

The Cold War: A Global History, 1945-1991

MW 11-12

Location TBA

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Teaching Assistants

TBA

This course satisfies the Foundational Approach requirement for Cross-Cultural Analysis and the Sector IV requirement for Humanities and Social Sciences.



Pundits never tire of proclaiming that we are entering a “new Cold War.” Like all historical analogies, this one demands close attention to the original. The Cold War was not just a confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, but a geopolitical force-field within which the world developed for nearly five decades. This course explores the Cold War as a global contest pitting the scientifically planned economy against the free market, the purpose-driven society against the individual pursuit of happiness – a battle for hearts and minds waged in the realm of politics, ideas, technology, and culture. We will investigate the contest’s origins, the formation of opposing blocs, the interplay between periods of tension and détente, and the relationship between the center of the conflict in the North Atlantic/European arena and its global periphery - as well as the Cold War’s sudden and unforeseen end. Curiosity about Cold War history and a willingness to explore its drama and complexity are the only prerequisites for this course. No prior knowledge of the subject is assumed.

REQUIREMENTS:

Each week students will attend two lectures and one discussion section (“recitation”). If you cannot attend a lecture or recitation, it is your responsibility to find out what you missed. Please complete the assigned readings as early in the week as possible – you will get more out of the lectures that way. This means allowing yourself sufficient time not just to read but to think about what you’ve read. Bear in mind that active participation in recitations means asking good questions as well as proposing good answers. I am happy to take questions during lectures too. Recitations will explore the assigned readings - especially the historical documents - as well as the lectures. Students will write two short papers (due Sept. 18 and Nov. 1), take an in-class exam (Oct. 11), and complete a take-home final exam (handed out Dec. 11, due Dec. 18).

GRADING:

Participation in recitations:	25%	Students are expected to abide by the University of Pennsylvania Code of Academic Integrity, which can be found at:
Three-page paper:	10%	
In-class exam:	20%	
Five-page paper:	20%	
Take-home final exam:	25%	

http://www.upenn.edu/academicintegrity/ai_codeofacademicintegrity.html

REQUIRED TEXTS (available at the Penn Book Center, 34th and Sansom Streets):

Edward Judge and John Langdon, *The Cold War: A Global History with Documents* (2nd edition, 2011)
Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution & the Rise of Détente* (2003)
John Le Carré, *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* (2013 [1963])

Readings marked [C] can be found on the course’s Canvas site.

HELPFUL REFERENCE WORKS (available in the Van Pelt reference area, ground floor):

Lester Brune, ed. *Chronology of the Cold War, 1917-1992* (2006) D840.B78
Spencer Tucker, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Cold War: A Political, Social, and Military History* 5 vols. (2008) D840.E63
Ruud van Dijk, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Cold War* 2 vols. (2008) D840.E625
John Swift, *The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of the Cold War* (2003) G1035.S9
Melvyn Leffler & Odd Arne Westad, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* 3 vols. (2010): on-line digital version via Franklin
Richard H. Immerman and Petra Goedde, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War* (2013): on-line digital version via Franklin

LECTURE AND READING SCHEDULE

Week One: The Cold War as History

August 30: Course Introduction - Why the Cold War is a Hot Topic

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 1-12

Odd Arne Westad, "The Cold War and the International History of the Twentieth Century," in idem and Melvyn Leffler, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* (2010), 1:1-19 [C]

Stephen J. Whitfield, "The Cultural Cold War as History," *West Virginia Quarterly Review* (Summer 1993), 377-92 [C]

Aleksandr Filippov, Новейшая история России 1945-2006 гг. Книга для учителя [*The Contemporary History of Russia, 1945-2006: A Textbook*] (2007), excerpts on the Cold War, translated by Benjamin Nathans [this is the current Russian government's officially sponsored high-school textbook on the post-WWII period of Soviet/Russian history] [C]

"The Socialist Fatherland is in Danger! [February 21, 1918]" and "Report on the International Situation and the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International [July 19, 1920]," in Jeffrey Brooks and Georgiy Chernyavskiy, eds., *Lenin and the Making of the Soviet State: A Brief History with Documents* (2007), 80-81, 90-91 [C]

"Lenin to American Workers, 22 August 1918" and "A. Mitchell Palmer on Eradicating Bolshevism in the United States, April 1920," in Odd Arne Westad and Jussi Hanhimäki, eds., *The Cold War: A History in Documents and Eyewitness Accounts* (2004), 3-8 [C]

Google N-grams of "cold war" and "холодная война" [C]

Week Two: Blaming vs. Explaining

September 4: no class - Labor Day

September 6: The Problem of Origins

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 13-27

Orthodox, Revisionist, and Post-Revisionist Views, in Martin McCauley, ed., *Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1949* (2003), 118-122 [C]

The Nazi-Soviet Pact, August 23, 1939, in Ronald Suny, ed., *The Soviet Experiment* (2003), 298-303 [C]

"Russia in the Second World War," "Dissolution of the Comintern," "Stalin's War Aims," in Robert V. Daniels, ed., *A Documentary History of Communism and the World* (1994), 88-95 [C]

The Atlantic Charter [August 14, 1941], in McCauley, ed., *Origins of the Cold War*, 122-3 [C]

Week Three: From Under the Rubble

September 11: The War Inside the War
September 13: 1945 - One Europe or Two?

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 28-59
Judge and Langdon, Documents 3, 4, 5A-B
“Churchill on Meeting Stalin, October 1944” and “Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin at Yalta, 6 February 1944,” in Westad and Hanhimäki, eds., *The Cold War: A History in Documents*, 39-40, 42-44 [BB]

Week Four: Cold War Keywords

September 18: Totalitarianism and Imperialism
September 20: Psychological Warfare: The Struggle for Hearts and Minds

***** 3-page paper due in class on Sept. 18 *****

Readings: Vladimir Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916) [C]
Joseph Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* (1952) [C]
Georgii Malenkov, “Speech to the Supreme Soviet” (August 8, 1953) [C]
The above three documents excerpted in Robert V. Daniels, ed., *A Documentary History of Communism and the World* (1994), 6-9, 125-6, 154-5
George F. Kennan, “The Sources of Soviet Conduct” (1947) in Judge and Langdon, Doc. 9
NSC 68 (1950), in Judge and Langdon, Doc. 21
[Full text for the curious: <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-68.htm>]
Arthur Koestler, “The Initiates” in Richard Crossman, ed., *The God that Failed* (1950), 11-66 [C]
George F. Kennan, *Memoirs, 1950-1963* (1972), 90-104 [C]
Kenneth Osgood, “Hearts and Minds: The Unconventional Cold War,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 4/2 (Spring 2002):85-107 [C]

Week Five: Cold Wars at Home - the Culture Front

September 25: Home Fronts
September 27: Our Germans... and Theirs

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 60-73
Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights* (2002), 3-46 [C]
Rosa Magnusdottir, “Mission Impossible? Selling Soviet Socialism to Americans, 1955-1968,” in Jessica Hecht and Mark Donfried, eds., *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy* (2010), 51-72 [C]
Rüdiger Ritter, “Broadcasting Jazz into the Eastern Bloc - Cold War Weapon or Cultural Exchange?,” *Jazz Perspectives* 7 (2013) [C]

McCarthy on “Communists” in the U.S. Government, in Judge and Langdon, Doc.19
Joseph Clark’s letter of resignation from the American Communist Party (1957), in Daniels, ed., *A Documentary History of Communism and the World*, 174-77 [C]
“The ‘Plot’ against Stalin (1953),” in Westad and Hanhimäki, eds., *The Cold War: A History in Documents*, 425-27 [C]
Uta Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany* (2000), 31-70 [on-line version accessible via Franklin]
Norman Naimark, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation* (1995), 398-471 [C]
Anthony Shaw and Denise Youngblood, *Cinematic Cold War: The American and Soviet Struggle for Hearts and Minds* (2010), excerpts TBA

Film: “Red Nightmare,” a 29-minute movie produced in 1962 by the U.S. Department of Defense. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bHv-83x58B8>

Week Six: Decolonization and Proxy Wars (I)

October 2: Korea Divided
October 4: The Superpowers and China

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 74-99 and Document 45
Documents on Sino-Soviet Relations, in Westad and Hanhimäki, eds., *The Cold War: A History in Documents*, 183-5, 199-208 [C]
McCarthy on the US War in Korea, Dec. 1950, in Westad and Hanhimäki, eds., *The Cold War: A History in Documents*, 194-96 [C]

Fall Break: no recitations

Week Seven: Culture and Consumption

October 9: Sputnik and Dishwashers
October 11: *** **In-class exam** ***

Readings: Walter Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-61* (1997), 151-83 [C]
Susan E. Reid, “Who Will Beat Whom? Soviet Popular Reception of the American National Exhibition in Moscow, 1959,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* Vol. 9, No. 4 (Fall 2008), 855-904 [C]
Paul Dickson, *Sputnik: The Shock of the Century* (2001), 1-7, 223-35 [C]
Patrick Major, “Future Perfect? Communist Science Fiction in the Cold War,” *Cold War History* 2003 4(1):71-96 [C]

Giuseppe Boffa, "Who Lives Better?" (1959), in Adele Barker and Bruce Grant, eds., *The Russia Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (2010), 551-58 [C]
David Caute, *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy during the Cold War* (2003) excerpts TBA
David Riesman, "The Nylon War," *Common Cause* (1951) [a Cold War counter-factual about dropping consumer goods instead of bombs on the USSR] [C]
Khrushchev and Nixon: The Kitchen Debate
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-CvQOUneCy4>

Week Eight: Crises and Turning Points

October 16: Berlin: "Showplace of the Cold War"
October 18: The Cuban Missile Crisis

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 100-156
The Berlin Crisis 1961, in Judge and Langdon, Doc. 40
Kennedy's Berlin Speech, June 1963, in Judge and Langdon, Doc. 43
Map of Berlin 1961: http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/map.cfm?map_id=329
Loreta Medina, ed., *The Cuban Missile Crisis*, 11-38, 53-69, 81-87, 111-18
(chronology) [C]
For "Top Secret" audio recordings of Kennedy and his advisers deliberating on the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962, photographs of missile sites, etc., browse at: http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nsa/cuba_mis_cri/index.htm

Film: Billy Wilder, *One, Two, Three* (1961)

Week Nine: Keeping the Cold War Cool?

October 23: Nuclear Weapons and Mutual Assured Destruction
October 25: TBA

Readings: Suri, *Power and Protest*, 7-43
Dr. Strangelove [original title: *Red Alert*] (excerpt from the 1964 novel by Peter George), in Westad and Hanhimäki, eds., *The Cold War: A History in Documents*, 442-44 [C]
Judge and Langdon, Docs. 23, 38, 44, 50

Film: Stanley Kubrick, *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964) – https://archive.org/details/DRStrangelove_20130616
[Eric Schlosser, "Almost Everything in 'Dr. Strangelove' was True," *The New Yorker* \(Jan. 17, 2014\)](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/17/arts/eric-schlosser-almost-everything-in-dr-strangelove-was-true.html)

Week Ten: Decolonization and Proxy Wars (II)

October 30: Creating the “Third World”
November 1: The Indochina Wars

***** 5-page paper due in class on Nov. 1 *****

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 157-91 and Documents 46,47,48
Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*, 110-157 [C]
Declaration of Independence of Vietnam (1945) [C]
Manifesto of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party (1951) [C]
Manifesto of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front (1961) [C]
The above three documents excerpted in Daniels, ed., *A Documentary History of Communism and the World*, 141-48
Start reading Le Carré, *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*

Week Eleven: The Rise and Fall of Détente

November 6: The Great Disruption
November 8: Convergence and Globalization

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 192-222
Suri, *Power and Protest*, 164-265
John Kenneth Galbraith, *The New Industrial State* (1967), 1-10, 98-108, 388-99 [C]
Andrei Sakharov, *Memoirs* (1990), 281-89 [C]
Anatoly Dobrynin, *In Confidence: Moscow's Ambassador to America's Six Cold War Presidents* (1995), 191-203, 265-79, 342-52 [C]
Georgi Arbatov, *The System: An Insider's Life in Soviet Politics* (1993), 164-89 [C]
Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (1979), 112-62, 522-34 [C]
Continue reading Le Carré, *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*

Week Twelve: Dissidents and Spies

November 13: The Soviet Dissident Movement
November 15: Espionage and Intelligence

Readings: Benjamin Nathans, *To the Success of Our Hopeless Cause: A History of the Soviet Dissident Movement* (from forthcoming book), chapters 2-4 [C]
Philipp Gassert, “Internal Challenges to the Cold War: Oppositional

Movements East and West,” in Richard Immerman and Petra Goedde, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War* [on-line version accessible via Franklin]

Judge and Langdon, Doc. 62

John Prados, “Cold War Intelligence History,” in Richard Immerman and Petra Goedde, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War* [on-line version accessible via Franklin]

Documents on espionage and covert operations in Westad and Hanhimäki, eds., *The Cold War: A History in Documents*, 452-61, 464-70, 478-80 [C]
Finish reading reading Le Carré, *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*

Film: Martin Ritt, *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* (1965)

Week Thirteen: Re-Starting, and Ending, the Cold War

November 20: The “Second Cold War,” 1975-85

Tuesday Nov. 21: Thursday recitations

Wednesday Nov. 22: Friday recitations

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 223-51

“Transcript of the Soviet Politburo Meeting on the Crisis in Poland, December 10, 1981,” in Wojtech Mastny and Malcolm Byrne, eds., *A Cardboard Castle? An Inside History of the Warsaw Pact, 1955-1991* (2005), 456-61 [C]

Wojtech Mastny, “The Soviet Non-Invasion of Poland in 1980-1981 and the End of the Cold War,” *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 51, No. 2 (March 1999), 189-211 [C]

Judge and Langdon, Docs. 79 and 80

Week Fourteen: “Not with a Bang, But with a Whimper”

November 27: 1989: Annus mirabilis

November 29: The Soviet Implosion

Readings: Stephen Kotkin, *Uncivil Society: 1989 and the Implosion of the Communist Establishment* (2010), xiii-xxiii, 4-34 [C]

Steven Miner, “The Apparatchik's Lament: Dobrynin's Stab-in-the-Back Theory,” *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 74, No. 5 (Sept/Oct., 1995), 154-59 [C]

Judge and Langdon, Docs. 87A-B, 90

Week Fifteen:

December 4: TBA

December 6: The Cold War and the Study of International Relations

Readings: John Lewis Gaddis, "Grand Strategies in the Cold War," in Westad and Leffler, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, 2:1-21 [C]
Adam Roberts, "An 'Incredibly Swift Transition': Reflections on the End of the Cold War," in Westad and Leffler, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, 3:513-34 [C]
Naoko Shibusawa, "Ideology, Culture, and Cold War," in Richard Immerman and Petra Goedde, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War* [on-line version accessible via Franklin]

Week Sixteen: Lessons and Legacies

December 11: The Cold War and the Contemporary World

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 252-76
John Lewis Gaddis, "The New Cold War History: First Impressions," in idem, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (1997), 281-95 [C]
-----, "Grand Strategies in the Cold War," in Westad and Leffler, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, 2:1-21 [C]
Adam Roberts, "An 'Incredibly Swift Transition': Reflections on the End of the Cold War," in Westad and Leffler, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, 3:513-34 [C]
Vladimir Putin, Speech in Moscow following Russia's annexation of Crimea, March 18, 2014 [C]
-----, "The World Order: New Rules or a Game without Rules," speech given in Sochi, Russia, Oct. 24, 2014 [C]

***** TAKE-HOME FINAL EXAM HANDED OUT IN CLASS ON DEC. 11 -
DUE BY NOON ON MONDAY DEC. 18 *****