COLD WAR TO DETENTE

- De Gaulle and East-West Relations
- Detente in Europe and beyond
- United States and European Integration

JOHNSON vs. DE GAULLE

- “we’ve really got no control over their (France’s) foreign policy.”
JOHNSON’S DETENTE

- “Each time I mentioned missiles, Kosygin talked about Arabs and Israelis.”

- “The Cold War is not over.”
MANY DÉTENTES

- SOVIET-AMERICAN(-CHINESE) SALT, SUMMITS, TRIANGULATION
- EUROPEAN OSTPOLITIK, CSCE
- STABILITY OR TRANSFORMATION?

US: « THREE FOR THREE »
BUT…

- "[there is] a danger that as Brandt pursues the quest for normalization, his advisers and supporters will eventually succeed in leading him to jeopardize Germany's entire international position... assuming Brandt achieves a degree of normalization, he or his successor may discover before long that the hoped-for benefits fail to develop. Instead of ameliorating the division of Germany, recognition of the [German] Democratic Republic may boost its status and strengthen the Communist regime... More fundamentally, the Soviets having achieved their first set of objectives may then confront the FRG with the proposition that a real and lasting improvement in the FRG's relations with the GDR and other Eastern countries can only be achieved if Bonn loosens its Western ties."
  -- Kissinger to Nixon, February 1970

- "This meant that Washington wanted to have the last word."
  -- Brandt

NIXON & OSTPOLITIK
YEAR OF EUROPE

- “The United States has global interests and responsibilities. Our European allies have regional interests.”

- “For Kissinger to announce a Year of Europe was like for me to stand on Trafalgar Square and announce that we were embarking on a year to save America!”
  -- Edward Heath

A BALANCE SHEET

- «In any case, what Europe thinks is basically irrelevant.» Kissinger
Peaceful Coexistence and the ‘Third World’

- Peaceful coexistence is a principle of relations between states which does not extend to relations between the exploited and the exploiters, the oppressed peoples and the colonialists. . . . Marxist-Leninists see in peaceful coexistence a special form of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism in the world, a principle whose implementation ensures the most favorable conditions for the world revolutionary process.
Mishandled by the West, the pursuit of détente could lead to a Soviet walkover in Europe. But if Western countries continue, negotiation by negotiation, to stick together, to keep their guard up and to settle for nothing less than a fair balance of concrete advantage, they need not shrink from it. Détente of that kind would differ widely from the Soviet prospectus. And, in the longer perspective, the practice of détente may foster developments in Soviet policies which ultimately make the USSR a less intractable, even a more reliable, partner.

THOMAS GARVEY, BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO FINLAND
CONSEQUENCES: UNINTENTIONAL AND INDIRECT

- SOVIET ‘IMPERIAL OVERREACH’ IN THE THIRD WORLD

- ENGAGEMENT AND THE EUROPEAN PROJECT

- DELIGITIMIZING THE BIPOLAR COLD WAR ORDER

UNITED STATES AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION I

- Marshall Plan, 1948-52
- European Coal and Steel Community, 1950
- 1957, the Treaty of Rome, European Economic Community (EEC)
- Sixes, Sevens and De Gaulle’s vetoes
UNITED STATES AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION II

- 1st Enlargement, 1973
- Southern Enlargements, 1981, 1986
- Single European Act 1987

TRANSATLANTIC TRADE (Goods and Services)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>US Expts to EC/EU</th>
<th>US Impts from EC/EU</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>7.2 bn $ 36 %</td>
<td>4.2 bn $ 29.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>70.3 bn $ 32.3 %</td>
<td>48 bn $ 19.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Ca. 400 bn $ 29 %</td>
<td>Ca. 365 bn $ 16.6%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### US-EC/EU Annual Foreign Direct Investment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>EC/EU FDI in US</strong> (% total FDI)</td>
<td>4.1 bn $</td>
<td>40 bn $</td>
<td>66.1 bn $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47.1 %</td>
<td>58.5 %</td>
<td>ca. 64 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>US FDI in EC/EU</strong> (% total FDI)</td>
<td>6 bn $</td>
<td>79.9 bn $</td>
<td>93 bn $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18.3 %</td>
<td>37.4 %</td>
<td>(2004) 45 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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