THE COLD WAR

We frequently explain the behavior of states in the international system as a consequence of domestic politics. Thus, domestic political institutions, social class structures, the ethnic composition of the population, public opinion shifts, sectoral economic interests, political strategies of partisan actors, and geographical cleavages are among the factors used to account for the foreign policy choices of sovereign governments. Nevertheless, the converse may also be true: domestic political, economic and social changes may be the result—not just the cause—of interstate competition. Such causal connections are often observed in weak little states dominated by big hegemonic ones, but rivalries between symmetrical powers may also lead to externally induced internal changes and even convergences in them. This course will explore the way in which the international rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States affected the relationships between the two powers, their allies, the Third World, and above all, each other’s domestic affairs and development.

Reading and Requirements: The required text for the course is John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History*. It is on reserve in the library and is on sale at the bookstore or online. Other readings will be available through the class web page and/or electronic reserves. Students will also find CNN’s extraordinary 24-series documentary on the Cold War helpful. The videos are all in the film and video library, and they can be accessed on Youtube (in fragments) as well. The web pages can be found at [http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/](http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/)

The reading all students are required to do is designed to provide (a) a common intellectual foundation for everyone in the class; (b) a basis for class discussions and for following the lectures; (c) a source of ideas for a term paper. Because of the paper requirement, the class reading has been deliberately kept light. **Students are required to attend class;** 3 unexcused absences will result in a grade penalty.

The term paper will be the primary basis for the grade, although class participation will be factored in as well. There will also be a very short, in-class midterm (April 30) that will deal with the Gaddis text primarily and other assigned readings where relevant. Topics for the term paper are due by the fourth week of class (April 25), and a bibliography must be submitted the following week (May 2). A fuller description of the term paper requirement is available on the class web page, along with a list of suggested topics. The term paper requirement includes both a written paper and an oral presentation of the paper in class towards the end of the quarter. Papers must be submitted thru turnitin.com.

**Office hours:** Professor Comisso will hold regular office hours on Fridays, from 1-3 pm. She will be happy to meet with student at other times as well, or to consult with them by email. Matt Bergman will announce his office hours in class.
READING ASSIGNMENTS

1. April 2: Introduction: What was this conflict about, anyway?

   --Gaddis, Cold War, “Epilogue,” pp. 259-66

2. April 4: Liberal Democracy and Capitalism v. Marxism-Leninism and Socialism

   Liberal democracy and Capitalism
   --M. Cranston and S. Lakoff, “Liberalism” OR
   --F. A. Hayek, “Liberalism”

   Marxism, Leninism, Socialism
   --Karl Marx, “The Communist Manifesto,” Part I and Part II (R)
   --V. Lenin, “What is to be Done?” (VSR)

   Optional
   --John Stuart Mill, from “On Liberty”
   --John Locke, “Letter Concerning Toleration”
   --M. Walzer, “Liberalism and the Art of Separation”
   --Oskar Lange, “The Economist’s Case for Socialism”

3. April 9: Origins of the Cold War

   --Gaddis, Cold War, Ch. I, “The Return of Fear,” pp. 5-48

   Optional
   ----X (George Kennan), “The Sources of Soviet Conduct.” Foreign Affairs, July 1947
   --Nikolai Novikov, “The Novikov Telegram”
   http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold_war/episodes/02/documents/novikov/  
4. April 11: Regime Consolidation: Spies and Whispers

--Joseph Rothschild, Return to Diversity, pp. 122-3, Chap. 4 (pp. 125-46)
--Ellen Shrecker, from “The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History,”
http://www.writing.upenn.edu/~afilreis/50s/schrecker-age.html

Optional
--CNN, Cold War, Episode 6, “Reds” (video in segments on Youtube)
--Zbigniew Brzezinski, The Soviet Bloc, pp. 84-105
--CNN, Cold War, “The Cold War and Culture”
--CNN, Cold War, “Espionage”
http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/experience/spies/

5. April 16: The Arms Race

--Gaddis, Cold War, Chap. II, “Deathboats and Lifeboats,” pp. 48-83 (R)

Optional
--NSC 68, “United States Objectives and Programs for National Security,”
http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-68.htm--National Security Memorandum 68
-- George Kennan, “Containment: Then and Now,” Foreign Affairs (Spring 1987)

-CNN, Cold War, Episode 10, “Cuba:, 1955-162 “ (IMHO, best of series!)
Episode 12, "MAD, 1960-72"
Episode 16, "Detente, 1969-75"
--Episode 22, "Star Wars, 1980-88"
[all episodes can be found on
http://web.archive.org/web/20000229063037/cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/virtual/desktop.frame.html Alternatively, they can be viewed in segments on YouTube]
6, 7. April 18-23: The Allies: the United States and Western Europe
the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

--Gaddis, *Cold War*, Chap. III, “Command versus Spontaneity,” and
--Geir Lundestad, “Empire by Invitation? The United States and Western
--NATO, *Basic Texts*, http://www.nato.int/docu/basics.htm (VSR)

Optional:
--Mancur Olson and Richard Zeckhauser, “An economic theory of alliance,”
--Josef Brada, “Explaining the Soviet subsidization of Eastern Europe,”
--Charles Gati, “The Europeanization of Communism,” *Foreign Affairs* (April
1977)
--Mark Mazower, “Changing Trends in the Historiography of Postwar Europe:
East and West,” *International Labor and Working Class History* 58 (Fall 2000): 275-82.
Studies* 4 (No. 2, Spring 2002): 55-84
--CNN, *Cold War*, Episode 3 (Marshall Plan), 4 (Berlin), 7 (After Stalin), 14 (Red
Spring)/ All available in segments on YouTube.

TERM PAPER TOPICS MUST DUE BY APRIL 25!

8. April 25: Competing on a global scale: The Sino-Soviet dispute

Bloc: Unity and Conflict*, pp. 397-433
--Gaddis, *Cold War*, pp. 149-55

Optional
--CNN, *Cold War*, Episode 15, “China, 1949-72” (segments on YouTube)

MIDTERM (OR “MIDTERM”) WILL BE GIVEN DURING THE FIRST 30
MINUTES OF CLASS ON APRIL 30. BRING BLUE BOOKS!

9. April 30 (after midterm): Competing on a Global Scale: Rivalries in the Third World


Optional

--*The Pentagon Papers* (re US engagement in Vietnam)

--Gordon Goldstein, *Lessons in Disaster: McGeorge Bundy and the Path to War in Vietnam*

--Neil Sheehan, *A Bright Shining Lie*

--David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest*

--idem, *The Coldest Winter* (Korean War)

--Pamela Falk, "Cuba in Africa," *Foreign Affairs, Summer 1987*


--Steven Coll, *Ghost Wars*

--*CNN, Cold War*, Episode 11 ("Vietnam), 17 ("Good guys, bad guys"), 18 ("Backyard"), 20 ("Soldiers of God")


--Gaddis, Chap. III, “Command v. Spontaneity” (above)


Optional


**BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE TERM PAPER IS DUE MAY 2!**
11. May 7: The Cold War at Home: Civil Rights and Human Rights

Optional:
   --Timothy Garton Ash, “The Hungarian lesson,” in *The Uses of Adversity*

12. May 9: The Great Political Landslide
   --Gaddis, Chapter VI (above) and VII, “The Triumph of Hope,” pp. 195-259

Optional
   ----Frederick Pryor, “Growth and Fluctuations of Production in OECD and East European Countries,” *World Politics* 57 (January 1985): 204-37
   --Adam Przeworski and Michael Wallerstein, “Democratic Capitalism at the Crossroads,” in Adam Przeworski, *Capitalism and Social Democracy*
   --Ellen Comisso, “Crisis in socialism or crisis of socialism?” *World Politics* 42m Bi, 4 (July 1990): 563-96
   --Moshe Lewin, *The Gorbachov Phenomenon*

May 14: Tying up loose ends re the [end of] the cold war and start of paper presentations
May 14-June 6: Presentation of student papers

Last, but not least!

Please bookmark the following web sites, which are likely to prove extremely helpful as you go about choosing and researching your topic.

--Internet Modern History Sourcebook
http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook.html

--Cold War International History Project
http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=topics.home

--Journal of Cold War Studies
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_cold_war_studies/

--CNN: special series on the Cold War
http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold_war/ Each episode for which there is a tape/video has an excellent web page, available thru web.archive.com So, it’s not so easy to navigate, but is worth doing if you’re writing a paper on a related topic

--Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security
http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch/

--the Avalon Project (documents collection)
http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm