

# 142Q: The Cold War

## Causes and Consequences of Superpower Intervention

**Tuesdays and Thursdays 12:30-1:50, Warren Lecture Hall 2205**

Instructor: Konstantin Ash ([kash@ucsd.edu](mailto:kash@ucsd.edu))  
TA: Matthew Bergman ([mebergma@ucsd.edu](mailto:mebergma@ucsd.edu))

OH: **Tuesdays 3-5 PM, SSB 324**  
OH: **Thursdays 2-3 PM, SSB 327**

The Cold War was a vital period in global political history. It often defines the way we think of both contemporary and historical political events. The Cold War's impact was wide-ranging, with the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union affecting the political and cultural development of most of the world's individuals and states. These effects are far too broad to cover in one course. Instead, this course will look at one distinctive feature of Cold War politics: the intervention of both Superpowers in the domestic affairs of other countries. While intervention in other country's affairs itself is not unusual relative to other historical periods, intervention by the two Cold War superpowers was characterized in a broad variety of strategies, some new and some refined and had wide-ranging effects on regional and global events. In looking at each of these strategies, we seek to answer three broad questions for each intervention into another country's political affairs: 1) What led superpowers to adapt their intervention strategy? 2) Would another strategy have produced more optimal results, for either the superpower or the target state? 3) Finally, what were the effects of the interventions on political outcomes in the receiving country?

Gaining knowledge about the Cold War is only a partial goal for students in this class. An equally important goal is for students to gain and, to some extent, master skills related to political and policy analysis. It follows that students will not only be graded on their ability to retain knowledge about the subject. Students will also be asked to produce original research or policy analysis and to present that work to their peers. This part of the class is intended to build writing and communication skills that will not only be beneficial to students in pursuing their undergraduate degree, but will make them more competitive applicants for either a broad array of jobs and/or in application to graduate schools.

### Assignments

**50%** - Final Paper

40% for paper  
5% for having topic approved  
5% for paper presentation

### **Topic Options:**

1) *A research paper:*

Propose a research question that explains a phenomenon related to the Cold War (make the cause and effect clear). Present an overview of the material that has addressed the subject

before. Present an argument that answers your question and evidence (historical, statistical, etc.) that supports that argument over competing explanations. More info in week 1 tutorial!

## 2) *A policy brief:*

Take the role of a policy analyst before a major decision about intervention in the Cold War (i.e. U.S. decision to blockade Cuba during the Cuban Missile Crisis, U.S. decision to escalate War with Vietnam, Soviet decision to invade Afghanistan, etc.). Argue for the application of either the strategy that was applied or of an alternative strategy. Review past applications of this strategy in similar cases. Present evidence as to why one strategy is better than all others for both the long-term and short-term goals of the superpower. More info in week 2 tutorial!

## **Topic Approval:**

1) *Research paper:* Submit research question, an argument, five pieces of outside work that you will be citing (doesn't have to end up in the final project) AND receive my approval for full credit.

2) *Policy brief:* Submit intervention scenario, your policy of choice, an argument about why your policy is superior and five pieces of outside work that you will be citing (doesn't have to end up in the final project) AND receive my approval for full credit.

Topics for papers MUST be submitted for approval by November 8, 2013 for full credit. Students MUST submit any revisions within 7 days of reply.

## **Paper Structure:**

ALL papers must be at least 15 pages in length (excluding citations), Times New Roman or smaller font, double-spaced, one inch margins and must include at least 10 sources (academic or media sources are preferred; Wikipedia, Youtube and like sources are not acceptable). In-text citations are mandatory. Citations style: no footnotes, use either end-notes or parentheticals + work cited. Papers are due by December 13, 2013 at 11:30 AM to the Turnitin.com link on TED.

## **Paper Presentations:**

Students will be assigned a group with which they will present their work at a (to be determined) time in either the 10<sup>th</sup> week of class or finals week. Students will be graded on both their presentations and the questions they ask and feedback they give to other presenters. Students presenting on the 10<sup>th</sup> week will receive two extra points on their final average. More info on presentation style in week three tutorial!

## **Plagiarism:**

There is a **ZERO tolerance policy** on plagiarism. If you are found having copied any substantial portion of your paper from other sources without having first accredited them, you

will either have large amounts of points deducted from your paper grade or will fail the class altogether. Self-plagiarism is plagiarism, too. I am seeking original work for this assignment. Please consult the UCSD Office of Academic Integrity for more information:  
<http://students.ucsd.edu/academics/academic-integrity/>

**40%** - Midterm (November 21, 2013)

**10%** - Attendance and Quizzes

There will be **three randomly** administered quizzes (multiple-choice) during three lectures on that lecture's readings. They can occur at any point during any lecture. These are used to insure you attend the lectures and do the readings. Quizzes cannot be made up without a documented excuse. The highest **two** of the three scores on the quizzes will each count for 5 points on the final average (2 for attendance, 3 for content of the quizzes).

ALL REQUIRED READINGS ARE POSTED AT: <http://polisci2.ucsd.edu/kash/142Q/142q.html>

### Schedule

#### **Week 0: Course Introduction**

September 26

Syllabus and Assignment review.

#### **Week 1: Introduction**

October 1: 20<sup>th</sup> Century Political Ideologies: Capitalism, Communism and Fascism

##### **Required:**

- Moore, Barrington. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. 413-484
- Verdery, Katherine, *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next* (Princeton UP 1996), pp. 19-30.

##### **Suggested:**

- Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and Social Revolutions*. Chps. 1-3.
- Marx, Karl and Frederick Engels. 1847. *The Communist Manifesto*. Part 1 and 2.
- Lenin, Vladimir Ilych. “What is to be Done?”
- Hayek, Frederick A., “Liberalism”
- Gentile, Giovanni and Benito Mussolini. “A Doctrine of Fascism.”
- Kornai, Janos, *The Socialist System* (Princeton UP, 1992)

### October 3: Change in the Nature of Intervention

#### **Required:**

– Fazal, Tanisha. 2007. *State Death: The Politics and Geography of Conquest, Occupation, and Annexation*, Princeton University Press. 37-59, 102-132 and 213-228.

#### **Suggested:**

– Kahler, Miles. Empires, Neo-Empires, and Political Change: The British and French Experience, in *The End of Empire? The Transformation of the USSR in Comparative Perspective*, ed. by Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997, Chapter 12 (pp. 286-312).

– Herbst, Jeffrey. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

– Westad, Odd Arne. 2005. *The Global Cold War: Third World Intervention and the Making of Our Times*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chs. 1-3.

**Tutorial:** How to write a research paper?

### **Week 2: Early Days of the Cold War**

#### October 8: Yalta, Tehran and Dividing up Europe and Asia

#### **Required:**

-- Gaddis, John Lewis. 2005. *The Cold War: A New History*. 5-29.

#### October 10: Escalation and Tension

#### **Required:**

-- Gaddis, John Lewis. 2005. *The Cold War: A New History*. 29-40.

– X (George Kennan), “The Sources of Soviet Conduct.” *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947.

<http://www.historyguide.org/europe/kennan.html>

– Nikolai Novikov, “The Novikov Telegram”

<http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/history/johnson/novikov.htm>

– Budds, Jeffrey. 2001. “The Early Cold War in Soviet West Ukraine 1944-1948,” *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, Number 1505.

**Tutorial:** How to write a policy brief?

### **Week 3: Politics of Foreign Aid**

#### October 15: The Marshall Plan and Aid to the Third World

#### **Required:**

– William Diebold (1948), “East-West Trade and the Marshall Plan”

– Geir Lundestad. 1986. “Empire by Invitation? The United States and Western Europe, 1945-

1952,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 23 (3): 263-277

– Muller, Edward N. 1985. “Dependent Economic Development, Aid Dependence on the United States and Democratic Breakdown in the Third World,” *International Studies Quarterly*, 29: 445-469.

**Suggested:**

– Scott Parrish, “The Marshall Plan, Soviet-American Relations, and the Division of Europe” in Norman Naimark and Leonid Gibianski, ed., *The Establishment of Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe, 1944-49*.

October 17: Soviet Aid Policies

**Required:**

– Josef Brada, “Explaining the Soviet subsidization of Eastern Europe,” *International Organization* 12, No. 4 (Autumn 1988): 639-58

**Suggested:**

– Charles Gati, “The Europeanization of Communism,” *Foreign Affairs* (April 1977)

– Vojtech Mastny, “The New History of Cold War Alliances,” *Jrnl. Of Cold War Studies* 4 (No. 2, Spring 2002): 55-84

– Grey, Robert D. “The Soviet Presence in Africa: An Analysis of Goals,” *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 22 (3): 511-527.

**Tutorial:** How to give a (good) presentation?

**Week 4: Covert Intervention**

October 22: “Free and Fair Elections”

**Required:**

– Miller, James E. 1983. “Taking Off the Gloves: The United States and the Italian Elections of 1948,” *Diplomatic History*, 7 (1): 35-56.

**Suggested:**

– Ganser, Daniele, *Nato’s Secret Armies: Operation Gladio and Terrorism in Western Europe*.

October 24: Coups and Popular Revolutions

**Required:**

– Forsythe, David P. 1992. “Democracy, War and Covert Action,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 29 (4): 385-395.

– Gasiorowski, Mark J. 1987. “The 1953 Coup D’Etat in Iran,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19 (3): 261-286.

– Westad, Odd Arne. 2005. *The Global Cold War: Third World Intervention and the Making of*

*Our Times*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 4.

**Suggested:**

- Guevara, Che. *Guerrilla Warfare*. 1961.
- Zedong, Mao. *On Guerrilla Warfare*. 1937.
- David F. Schmitz, *The United States and Right-Wing Dictatorships, 1965-1989*, (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Chapters 4-5
- Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Sword And The Shield: The Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB* (New York: Basic Books, 1999)
- Breslauer, Gary 1977. “Ideology and Learning in Soviet Third World Policy,” *World Politics*

**Week 5: Proxy Wars**

October 29: Ideological Wars in Africa and Latin America

**Required:**

- Westad, Odd Arne. 2005. *The Global Cold War: Third World Intervention and the Making of Our Times*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 207-241, 250-279 and 339-348.

**Suggested:**

- Pamela Falk, "Cuba in Africa," *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1987
- John Marcum, "Africa: A Continent Adrift," *Foreign Affairs*, America and the World 1988/89
- Minter, William. 1994. *Apartheid's Contras: An Inquiry into the Roots of War in Angola and Mozambique*, Witwatersrand University Press.
- Potter, Bruce D. 1986. *The USSR in Third World Conflicts: Soviet Arms and Diplomacy in Local Wars*, Cambridge University Press. pp. 147-181.

October 31: Non-Ideological Intervention

**Required:**

- Mohiaddin Mesbahi: "The USSR and the Iran–Iraq War: From Brezhnev to Gorbachev" in Farhang Rajaee (ed.) *The Iran–Iraq War: The Politics of Aggression* (University Press of Florida, 1993): 69-103.
- Yaphe, Judith. 2013. “Changing American Perspectives on the Iran-Iraq War,” In Nigel Ashton and Bryan Gibson, eds. *The Iran-Iraq War: New International Perspectives* New York: Routledge. 178-191.

**Suggested:**

- Sterner, Michael. 1984. “The Iran-Iraq War,” *Foreign Affairs* 63 (1): 128-143.

**Week 6: Military Action: The “Good”**

November 5: U.S. Military Action outside of Vietnam

**Required:**

- *Fog of War: Eleven Lessons from the Life of Robert McNamara*. 2002. Dir. Errol Morris. 6:59

- 20:17 <http://youtu.be/KkQk50qtTwo?t=6m59s>
- Halbestam, David. *The Coldest Winter*. 87-114, 138-153, 238-250, 323-345.
- Rabe, Stephen G. “The Johnson Doctrine,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 36 (1): 48-58.

#### November 7: Preserving the Iron Curtain

##### **Required:**

- Paul Lendvai. *One Day that Shook the Communist World: The 1956 Uprising and Its Legacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010). 5-25 and 119-128.
- Jones, Christopher D. “Soviet Hegemony in Eastern Europe: The Dynamics of Political Autonomy and Military Intervention,” *World Politics* 29 (2): 216-241.

##### **Suggested:**

- Kieran Williams. *The Prague Spring and Its Aftermath: Czechoslovak Politics, 1968-1970*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 3-39.

#### **Week 7: Military Action: The Bad and The Ugly**

#### November 12: Vietnam

##### **Required:**

- *Fog of War: Eleven Lessons from the Life of Robert McNamara*. 2002. Dir. Errol Morris. 1:05:17 – 1:20:15 <http://youtu.be/KkQk50qtTwo?t=1h5m17s>
- James S. Olson and Randy Roberts, *Where the Domino Fell: America and Vietnam* (5<sup>th</sup> ed). Chs. 3, 5 and 183-203.
- Slater, Jerome. 1993. “The Domino Theory and International Politics: The Case of Vietnam,” *Security Studies* 3 (2): 186-224.

##### **Suggested:**

- Gordon Goldstein, *Lessons in Disaster: McGeorge Bundy and the Path to War in Vietnam*
- David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest*
- *In the Year of the Pig*. 1968. Dir. Emile de Antonio.

#### November 14: Afghanistan

##### **Required:**

- Heller, Mark 1980. The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan, *The Washington Quarterly*, 3:3, 36-59.
- Kalinovsky, Artemy. 2009. “Decision-Making and the Soviet War in Afghanistan: From Intervention to Withdrawal,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 11 (4): 46-73.

##### **Suggested:**

- Mendelson, Sarah E. 1993. ”Internal Battles and External Wars: Politics, Learning and the Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan,” *World Politics* 45 (3): 327-360.

## **Week 8: Domestic Effects of Intervention and the End of the Cold War**

### November 19: Interventions and the End of the Cold War

#### **Required:**

– Rueveny, Rafael and Aseem Prakash, 1999. “The Afghanistan war and the breakdown of the Soviet Union,” *Review of International Studies*, 25: 693-708.

– Leon Aron, “Everything You Think You Know About the Collapse of the Soviet Union is Wrong.” *Foreign Policy* July-August 2011.

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/06/20/everything\\_you\\_think\\_you\\_know\\_about\\_the\\_collapse\\_of\\_the\\_soviet\\_union\\_is\\_wrong?page=full](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/06/20/everything_you_think_you_know_about_the_collapse_of_the_soviet_union_is_wrong?page=full)

– Daniel Thomas, “The Helsinki accords and political change in Eastern Europe,” in Thomas Risse, Stephen Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink, *The Power of Human rights*, pp. 205-34.

– Verdery, Katherine, *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next* (Princeton UP 1996), pp. 30-38.

#### **Suggested:**

– Roeder, Philip. 1993. *Red Sunset*. Chs. 1-3, 8-9.

– Solnick, Steven Lee. 1998. *Stealing the state: control and collapse in Soviet institutions*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press., Introduction and 1-9

– Ivan Szelenyi and Balazs Szelenyi, “Why Socialism failed: towards a theory of system breakdown,” *Theory and Society* v. 23, no. 2 (April 1994), pp. 211-232.

### November 21: Midterm!

#### **Week 9:**

Thanksgiving Week. No Class. Work on your paper.

#### **Week 10 and Finals Week:**

Student Presentations

**PAPERS DUE 12/13/2013 at 11:30 AM.**