New Perspectives on Transatlantic Relations
Multidisciplinary Approaches

July 4-6, 2019
International Conference
Amerikahaus Munich
Abstracts & Bios

bavarian american academy
Thursday, 4 July 2019

18.00 **Conference Opening** at Amerikahaus

Welcome by **Heike Paul** (Bavarian American Academy)

**Award Ceremony**
Honorary Membership for Donald E. Pease (Dartmouth College)
BAA Dissertation Award for Liv Birte Buchmann (University of Regensburg) and Judith Rauscher (University of Bamberg)

19.00 **Keynote Address** at NS-Dokumentationszentrum

Welcome by **Mirjam Zadoff** (NS-Dokumentationszentrum)

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**Wim Klooster** (Clark University)
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**Trevor Burnard** (University of Melbourne)
*An Imperial History of the American Revolution in the Age of Atlantic History* ................................................................. 3

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**Stefan Fröhlich** (University of Erlangen-Nuremberg)
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**Frank Hadler** (Leibniz Institute GWZO Leipzig)
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13.00  **End of Conference**
Roger Cohen

Transatlantic Relationships: The Bond that Went Freelance

Roger Cohen was named Op-Ed columnist for The New York Times in 2009 and joined The Times in 1990. He served as a foreign correspondent and foreign editor, worked for The Wall Street Journal and Reuters. He is the author of various books, such as Soldiers and Slaves: American POWs Trapped by the Nazis, Final Gamble, and The Girl from Human Street: A Jewish Family Odyssey. His work is awarded with several awards like the Peter Weitz Prize from the German Marshall Fund, the Arthur F. Burns Prize, the Overseas Press Club Citation for Excellence, and the SOPA prize. He has been awarded the Joe Alex Morris lectureship for distinguished foreign correspondence by the Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University, has served as Ferris Professor of Journalism at Princeton University, and was the inaugural chair of the Poynter Center at Indiana University, Bloomington.

Abstract

For the first time in the post-war years, an American president is hostile to the European Union and NATO. This hostility undermines the architecture of security and stability in Europe since 1945, but also creates new opportunities for European states. One thing is certain, nothing will be the same, even after Trump.
Friday, 5 July 2019, 09.00 | PANEL I
Transatlantic Relations in the Early Modern Period

Chair: Susanne Lachenicht is professor and chair of Early Modern History at the University of Bayreuth and a member of the Bavarian American Academy.

Wim Klooster

Making Comparisons in Atlantic History: Representation in the Age of Revolutions

Wim Klooster is the Robert H. and Virginia N. Scotland Endowed Chair in History and International Relations at Clark University in Massachusetts. His work has a strong comparative dimension and focuses on revolt and revolution, maritime illegality, the Dutch empire, and Jewish trade and migration. He has been a Fulbright fellow, an Alexander Vietor Memorial fellow and an Inter-Americas Mellon fellow at the John Carter Brown Library, a Charles Warren fellow at Harvard University, a Post-Doctoral fellow in Atlantic History at the National University of Ireland, Galway, and a fellow at the Netherlands Institute of Advanced Study in Wassenaar. Klooster is the author of numerous articles and book chapters, and twelve monographs and edited books, including Revolutions in the Atlantic World: A Comparative History (2018), The Dutch Moment: War, Trade, and Settlement in the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic World (2016), and Illicit Riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795 (1998).

Abstract

To analyze the early modern Atlantic world, scholars have tended to stress entanglement while largely shying away from a comparative approach. Comparisons can be enlightening, however, in revealing a shared world. The common theme explored in this paper is representation, an issue of great significance during the age of revolutions in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. It was crucial in the lead-up to the French Revolution, in the growing divide between the Thirteen Colonies and the British metropole, and in the debates taking place between Spanish and American delegates in the Cortes of Cádiz. In addition, representation became the subject of key debates as old regimes gave way to new, republican polities, raising similar questions around the Atlantic world: Should the new regimes be organized democratically? What part of the population will be represented? Will the instructions of the represented be binding? Should popular involvement in politics be restricted to representation?
Trevor Burnard

*An Imperial History of the American Revolution in the Age of Atlantic History*


**Abstract**

The American Revolution is usually examined as the founding event in the creation of a new nation in the Americas and with a decidedly US perspective. It was also a critical event in the history of the British Empire and indeed can be examined with utility from an imperial perspective. It was caused because of imperial concerns; involved several European (and Native American) empires; and had a major impact on the imperial histories of not just Britain but of France and Spain. The new nation that was created from the American Revolution was also involved in imperialism from its founding. The historiographical focus on Atlantic interactions makes it necessary to see the American Revolution in Atlantic, imperial and global terms, this paper suggests a model for how this rethinking of the American Revolution might proceed.
Chair: Jürgen Gebhardt is professor emeritus of Political Science at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg and a board member of the Bavarian American Academy.

Stefan Fröhlich

*How Europe Should Cope with Trump and Transatlantic Fragmentation*

Stefan Fröhlich is professor for International Politics and Political Economy at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg since 2003. He is currently a guest professor at the College of Europe (Brugge and Natolin), the Universities of Bonn, Zurich, and Innsbruck, and a senior fellow at the Center for European Integration Studies in Bonn (ZEI). In the past, he was guest professor at the Center for Transatlantic Relations at Johns Hopkins University (2002/3), the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (2007), and senior fellow at the Transatlantic Academy of the German Marshall Fund, (2016/17), in Washington, DC. His fields of interests include EU foreign and security policy, transatlantic relations, German foreign and security policy, and international political economy. He is the author of more than 200 articles and numerous books, among them *Das Ende der Selbstfesselung: Deutsche Außenpolitik in einer Welt ohne Führung* (2019), *The Changing East Asian Security Architecture* (2018), *Suspicious Minds: US-German Relations in the Trump Era* (2017, co-author), *Die EU als globaler Akteur* (2014), and *The New Geopolitics of Transatlantic Relations: Coordinated Responses to Common Dangers* (2012).

**Abstract**

The talk in a first step argues that Trump is not a single phenomenon. In Europe as well there is a resurgence of patriotic or nationalist sentiment. In a second step, the talk will analyze to what extent this trend will mean the end of liberal internationalism. Last but not least, the talk will raise the question whether or not EU leaders command anything close to the national power and diplomatic heft required to assume the burden of leading the free world.
Heather Conley

Going Our Separate Ways?: Transatlanticism in an Era of Great Power Competition

Heather A. Conley is senior vice president for Europe, Eurasia, and the Arctic and director of the Europe Program at CSIS. Prior to joining CSIS as a senior fellow and director for Europe in 2009, Conley served four years as executive director of the Office of the Chairman of the Board at the American National Red Cross. From 2001 to 2005, she was deputy assistant secretary of state in the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs with responsibilities for US bilateral relations with the countries of Northern and Central Europe. From 1994 to 2001, she was a senior associate with an international consulting firm led by former US deputy secretary of state Richard L. Armitage. Heather Conley began her career in the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs at the U.S. Department of State. She was selected to serve as special assistant to the coordinator of US assistance to the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union, and she has received two State Department Meritorious Honor Awards. She is frequently featured as a foreign policy analyst and Europe expert on CNN, MSNBC, BBC, NPR, and PBS, among other prominent media outlets. Conley received her B.A. in International Studies from West Virginia Wesleyan College and her M.A. in International Relations from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).

Abstract

We have returned to great power competition and balance of power politics where all instruments of power – hard and soft – will be used in the pursuit of enhancing sovereignty and national power as well as achieving national interests. Today, the great powers are seeking to redefine the international system both in patient and persistent as well as in erratic and highly unpredictable ways. But where is Europe? The European Union is economically powerful, particularly in the trade space, but is militarily weak. Its ideational strength is backward-looking to its institutional construction from the mid-1990s. Europe clings to its narrative that its post-modern structure will be successful in navigating digitalization and globalization. Yet, it has been unable to find its footing in an increasingly nationalistic world and appears to be succumbing to the whims of the great powers. It is unclear how much the U.S. will choose to challenge its own international system which was constructed for European stability and with European support. Europe must make choices about whether it will continue to work with the U.S. as it confronts authoritarianism externally and internally. It is equally unclear how much Europe will seek to accommodate Russian and Chinese economic interests against American interests. The U.S. is also contemplating what to do with a 70-year international alliance architecture and its extensive treaty obligations as it returns to its isolationist tendencies amid a populist and xenophobic political outburst. Unfortunately, American unpredictability comes at the same moment that China has positioned
itself as a global economic actor and taken a regional hegemonic role while Russia has dramatically re-calibrated its foreign and security policy in opposition to the U.S. and the West to ensure regime survival.
Gale A. Mattox

NATO: Current Issues and Future Prospects

Gale A. Mattox is professor of Political Science at the US Naval Academy, adjunct professor at Georgetown University, and director of the Foreign Policy Program at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies at Johns Hopkins University. She was named a Wilson International Center for Scholars fellow, a Fulbright senior scholar of NATO Strategic Studies in Brussels, and distinguished Fulbright chair in the Netherlands. She was an American Political Science Association Section chair, International Studies Association vice president, and Women in International Security (WIIS) president. She was appointed to the State Department Policy Planning Staff and the Office of Strategic and Theater Nuclear Policy. She published six books including recently Coalition Challenges in Afghanistan: The Politics of Alliance (2016), a GMF Policy Brief Raising EU and NATO Effectiveness: The Impact of Diverse Boots on the Ground (2018), and the chapter “Transatlantic Security Landscape in Europe” in the Oxford University Handbook of U.S. National Security (2018).

Abstract

With the 1989/91 changes, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization confronted the need for fundamental transformation. Military commvs shifted to reflect new geopolitical realities and NATO embarked on an enlargement to include former Warsaw Pact countries and even former Soviet Republics. Today the threats to NATO have substantially altered as Russia has reached out to resurrect its former status in a manner that requires robust responses not least over the infringement to the sovereignty of Crimea. Russian military modernization as well as hybrid/cyber threats have moved NATO from a posture of assurance to one of defense and deterrence in the Baltic/Polish region with a stationing of member forces in an Enhanced Forward Presence. Additionally, terrorist threats have involved NATO in Afghanistan and Northern Africa. The future will challenge NATO to maintain both stability in Europe against Russian potential threat(s) and the challenge to stability as allied forces exit Afghanistan and terrorists regroup in North Africa.
Friday, 5 July 2017, 14.00 | PANEL III
German Americans in the Atlantic World

Chair: Heike Paul is professor and chair of American Studies at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg and director of the Bavarian American Academy.

Jana Weiß

Transatlantic Pioneers: German-American Brewers in 19th Century United States

Jana Weiß is assistant professor at the University of Muenster, North American History Department. Her research focuses on US-American history of the 19th and 20th century, in particular the history of religion, migration, and consumption. She has been a visiting fellow/adjunct professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (funded by the German Research Foundation), the German Historical Institute in Washington, D. C., the Jacobs University Bremen, and the University of Kassel. Her publications include *Fly the Flag and Give Thanks to God. Zivilreligion an US-amerikanischen patriotischen Feiertagen, 1945-1992* (2015) and *Zivilreligion in den USA im 20. Jahrhundert* (2017, co-author). Currently, she is working on a monograph titled *The Lager Beer Revolution in the United States: The History of Beer and German Americans as a (Re)Invention of Ethnicity, Knowledge, and Consumption*.

Abstract

By the second half of the 19th century German-American brewers dominated the American beer market by triggering a “lager beer revolution” that fundamentally changed America’s drinking culture in terms of what was consumed (lager beer vs. ale) as well as where and how it was consumed (saloon vs. beer garden). By analyzing the role and influence of German-American brewers in transnational family, migrant, and industry networks the paper focuses on the transfer of technological and economic knowledge. In particular, the paper explores the role and impact of the brewers as “translators” and as “producers” of (new) knowledge of German/European/American-style brewing techniques as well as fiscal policies: How did German-American brewers efficiently pool their resources – both within Europe and in the transfer process to the United States? Did they pursue any strategies in applying their knowledge and expertise? Besides the correspondence of individual brewers, the talk concentrates on the records of the United States Brewers Association (founded by German-American brewers in 1862), especially its official periodical *Der Amerikanische Brauer* (published in German only until 1893).
Yannik Mück

*The “German Peril”: German-American Relations Before World War I. A Historical and Media-Analytical Examination*

Yannik Mück is a PhD student of Modern History at the University of Wuerzburg and a teacher at a school in Munich. His research focuses on the Pre-World War I United States and the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy in the U.S. at this time. He concluded two research stays in the U.S., was a visiting researcher at American University, D.C., and concluded research at several archives all across the country. His dissertation was submitted this spring. Yannik Mück’s publications include a paper on the power of fake news in German-American relations, “Eine deutsche ‘Balfour-Erklärung’: das Deutsche Kaiserreich und Juden Palästinas während des Ersten Weltkrieges“, in *Fragmente zur Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (2016), and a book on Austrian Fascism before 1938 titled *Österreich zwischen Mussolini und Hitler: Der Weg zum Juliabkommen 1936* (2015).

**Abstract**

The “German peril” is a term taken from primary sources of the US media scene which starts to appear around the turn of the 19th to the 20th century. After a long time of friendly but rather indifferent relations between the United States and the German Empire during the 19th century, the time from 1890 onwards marks a sea change in the relationship between the two countries. The German attitude during the Spanish-American War in 1898 and the Venezuelan Crisis of 1902/03 made many American newspapers and magazines write about a coming war against the “Vaterland”. This change is a media phenomenon in the beginning but one that turned out to have significant consequences for the political relations of the two countries. The talk wants to describe this media phenomenon, its provenance and sources, its expressions, and its impact. It seems that the “German Peril” of the time around 1900 had a direct link to the American entry into the First World War of 1917.
Axelle Germanaz

“Back in the Fatherland”: White Power Music and Trans-Nationalism

Axelle Germanaz received her B.A. in Foreign and Regional Languages, Literatures and Civilizations from the University of La Réunion (France), and her M.A in American Studies from the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg (FAU) with a thesis entitled “Soundtrack for the Invisible Empire: Visions of America in White Power Music.” Since 2018, she is a doctoral student at FAU, working on a project with the working title “Imagining a White ‘City upon the Hill’: White Power Movement, American Mythology, and the Logics of Exceptionalism.” She has taught undergrad level classes on populism, on white supremacy and popular culture, as well as introductions to American Studies. Her research interests include theories of race and racism, white supremacy and extremist movements, as well as theories of myths and ideologies, knowledge production, and affect studies.

Abstract

In September 2016, Richard Spencer, leading force of the Alt-Right movement, claimed at a conference “to be white is to be a striver, a crusader, an explorer and a conqueror. […] Us, as Europeans, it is only normal again when we are great again.” The chief paradox of the contemporary white power movement is made here crystal clear; the latter is both ultranationalist and isolationist but aims to be internationalist and expand its influence worldwide in creating a pan-Aryan Empire. This agenda becomes loud and clear in the music that many of the movement’s members are producing. Indeed, some activists have taken full advantage of music to not only express their resentment over everything considered hazardous to the mythologized ‘white race’ but also to establish a local-to-global white supremacist “imagined community.” This talk investigates the transnational dimensions in the contemporary white power movement through an analysis of the music produced by some of its members in the U.S. and in Europe. The white power movement, like its music scene, knows no country. Instead, it flows freely across borders in an effort to maintain the presumed purity, cultural superiority, and global supremacy of European-descended peoples.
Mathias Häußler

*Cold War Elvis: The Double-Edged Sword of US Popular Culture in 1950s Europe*

Mathias Häußler is assistant professor at the University of Regensburg, having previously been Lumley research fellow at Magdalene College, Cambridge. He holds a PhD from the University of Cambridge, and has held fellowships at the University of Bonn and the Kluge Center at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. His first book has just been published, *Helmut Schmidt and British-German Relations: A European Misunderstanding* (2019) and he has published widely in peer-reviewed journals including *Cold War History*, *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, *Twentieth-Century British History*, and *The International History Review*. He is currently finalizing a book manuscript tentatively titled *Cold War Elvis: The Rise and Fall of an American Cultural Weapon*, to be released in 2020.

**Abstract**

More than forty years after his death, Elvis Presley still stands tall as the perhaps supreme icon of US popular culture in the 20th century. But he was seen as deeply un-American in his early years, as his controversial adaptation of rhythm and blues music and gyrating on-stage performances sent shockwaves through both Eisenhower’s deeply conservative America and Cold War Europe. This paper explores Elvis’s transformation from a seemingly-eternal outsider figure into the very essence of US popular culture, using Elvis as a prism to investigate the role of popular culture in shaping perceptions of the United States at home and abroad. But it also stresses the double-edged nature of such ‘pop culture nation-branding’, as Elvis’s ultimate fate also seemed to vindicate many long-held anti-American stereotypes, as well as Soviet propaganda about the allegedly materialistic nature of US society during the Cold War.
Andreas Etges

_Honorable Soldiers, Courageous Resistance, and an Unbeatable Band of Brothers: Hollywood Films and National Narratives of the War in Europe_

Andreas Etges is senior lecturer in American History at the Amerika-Institut of the University of Munich (LMU). The Cold War specialist and expert on the Kennedy presidency has curated several historical exhibits and is involved in setting up an international museum of the Cold War at Checkpoint Charlie in Berlin. He is the author of _From Confrontation to Détente? Controversies about a Planned Cold War Museum at Checkpoint Charlie, Berlin_, in “Memoria e Ricerca” and co-editor of _The Cold War: Historiography, Memory, Representation_ (2017). He is also co-editor of “International Public History,” the new e-journal of the International Federation for Public History.

Abstract

Many of the World War II movies produced by the European countries that had participated in the war carried certain national narratives and myths about what role its people had played. That was influenced or at least reinforced by films produced in the United States. Hollywood films celebrated America’s crucial role in WWII, the multiethnic “band of brothers” of the soldiers, and the ingenuity of the American officers. They hardly ever showed the many collaborators and local supporters of the Nazis. Instead, populations of the European countries occupied by the Germans seem to have mostly consisted of resistance fighters, which fit nicely with the way many of these countries wanted to be portrayed. Germans – enemies during WWII – became important allies during the Cold War, and their depiction in many films helped cement the belief that the German army had fought an “honorable war” but had been misused by the Nazis, like the “chivalrous” commander Field Marshal Erwin Rommel.
David B. Audretsch

Renewing the Transatlantic Relationship in the Era of Industrie 4.0

David Audretsch is a distinguished professor and Ameritech chair of Economic Development at Indiana University, where he also serves as director of the Institute for Development Strategies. He also is an honorary professor of Industrial Economics and Entrepreneurship at the WHU-Otto Beisheim School of Management in Germany. Audretsch’s research has focused on the links between entrepreneurship, government policy, innovation, economic development, and global competitiveness. He is co-author of *The Seven Secrets of Germany* (2016) as well as co-founder and editor-in-chief of *Small Business Economics: An Entrepreneurship Journal*. David Audretsch was awarded the Global Award for Entrepreneurship Research by the Swedish Entrepreneurship Forum. He has received honorary doctorate degrees from the University of Augsburg, the University of Jönköping in Sweden, and the University of Siegen. Audretsch was also awarded the Schumpeter Prize from the University of Wuppertal.

Abstract

A consensus has emerged about an incipient fourth industrial transition, or what is referred to in Germany as Industries 4.0, which is being ushered in by pervasive technologies such as artificial intelligence (AI) and machine learning. This talk considers how and why the advent of Industrie 4.0 requires a commensurate rethinking of the transatlantic relationship. In particular, the paper emphasizes that a close and productive transatlantic relationship in the previous two industrial eras was critical for economic, social, and political success and both sides of the Atlantic. After introducing a framework identifying the forces or pillars driving Industries 4.0, new strategies to strengthen the transatlantic relationship are considered.
Abstract

Economists have shown theoretically and empirically that there are gains from international trade: if two countries start to trade with each other, they are both better off than under autarky. Beyond that, free trade maximizes world welfare, and a country that is sufficiently small to have no relevant impact on world prices could also not do better by imposing a tariff or another form of trade protection. So why do we need trade agreements if unilateral opening of trade is preferable for each country? There are basically two reasons. First, countries that are large enough to affect world prices may benefit from unilateral trade policy; and if other large countries or trading blocs react to this, a prisoners-dilemma will result. Second, international trade and trade policy have distributional consequences; a government may therefore be tempted to protect some industry for gaining support from stakeholders in this industry even if the overall impact on the economy is negative. An international agreement could then help to solve or at least mitigate these problems. In reality we observe both bilateral agreements like CETA between Canada and the EU and the multilateral GATT/WTO system. In this context and in light of the recent trade disputes between the EU and the U.S. two questions will be addressed: What are the advantages of rule-based multilateral agreements like the GATT and supra national institutions like the WTO? Given that there already exists a multilateral agreement, is there still a case for additional bilateral trade agreements?
Saturday, 6 July 2019, 11:00  |  PANEL VI

Historical Perspectives on Transatlantic Relations

Chair: Volker Depkat is professor of American Studies at the University of Regensburg and a board member of the Bavarian American Academy.

Frank Hadler

*Slovaks and Czechs in America during World War I on the Project of a Czechoslovak Statehood*

Frank Hadler is head of the department Entanglements and Globalization at the Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (GWZO) in Leipzig and honorary professor for Cultural History of East Central Europe at the University of Leipzig. His main fields of research and publication are the transnational history of East Central Europe, the history of historiography, and globalization processes in the 19th and 20th centuries. Current publications include *Handbuch einer transnationalen Geschichte Ostmitteleuropas I* (2017), *1989 in a Global Perspective* (2015), *Approaches to Slavic Unity: Austro-Slavism, Pan-Slavism, Neo-Slavism, and Solidarity Among the Slavs Today* (2013), and *Disputed Territories and Shared Pasts: Overlapping National Histories in Modern Europe* (2011). He is general secretary of the Commission Internationale des Etudes Historiques Slaves (CIEHS) and president of the trilateral German-Czech and German-Slovak Commission of Historians.

Abstract

The paper is based on sources from the Hoover Institution Library & Archives, the archives of the University of Chicago and various archival holdings in Prague. It deals with the following issues: (a) how the “Slovak League of America” and the “Bohemian National Alliance in America” perceived and supported the activities of the “Foreign Action” led in Europe by Tomáš G. Masaryk since the end of 1914, (b) the prehistory and the results of the first official meeting of American Slovaks and Czechs held in Cleveland in October 1915, (c) the activities of the “Slovak delegation” sent to Europe in spring 1916 including the conflicts with Edvard Beneš, the General Secretary of the “Conseil National des Pays Tchéques” in Paris, and (d) the forms and means of the Czecho-Slovak transatlantic communication until the shaping of Czechoslovakia in October 1918 which – unexpected before WWI – brought about a Czechoslovak answer to the “Czech question” in the moment of the dissolution of Austria-Hungary.
Mary Nolan

Transatlantic Troubles in Historical Perspective: What’s New, What’s Not


Abstract

What is troubling transatlantic relations today? Are issues causing tensions dramatically new? If not why so much anxiety about transatlantic relations in Europe? So much indifference if not hostility in America? This talk will argue that the issues troubling transatlantic relations today have long been troubling transatlantic relations. These include unequal trade balances, European contributions to shared defense spending, the importance attributed to international treaties, laws and organizations, and Europe's response to American conflictual relations with and interventions in Asia and the Middle East. What has changed dramatically in the last decades is the context in which these issues are debated. The emergence of a multipolar global economic order, the end of the Cold War which contained transatlantic conflicts, the end of the American Century in its classic form, the growing autonomy of the EU, and the rise of right-radical populism on both sides of the Atlantic have created a dramatically different world than the one in which transatlantic relations developed in the first four post World War II decades. This altered context creates conflicts over interests and values while making their resolution increasingly difficult.
Bavarian American Academy

The Bavarian American Academy (BAA), founded in 1998, supports research on North America and on European-American as well as inter-American relations, and provides a network of cooperation for scholars from the fields of cultural studies and the social sciences specializing in these areas.

The BAA organizes annual conferences and summer academies, sponsors regional symposia and lectures, and supports postgraduate studies.

The organizers wish to thank the following institutions for their generous support:

**NS-Dokumentationszentrum München**
Munich Documentation Centre for the History of National Socialism

**Stiftung Melior**
A better world

**LASKY CENTER FOR TRANSATLANTIC STUDIES**

**MÜNCHEN**

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