

**NATO, THE WARSAW PACT  
AND THE RISE OF DÉTENTE, 1965-1972**

DOBBIACO-TOBLACH  
SEPTEMBER 26-28, 2002

CENTRO CULTURALE - KULTURZENTRUM  
GRAND HOTEL  
Via Dolomiti, 1

## Thursday - September 26<sup>th</sup>

**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
  
- 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 Vaïsse, *Détente, French-style*
- Ruud van Dijk, “We Will Come to Regret German «Flexibility»”. *Ostpolitik and Détente: White House Misgivings, Their Nature and Their Merits, 1969-1970*
- Bernd Schäfer, *German Ostpolitik and the Nixon Administration, 1969-1973*

**10:35 - 10:50 a.m.** Coffee-break

**10:50 - 12:15 a.m.** **DISCUSSION**

**12:30 a.m. - 02:00 p.m.** Buffet Lunch

**02:00 p.m.** **PANEL TWO**  
*Coping with Change: US-Western European Relations*

- CHAIR: Laurent Cesari
- DISCUSSANTS: Sam F. Wells Jr, Jim Hershberg

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

- Massimiliano Guderzo, *Johnson, the Atlantic Alliance and European Integration*
- Saki Dockrill, *On the Eve of Détente: Harold Wilson, Lyndon Johnson, and the Question of Keeping Britain in the Defence of Western Europe*
- Ilaria Poggiolini, *Great Britain Enters the EEC: European Political Collaboration at a Time of Enlargement and Détente*

**02:35 - 03:45 p.m.** **DISCUSSION**

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

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

- Francis J. Gavin, *The Gilpatric Committee and the Origins of America’s Non-Proliferation Policy*
- Marilena Gala, *Arms Control and European Security: The Path to West-European Settlement through Détente*
- Leopoldo Nuti, *Transatlantic Relations in the Era of Vietnam: Western Europe and the Escalation of the War, 1965-1968*

**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 27<sup>th</sup>

### SECOND SESSION: THE ALLIANCES

**09:15 a.m.** Introduction - Vojtech Mastny, *The Soviet Union, Military Rivalry and Détente, 1965-1972*

**09:35 a.m.** **PANEL ONE**  
*Warsaw Pact Issues*

- CHAIR: Fulvio D'Amoja
- DISCUSSANT: Michael Cox
  
- 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 Dissolving": Poland, the GDR and Bonn's Ostpolitik, 1966-1967*
- Mark Kramer, *Soviet-Romanian Relations and the Warsaw Pact: Repercussions from the Czechoslovak Crisis*
- Trvtko Jacovina, *The Non-Aligned, Tito and the Federalization of Yugoslavia*

**10:35 - 10:50 a.m.** Coffee-break

**10:50 - 12:15 a.m.** **DISCUSSION**

**12:30 a.m. - 02:00 p.m.** Buffet Lunch

**02:00 p.m.** **PANEL TWO**  
*The Transformations 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, 1963-1966*
- 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, 1965-1975*

**02:35 - 03:45 p.m.** **DISCUSSION**

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

**04:00 - 04:30 p.m.** **PART II**

- Bruna Bagnato, *Handling the Alliance in a Time of Change: Manlio Brosio and the Transformation of NATO*
- William Burr and Robert Wampler, *"With Friends Like These..." - Kissinger, the Atlantic Alliance and the Abortive "Year of Europe", 1973-1974*

**04:30 - 05:30 p.m.** **DISCUSSION**

**07:30 p.m.** **DINNER**

## Saturday - September 28<sup>th</sup>

### 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**

- Tatiana Zazerskaja-Moullec, *Fighting Maoism: Soviet Isolation of China, 1964-1974*
- Chen Jian, *After Czechoslovakia of 1968: Beijings Confrontation with Moscow and Rapprochement with Washington*
- Marie-Pierre Rey, *France, the USSR and the Helsinki Process, 1965-1974*
- Vladislav M. Zubok, *Brezhnev Factor in Détente, 1968-1972*

**11:35 - 12:30 a.m.**            **DISCUSSION**

**12:30 a.m. - 02:00 p.m.**      Buffet Lunch

**02:00 p.m.**            **PANEL TWO**  
*The Nixon Administration and Détente*

- CHAIR: Jim Hershberg
- DISCUSSANT: Olav Njølstad
- Odd Arne Westad, *The Nixon Administration: A Research Agenda*
- Jeffrey Kimball and William Burr, *Nixon's Secret Nuclear Alert: Vietnam War Diplomacy and the Joint Chief of Staff Readiness Test, October 1969*
- David C. Geyer, "A Russian Game, a Chinese Game, and an Election Game": *Richard Nixon, the Easter Offensive and the Road to the Moscow Summit*

**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: Jeffrey Kimball
  
- Taylor Fain, *“Playing the China Card in the Subcontinent”*: *Détente, the Nixon Tapes and the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971*
- Ken Hughes, *Domestic Determinants of Nixon's Strategy of Détente: Vietnam*
- Erin Mahan, *The SALT Mindset: Détente through the Nixon Tapes*

**05:00 p.m.**

**DISCUSSION**

**END OF THE CONFERENCE**