

02:00 p.m. **Panel Two - The Nixon Administration and Détente**

Chair: Jim Hershberg
Discussant: Olav Njølstad

Ron Pruessen, *Triangles and Pyramids: Three-Dimensionalizing the Nixon-Kissinger New Look*

David C. Geyer, *A Russian Game, a Chinese Game, and an Election Game: Richard Nixon Triangular Diplomacy and the Road to the Moscow Summit, 1972*

Jeffrey Kimball and William Burr, *Nixon's Giant Lance: US Atomic Diplomacy, Détente and the Vietnam War (October 1969)*

02:45 - 03:45 p.m. **Discussion**
03:45 - 04:00 p.m. Coffee-break

04:00 p.m. **Panel Three - Détente on Tape: The Nixon Recordings and the New History of the 1970s**

Chair: Timothy J. Naftali
Discussant: Ron Pruessen

Taylor Fain, *"Playing the China Card in the Subcontinent": Détente, the Nixon Tapes and the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971*

Ken Hughes, *The Domestic Determinants of Nixon's Strategy of Détente*

Erin Mahan, *What the Tapes Add to the Story of SALT*

05:00 p.m. **Discussion**

End of the Conference

Introduction

In the last two decades historical research on the passage from the origins of the Cold war to its stabilisation in the 1950s and on the crises of the late 1950s and early 1960s has produced a remarkable output of scholarly studies, which have benefited from a growing variety of archival sources. As one moves on into the mid and late 1960s, however, we are still far from having at our disposal a broad historical database shedding light on some of the crucial international problems of these years. While the figures of Johnson, Nixon and Kissinger and the policies of their administrations have been the object of much research, we think it necessary to integrate the increasing number of studies of their foreign policy into the larger picture of a true history of the evolution of the international system. By focussing on the two superpowers and on their gradual move from confrontation to détente, in particular, historical research has somewhat neglected the tensions and anxieties that accompanied the rise of détente inside the two camps, and their impact on the behaviour of the leaders of each bloc. What we think is missing, therefore, is a reconstruction based on fresh archival sources of the mistrust, fear and uncertainty that the process engineered in the relationship between the US and its Western European partners, of the suspicions with which many Europeans watched the developing dialogue in the field of arms control, and of the puzzlement generated by the growing predicament of the US in the jungles of Vietnam. At the same time, very little is known about the perceptions of détente in the countries of the Eastern bloc, about the aftermath of the repression of the Prague spring, or about the impact on the Warsaw pact of the Sino-Soviet clashes.

The conference organized by the Machiavelli Center for Cold War studies, in cooperation with the Cold War International History Project, the Parallel History Project, and the Miller Center for Public Affairs, wants to bring to the fore the most innovative results of recent historical research on detente, to encourage further investigations on all of its facets, and to allow scholars the opportunity to have a relaxed and free-flowing exchange of ideas on the state of the art.

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**NATO,
the Warsaw Pact
and the Rise of Détente,
1965-1972**



**September 26th - 28th, 2002
Dobbiaco / Toblach (BZ)
Centro Culturale Grand Hotel**



Machiavelli Center
for Cold War Studies

in cooperation with

Cold War International
History Project

Miller Center
of Public Affairs

with the contribution of

Provincia autonoma
di Bolzano

Comune di Dobbiaco

Centro Culturale
Grand Hotel

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A conference organized
in the framework of the

Parallel History Project

PROGRAM

Thursday - September 26th

09:15 a.m. **Introduction** - Ennio Di Nolfo, *US Foreign Policy and the Loss of the Euro-Centric Paradigm*

First session: The Loss of the Euro-Centric Paradigm in US Foreign Policy

09:45 a.m. **Panel One - Ostpolitik and its Critics**

Chair: Christian Ostermann
Discussant: Geir Lundestad

Bernd Schäfer, *German Ostpolitik and the Nixon Administration, 1969-1973*

Ruud van Dijk, *Ostpolitik and Détente: Conflicting Aims and Common Ground between and inside the Cold War Alliances, A New Look*

Thomas A. Schwartz, *"Pat Them on the Heads and Kick Them in the...": Lyndon Johnson, West Germany, and the American Push toward Détente, 1964-1968*

Maurice Vaisse, *France's own Détente: Franco-Soviet Relations, 1964-1968*

10:35 - 10:50 a.m. Coffee-break
10:50 - 12:15 a.m. **Discussion**
12:30 a.m. Buffet Lunch

02:00 p.m. **Panel Two - Coping with Change: US-Western European Relations**

Chair: Laurent Cesari
Discussants: Sam F. Wells Jr, Beatrice Heuser

02:00 - 02:35 p.m. **Part I**

Massimiliano Guderzo, *Johnson, the Atlantic Alliance and European Integration*

Saki Dockrill, *On the Eve of European Détente: Harold Wilson, Lyndon Johnson, and the Crisis of Western European Defence, 1966-68*

Ilaria Poggiolini, *Great Britain Enters the European Community*

02:35 - 03:45 p.m. **Discussion**
03:45 - 04:00 p.m. Coffee-break

04:00 - 04:40 p.m. **Part II**

Leopoldo Nuti, *The European Allies and the Vietnam War*

Marilena Gala, *Arms Control and European Security*

Francis J. Gavin, *The Gill Patric Committee and the Origins of America's Non-Proliferation Policy*

04:40 - 06:00 p.m. **Discussion**
07:30 p.m. Dinner

08:30 p.m.

Keynote Speech
Timothy J. Naftali, *Kennedy, Khrushchev, and the Antecedents of Détente*

Friday - September 27th

09:15 a.m. **Introduction** - Vojtech Mastny, *The Soviet Union, Détente, and Military Rivalry*

Second session: The Alliances

09:35 a.m. **Panel One - Warsaw Pact Issues**

Chair: Fulvio D'Amoja
Discussant: Michael Cox

Mark Kramer, *Soviet-Romanian Relations and the Warsaw Pact: Repercussions from the Czechoslovak Crisis*

Jordan Baev, *A Prelude to Détente: the Strange Case of a Regional Inter-Blocs Cooperation and Intra-Blocs Confrontation in the Balkans: 1964-1974*

Douglas Selvage, *"The Warsaw Pact is Collapsing": Poland, the GDR and Bonn's Ostpolitik, 1966-69*

Trvko Jacovina, *The Non-Aligned, Tito and the Federalization of Yugoslavia*

David Wolff, *The Third Leg: the Warsaw Pact Views Sino-American Rapprochement, 1968-1973*

10:35 - 10:50 a.m. Coffee-break
10:50 - 12:15 a.m. **Discussion**
12:30 a.m. Buffet Lunch

02:00 p.m. **Panel Two - The Transformation of NATO**

Chair: Frédéric Bozo
Discussants: Victor Papacosma

02:00 - 02:35 p.m. **Part I**

Anna Locher and Christian Nünlist, *No Easy Road to Détente: Conflicting NATO Perceptions in View of Détente (1963-1965)*

Andreas Wenger, *The NATO Crisis of 1966-67 Revisited*

Hubert Zimmermann, *The Improbable Permanence of a Commitment: The Battle about the US Military Presence in Europe in the Period of Détente (1965 - 75)*

02:35 - 03:45 p.m. **Discussion**
03:45 - 04:00 p.m. Coffee-break

04:00 - 04:40 p.m. **Part II**

John G. McGinn, *Squaring the Circle: Formulating and Implementing the Harmel Framework in NATO, 1966-1969*

Bruna Bagnato, *Handling the Alliance in a Time of Change: Manlio Brosio and the Transformation of NATO*

William Burr and Robert Wampler, *Kissinger and NATO 1971-1973: What Role for the Alliance in Détente?*

04:40 - 06:00 p.m. **Discussion**
07:30 Dinner

Saturday - September 28th

Third session: The Superpowers

09:00 a.m. **Panel One - Soviet Foreign Policy, Détente and the Sino-Soviet Split**

Chair: Hope Harrison
Discussant: Odd Arne Westad

09:00 - 09:45 a.m. **Part I**

Max Holland, *Soviet Dezinformatsiya, 1963-1973: Active Measures under Détente*

Alberto Tonini, *Breaking Eggs in the US-Soviet Basket: Egypt, Israel and the Six-Day War*

Isabella Ginor, *Under the Yellow Arab Helmet Gleamed Blue Russian Eyes: Operation Kavkaz and the War of Attrition*

09:45 - 10:30 a.m. **Discussion**
10:30 - 10:45 a.m. Coffee-break

10:45 - 11:35 a.m. **Part II**

Chen Jian, *Sino-Soviet Relations after Czechoslovakia*

Tatiana Zazerskaia-Moullec, *Fighting Maoism: Soviet Isolation of China (1964-74)*

Marie-Pierre Rey, *The Soviet Union, France, and the Helsinki Process, 1969-1973*

Vladislav M. Zubok, *The Brezhnev Factor in Détente*

11:35 - 12:30 a.m. **Discussion**
12:30 a.m. Buffet Lunch