

The background of the image is a close-up, slightly blurred view of the American and European flags. The American flag, with its stars and stripes, is on the left side. The European Union flag, with its blue field and twelve yellow stars, is on the right side. The two flags overlap, creating a visual representation of transatlantic relations.

TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS

Relations between US & EUs fluctuating between cooperation & crises

The determinants of foreign policy are ≠ in Europe and America

3 main variables determining @ Europeans' foreign policies (including Russia):

1. Historical legacy;
2. Geographical proximity
3. Leadership

US' main determinants @ foreign policy:

1. Interest
2. Leadership
3. Ideology

Conclusions 2: Europeans and Americans believe they know and understand each other but they do not

Europe and America

The End of the
Transatlantic Relationship?



Federiga Bindi, Editor

POST-WAR YEARS

- After WWII, USSR new enemy -> **Treaty of Brussels** (1948, FR, UK, BENELUX)
- US Senate ->Vandenberg Resolution (1948), US can join alliances @peace outside American continent -> Pentagon Talks (South Eu problem) -> **North Atlantic Treaty 1949**
- Marshall Plan
- GER disarmament -> security vacuum @Europe (Korean War!)
- US suggests integrated structure w/in NAC including GER. FR: Plan Pleven -> **EDC**
- 1954 EDC fails -> 1954, GER joins North Atlantic Alliance.
- ITA & GER sign Brussels Pact -> **WEU**

POST-WAR EUROPE

1948: President Truman signs the Economic Recovery Act, known as **Marshall Plan** to provide economic assistance to postwar Europe.

1948: US Senate's Vandenberg Resolution: US can join alliances @peace outside American continent -> Pentagon Talks ->

1949: **NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY** signed

1951: Belgium, France, Germany (Federal Republic), Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands sign the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) Treaty.

1952: US first country to open an Embassy @ESCS

1957: Belgium, France, Germany (Federal Republic), Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands sign the the European Economic Community (EEC) and Euratom Treaties



1960s: from cooperation to rivalry

- De Gaulle believed in a “Europe des Etates” but pushed to implement the EEC Development policy as it was beneficial to France (see EU-Africa relations)
- 1961: Berlin Wall erected -> Kennedy in Berlin “Ich bin ein Berliner”
- 1963: Kennedy killed -> Johnson -> change in EEC/USA relations
- 1964-67 Kennedy Round @GATT, Commission represents the EEC member states
- 1968: EEC customs union become operative -> Common Customs Tariff (CCT) is applied on goods coming from third countries. 10 years after creation of EEC intra-EEC exports soared by 265% and by 113% with third countries -> increased trade tensions w/ US
- Tensed France-USA relations: 1962 Kennedy → Polaris offered to UK → De Gaulle ends negotiations w/ UK & offers Association Agreement



1970s: a decade of crises

Early 1970s: EEC feels pressure to engage more in international affairs

1971: End of gold convertibility -> EEC saved by Monetary Snake -> Replaced by EMS (European Monetary System @1979)

1973: Arab Israeli Wars -> Oil crises & embargo; UK join EEC

1973: Nixon & Kissinger: Europe shall pay more but only mind its own regional business

1975: China recognizes EEC; OSCE is created at Helsinki

1978: Pope Paul II elected -> travels to Poland (1979)

1979: Afghan invasion by USSR. EEC slow to respond to USSR's invasion 1977-1979
Camp David -> EEC & US divided over Middle East w/ EEC generally pro OLP

1979: Thatcher @UK

1979 Iran hostage crises -> frictions with US: EEC only agrees on sanctions in 1980 and only implemented by the individual Member states



THE 1980s: New Leadership & policies

New Leaders arrive: Thatcher (1979), Mitterand (1981), Kohl (1982), Craxi (1983), Delors (1985), Regan (1981), G.H.W. Bush (1989), Andreotti

1980 Venice Declaration on Palestinians' rights to self-determination

1980 Moscow Olympics, the Europeans do not agree to US boycott

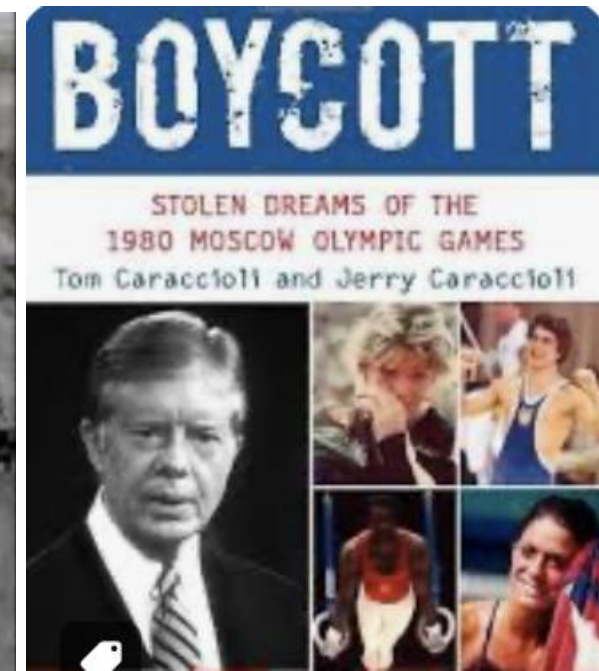
From Regan's *Strategic Defense initiative* (1983) & *Evil Empire* -> negotiations w/ USSR's Gorbachev (1985->)

1981: GR 10th EEC member

1982: Israel invades Lebanon, EEC is stuck on Middle East. Argentina invades the Falkland Islands -> war w/ UK

1985: Sigonella crises

EEC gets new members: GR (1981); SP & PT (1986) -> **Europe of 12** -> EEC's interest in Latin America



1989: the end of the Cold War

- June: Solidarnosc with Lech Walesa wins election @POL
- Summer: Austria open border
- 9 November: Fall of Berlin Wall
- November – December revolutions all over East Europe
- EEC decides on GER reunification in “Stronger Europe” (aka monetary union & political union, including foreign policy and defense) -> negotiations for the Maastricht Treaty

To know more

BBC/PBS Documentary: *People's Century: 1989: People's Power*. Link: <https://youtu.be/9AQw9t0NUD4>

CNN Documentary: *Cold War: The Wall Comes Down*. Link <https://youtu.be/kAHhS43P2hE>



1990s: End of Cold War

1990: invasion of Iraq -> 1st Gulf War: Europeans divided (Thatcher vs the rest) -> division over EU foreign policy to be. (US & more pro-NATO member states vs @WEU merging w/ EU)

1991: USSR disintegrates

1991: disintegration of the former Yugoslavia & begin of war

1992: “forum of consultation” @NATO, w/ CEECs, but not Russia

1994 NATO -> Partnership for Peace

1995: EU-US meet @Madrid: Transatlantic framework for action & New Transatlantic Agenda (Clinton & co)

1997: CZE, HUN, POL invited to join NATO (members as of 1999)

1998-1999: EU opens negotiations w/ CEECs, Malta, Cyprus

1998 Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) w/ UKR

1999 Kosovo crisis -> NATO bombing of Belgrade



1989: *End vs Winning* the Cold War

- End the Cold War -> U.S. global dominance as earned right
- 1980s: **extreme version of US global leadership** by W. Kristol, R. Perle, P. Wolfowitz, D. Cheney et al. Use Teddy Roosevelt to advocate for US global leadership, for the sake of leadership itself.
- Rumsfeld' Old Europe
- As **neocon** -> leadership @ **G. W. Bush**, Wilson moral superiority + Teddy Roosevelt's right to intervene + 9/11 -> **Bush Doctrine & 2002 *National Security Strategy*** (right of 1st strike)
- 9.11 strong unanimous domestic response -> war on terror became new, defining focus @ U.S. FP (vs anticommunism during the Cold War) -> AFG (2001); Iraq (2003-2011)

To know more: John Mearsheimer and Jeffrey Sachs https://youtu.be/uvFtyDy_Bt0?si=az5SbsU33x1vKafN

(Failed) War on Terror

1999: WEO is terminated -> creation of European Security & Defense Policy (ESDP) -> US imposes “3Ds”: no decoupling (of ESDP from NATO); no duplication (of capabilities); no discrimination (against non-NATO members).

2001: 9/11

2002: Berlin Plus arrangements @ EU-NATO relations in crisis management

2003: 2nd Gulf War FR (Chirac) & GER vs UK (Blair) -> “coalition of the willing”

2003: EU Security Strategy *A Secure Europe in a Better World* in response to US Security Strategy

2004: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Slovakia join EU

2007: Bulgaria and Romania join EU

2009: Copenhagen Climate Summit fiasco

2010: Obama cancels Madrid EU-US Summit



The New Century: Policing the world in the name of Democracy

2011: Arab Spring

2011: Libya War -> Civil war -> illegal immigrants flood into Europe -> EU pays TUR

2011: Belgrade-Pristina dialogue

2011 IMF bails out Greece, Ireland, and Portugal. Mario Draghi (ECB) -> “whatever it takes” to preserve the Euro

2015: Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) signed

2016: Brexit Referendum & *EU Global Strategy* (EUGS)

2016: Trump elected

2017: PESCO (Permanent Structured Cooperation) & EU Defense Industrial Development Program created

2018: Trump withdraws from JCPOA

2020: EU rescues and repatriates 600,000 EU citizens stranded around the world due to COVID



THE OBAMA YEARS: LIGHTS & SHADOWS

- **Leaders:** Merkel (2005), Sarkozy (2007), Berlusconi (2008), Obama (2009), Clinton (2009), Ashton (2009), Kerry (2013), Mogherini (2014)
- Rocky start w/ first SoS' H. Clinton trip to Asia
- Copenhagen Summit failure (2009)
- Madrid and LX summits failures (2010)
- Ongoing conflict in Afghanistan
- Negotiations Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) (unfinished)
- French airstrike @ **Libya** (March 2011): US supporting role, providing aerial refueling tankers, electronic jamming, refueling, bombing assistance
- Libya example of successful transatlantic cooperation??
- Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA, 2015)
- Creation of **EEAS**, JCPOA, **Serbia-Kosovo Agreement** (2013, real example of successful transatlantic cooperation)



To know more: Jeffrey Sachs:

<https://www.jeffsachs.org/interviewsandmedia/lefz88m6wmpcadppkx95pzlc4zhyy9>

John Mearsheimer and Jeffrey Sachs

https://youtu.be/uvFtyDy_Bt0?si=az5SbsU33x1vKafN

TRUMP: “UK was so smart in getting out”

- **Leaders:** Trump (2016), Johnson, Merkel, Macron, Mogherini, Borrell (2019)
- **Blocked** Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)
- **Withdrew from:** WHO, JCPOA , Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty w/ Russia, Paris climate accord
- EU in denial
- **Brexit** referendum (June 2016)
- **EU Global Strategy** @EU F&SP June 2016) -> reinforces the EU's strategic autonomy (?)
- **PESCO** (2017) -> new lost occasion
- EU creates *special purpose vehicle* after end of JCPOA but...
- **BREXIT** (2020)
- COVID (2020)





An EU subservient to US interests

2020: Biden elected

2021: Disastrous withdrawal from Afghanistan. EU not given the heads up by US administration

2022: Russia invades Ukraine -> war

2023: Israel – Palestine war

Questions to think about:

- How have EEC/EU –US relations evolve along the years?
- What have been the issues of agreement and of disagreement along the years?
- The Obama Presidency took off at the same time that the New Lisbon Treaty and the new EUHR started to work: what were the US expectations from the EU? And which were the EU expectations on Obama?
- The JCPO was the best example of Transatlantic Cooperation: what went wrong?
- Compare the Obama Presidency to the Biden Presidency' approach to the EU