

## The Cold War: A Global History, 1945-1991

MW 11-12

LRSM Auditorium

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### Teaching Assistants

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**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 process, probing its political and military history as well as the social and cultural impact of the confrontation between capitalism and communism. We will investigate the origins of the conflict, 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 Recitations will explore the assigned readings - especially the historical documents - as well as the lectures.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. 16 and October 26), take an in-class exam (Oct. 7), and complete a take-home final exam (handed out Dec. 2, due Dec. 11).

## 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](http://www.upenn.edu/academicintegrity/ai_codeofacademicintegrity.html)

## REQUIRED TEXTS (available at the Penn Book Center, 34<sup>th</sup> 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* (2001 [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

## LECTURE AND READING SCHEDULE

### **Week One: The Cold War as History**

August 26: Course Introduction - Why the Cold War is a Hot Topic

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 1-7

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]

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]

### **Week Two: Blaming vs. Explaining**

August 31: The Problem of Origins

September 2: The War Inside the War

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 7-27

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 7: no class - Labor Day  
September 9: 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 14: no class – Rosh Hashanah  
September 16: Totalitarianism and Imperialism

**\*\*\* 3-page paper due in class on Sept. 16 \*\*\***

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>]

### **Week Five: Hearts and Minds**

September 21: Psychological Warfare  
September 23: no class – Yom Kippur

Readings: 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]

### **Week Six: Divided Countries**

September 28: Home Fronts  
September 30: Our Germans....and Theirs

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 60-73  
Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights* (2002), 3-46 [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]

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 Seven: Culture and Consumption

October 5: Sputnik and Dishwashers  
October 7: \*\*\* 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]  
Giuseppe Boffa, "Who Lives Better?" (1959), in Adele Barker and Bruce Grant, eds., *The Russia Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (2010), 551-58 [C]  
Khrushchev and Nixon: The Kitchen Debate  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-CvQOUeNecy4>

## Week Eight: Decolonization and Proxy Wars (I)

October 12: Korea Divided  
October 14: 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]  
Start reading Le Carré, *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*

## Week Nine: Crises and Turning Points

October 19: Berlin: "Showplace of the Cold War"

October 21: 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](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](http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nsa/cuba_mis_cri/index.htm)

Continue reading Le Carré, *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*

## Week Ten: Keeping the Cold War Cool?

October 26: Nuclear Weapons and Mutual Assured Destruction

October 28: Espionage and Intelligence

**\*\*\* 5-page paper due in class on Oct. 26 \*\*\***

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]

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]

Judge and Langdon, Docs. 23, 38, 44, 50

Finish reading Le Carré, *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*

Film: Stanley Kubrick, *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964)

## Week Eleven: Decolonization and Proxy Wars (II)

November 2: Creating the "Third World"

November 4: The Indochina Wars

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

## **Week Twelve: Stagnation or Stability?**

November 9: The Great Disruption  
November 11: 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]  
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]  
The Helsinki Final Act, 1975, in Judge and Langdon, Doc. 62

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

November 16: The "Second Cold War," 1975-85  
November 18: Gorbachev, Reagan, and "The Turn"

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 223-51  
"Transcript of the Soviet Politburo Meeting on the Crisis in Poland, December 10, 1981," in Vojtech Mastny and Malcolm Byrne, eds., *A Cardboard Castle? An Inside History of the Warsaw Pact, 1955-1991* (2005), 456-61 [C]  
Vojtech 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 23: 1989: Annus mirabilis  
Nov. 24: Thursday recitations  
Nov. 25: Friday recitations

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: Lessons and Legacies**

November 30: The Soviet Implosion  
December 2: 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. 2 -  
DUE BY NOON ON FRIDAY DEC. 11 \*\*\***