pick one):</p> <p>John Lanchester, <i>IOU: Why Everyone Owes Everyone and No One Can Pay</i> (2010)</p> <p>Michael Lewis, <i>The Big Short: Inside the Doomsday Machine</i> (Norton, 2010)</p> <p>Joseph Stiglitz, <i>Free Fall: America, Free Markets, and the Sinking of the World Economy</i> (Norton, 2010)</p> <p>Andrew Ross Sorkin, <i>Too Big Too Fail: Inside the Battle to Save Wall Street</i> (2010)</p> <p>Justin Fox, <i>The Myth of the Rational Market</i> (2010)</p> <p>Carmen Reinhard and Kenneth Rogoff, <i>This Time is Different: Eight Centuries of Financial Folly</i> (Princeton UP, 2011)</p> <p>Paul Mason, <i>Meltdown: The End of the Age of Greed</i> (2009)</p> <p>Robert Skildelsky, <i>Keynes: The Return of the Master</i> (2011)</p> <p>Also select and read two relevant articles/chapters of your choice</p>	<p>Brief talk by the guest speaker followed by a discussion</p>	<p>Deadline: first essay</p>
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<p>WEEK 7</p> <p>Wed., October 3</p>	<p><u>SELF STUDY:</u></p> <p>Kennedy’s ‘Grand Design’ – A New Vision for Transatlantic Relations?</p> <p><u>Leading Question:</u></p> <p>“How forward-looking and constructive was Kennedy’s ‘Grand Design’ really? Assess critically.</p> <p><u>Reading:</u></p> <p>Kenneth Weisbrode, <i>Atlantic Century: Four Generations of Extraordinary Diplomats who forged America’s vital alliance with Europe</i> (De Capo, 2009)</p> <p><u>OR:</u></p> <p>J.G. Gauque, <i>Grand Designs and Visions of Unity: The Atlantic Powers and the Reorganization of Western Europe, 1955-1963</i> (UNC Press, 2002)</p> <p><u>OR:</u></p> <p>Erin Mahan, <i>Kennedy, De Gaulle and Western Europe</i> (Palgrave, 2002).</p> <p>Also select and read two relevant articles/chapters of your choice</p>	<p>Independent Reading</p>	
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<p>WEEK 8</p> <p>Wed., October 10</p>	<p>The Nixon Administration, the End of Bretton Woods, and the Economic & Political Crises of the 1970s</p> <p><u>Question for Presentation:</u></p> <p>“Did something fundamentally change in transatlantic relations in the 1970s? What have been the lasting consequences?”</p> <p><u>Reading:</u></p> <p>Robert Leeson, <i>Ideology and the International Economy: The Decline and Fall of Bretton Woods</i> (Palgrave, 2003)</p> <p><u>OR:</u></p> <p>Allen J. Matusow, <i>Nixon’s Economy: Busts, Dollars, and Votes</i> (Univ Press of Kansas, 1998)</p> <p><u>OR:</u></p> <p>Erich Helleiner, <i>States and the Reemergence of Global Finance: From Bretton Woods to the 1990s</i> (Cornell UP, 1994)</p> <p><u>OR:</u></p> <p>Luke A Nichter, <i>Richard Nixon and Europe: Confrontation and Cooperation, 1969-1974</i> (Ph.D. thesis, Bowling Green State Univ., 2008) -- available online: http://etd.ohiolink.edu/send-pdf.cgi/Nichter%20Luke%20A.pdf?bgsu1213987283</p> <p>Also select and read two relevant articles/chapters of your choice on transatlantic political and security relations in the 1970s</p> <p>It might also be interesting to look at Henry Kissinger’s memoirs (<i>White House Years</i>) and at Kissinger’s book <i>Diplomacy</i>.</p>	<p>Student Presentation</p> <p>Discussion of weekly topic & weekly reading</p>	
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<p>WEEK 9 Wed., Oct. 17</p>	<p><u>NO CLASS</u></p> <p><u>FALL BREAK</u></p>		
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<p>WEEK 10 Wed., Oct.24</p>	<p><u>Guest speaker</u></p> <p>Prof. Mark Kramer (Harvard University)</p> <p><u>Discussion Topic:</u></p> <p>The Legacy and Consequences of the End of the Cold War for American-European relations</p> <p><u>Reading:</u></p> <p><u>To be announced</u></p>	<p>Brief talk by the guest speaker followed by a discussion</p>	
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<p>WEEK 11</p> <p>Friday, November 2</p>	<p><u>Guest speaker:</u></p> <p>Dr Robert Guttman (Johns Hopkins University/SAIS, Washington, DC)</p> <p>U.S. Elections & the Presidential Election 2012 and Transatlantic Relations</p> <p><u>Reading:</u></p> <p><u>To be announced</u></p> <p>Also select and read two relevant articles/chapters of your choice</p> <p>Also consult the press and the magazine <i>Foreign Affairs</i> and <i>Foreign Policy</i>.</p>	<p>Brief talk by the guest speaker followed by a discussion</p>	
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<p>WEEK 12 Wed., Nov. 7</p>	<p>Cooperation in the Post-Cold War World: the Clinton and George W. Bush administrations</p> <p><u>Question for Presentation:</u></p> <p>What were the 'geopolitical and transatlantic visions' of the Clinton and Bush II administration for the post-Cold War world? Did they have any such visions?</p> <p><u>Reading:</u></p> <p><u>Book:</u></p> <p>P. Edward Haley, <i>Strategies of Dominance: The Misdirection of U.S. Foreign Policy</i> (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center, 2006).</p> <p><u>OR:</u></p> <p>William L. O'Neill, <i>A Bubble in Time: America during the Interwar Years, 1989-2001</i> (Ivan R. Dee, 2009)</p> <p><u>Articles/Chapters:</u></p> <p>Select and read two articles/chapters of your choice</p>	<p>Student presentation</p> <p>Discussion of weekly topic and weekly reading</p>	
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<p>WEEK 13</p> <p>Wed., November 14</p>	<p><u>Guest speaker:</u></p> <p>Ambassador Temur Yakobashvili (Ambassador of the Republic of Georgia to the U.S.)</p> <p>Georgia and the Caucasus in World Politics: Relations with Russia and the U.S. post-1990.</p> <p><u>Reading:</u></p> <p>Thomas De Waal, <i>The Caucasus: An Introduction</i> (2010)</p> <p><u>OR:</u></p> <p>Charles King, <i>The Ghost of Freedom: A History of the Caucasus</i> (2009)</p> <p><u>OR:</u></p> <p>Christoph Zuercher, <i>The Post-Soviet Wars: Rebellion, Ethnic Conflict, and Nationhood in the Caucasus</i> (2009)</p> <p><u>OR:</u></p> <p>Jim Nichol, <i>Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Political Developments and Implications for U.S. Interests</i> (kindle edition, 2012, 90pp., \$0.99).</p> <p><u>Articles/Chapters:</u></p> <p>Select and read two articles/chapters of your choice</p>	<p>Brief talk by the guest speaker followed by a discussion</p>	
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WEEK 14 Wed., November 21	<u>NO CLASS</u> <u>Thanksgiving holiday</u>		

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WEEK 15 Wed., November 28	<p><u>Guest speaker:</u></p> <p>Ambassador David Litt</p> <p>Transatlantic Relations & the Middle East: Iraq, the Arab Awakening & Beyond</p> <p><u>Reading:</u></p> <p>Kenneth M Pollack et al, <i>The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East</i> (Brookings, 2011)</p> <p><u>OR:</u></p> <p>Wendy Chamberlin, <i>The Arab Awakening: Three Perspectives</i> (2011, kindle ed. \$0.99)</p> <p><u>OR:</u></p> <p>Philip Gordon and Jeremy Shapiro, <i>Allies at War: America, Europe and the Crisis over Iraq</i> (Brookings, 2004).</p> <p><u>OR:</u></p> <p>Lloyd Gardner, <i>The Road to Tahrir Square: Egypt and the U.S. from the rise of Nasser to the fall of Mubarak</i> (New Press, 2011).</p>		<u>Deadline:</u> Second essay
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	<p><u>OR:</u></p> <p>Lloyd Gardner, <i>Three Kings: the rise of an American empire in the Middle East after World War II</i> (New Press, 2009).</p> <p>Prof. Lloyd Gardner gives a public lecture at UNC on Monday, October 8, 4pm</p> <p><u>Articles/Chapters:</u> Select and read two articles of your choice.</p>		
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<p>WEEK 16</p> <p>Wed., Dec. 5</p>	<p>Summary of Course</p> <p>Final Assessment of Transatlantic Relations, 1945-2012</p> <p>Outing for food and drinks?</p>		
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