

Political Science 142Q  
Winter 2011

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## 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.

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 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 (January 27). 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.

**Office hours:** Professor Comisso will hold regular office hours on Tuesdays, from 2-4 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. January 4: Introduction: What was this conflict about, anyway?

- Gaddis, *Cold War*, "Epilogue," pp. 259-66
- Richard Pipes, "Misinterpreting the Cold War: The Hardliners Were Right," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 1, January/February 1995
- Melvyn Leffler, "Inside Enemy Archives: The Cold War Reopened," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 75, No. 4, July-August 1996.

### 2. January 6: 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. January 11: 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/>
- William Diebold (1948), "[East-West Trade and the Marshall Plan](#)"
- 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*
- Robert Jervis, "Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma," *Jrnl. of Cold War Studies* 3 (no. 1, Winter 2001): 36-60

#### 4. January 13: 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

##### Optional

--CNN, *Cold War*, "The Cold War and Culture"

<http://web.archive.org/web/20031003184153/www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/experience/culture/>

--CNN, *Cold War*, "Espionage"

<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/experience/spies/>

--CNN, *Cold War*, Episode 21, "Spies, 1945-90"

<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/21/>

--Igor Lukes, The Rudolf Slansky Affair: New Evidence, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 58, No. 1. (Spring, 1999), pp. 160-187

--"The Case of J. Robert Oppenheimer

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/abomb/oppmenu.htm>

--Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Soviet Bloc*, pp 84-105.

#### 5. January 18: The Arms Race

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

--Ned Lebow and Janice Stein, "Deterrence and the Cold War," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 110, No. 2. (Summer, 1995), pp. 157-181 (VSR)

##### 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 (

--Robert Axelrod, "The Emergence of Cooperation Among Egoists," *American Political Science Review* 75, No. 2 (January, 1981):306-18

--Robert Jervis, Deterrence and Perception, *International Security*, Vol. 7, No. 3. (Winter, 1982-1983), pp. 3-30.

-- George Kennan, "Containment: Then and Now," *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1987)

--CNN, *Cold War*, Episode 10, "Cuba, 1955-1962" (IMHO, best of series!)

Episode 12, "MAD, 1960-72"

Episode 16, "Detente, 1969-75"

--Episode 22, "Star Wars, 1980-88"

[all  
episohttp://web.archive.org/web/20000229063037/cnn.com/SPECIALS/co  
ld.war/virtual/desktop.frame.html]des viewable in segments on YouTube]

**6, 7. January 20, 25: The Allies: the United States and Western Europe  
the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe**

--Gaddis, *Cold War*, Chap. III, "Command versus Spontaneity," and  
Chapter IV, "The Emergence of Autonomy," pp. 83-156  
--Geir Lundestad, "Empire by Invitation? The United States and Western  
Europe, 1945-1952," *enl. Of Peace Research*, vol 23, No. 3 (Sept., 1986): 263-7  
--NATO, *Basic Texts*, <http://www.nato.int/docu/basics.htm> (VSR)

Optional:

--Mancur Olson and Richard Zeckhauser, "An economic theory of alliance,"  
*Journl of Economics and Statistics* 48 (August 1966): 266-79  
--Josef Brada, "Explaining the Soviet subsidization of Eastern Europe,"  
*Internatiional Organizatin*12, No. 4 (Autumn 1988): 639-58  
--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.  
--Vojtech Mastny, "The New History of Cold War Alliances," *Jrnl. Of Cold War  
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 BE SUBMITTED BY JANUARY 27!**

**8. January 27: Competing on a global scale: The Sino-Soviet dispute**

--Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The Sino-Soviet Conflict," in Brzezinski, *The Soviet  
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)

**TERM PAPER BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE FEBRYARY 1!!**

**9. February 1: Competing on a Global Scale: Rivalries in the Third World**

--Gaddis, *Cold War*, Chapter II, "Deathboats and Lifeboats," pp. 48-83 (above), and Chap. V, "The Recovery of Equity," pp.156-195

--Adam Ulam, "Détente Under Soviet Eyes," *Foreign Policy* 24 (Autumn, 1976):145-59

### Optional

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

--Gordon Goldstein, *Lessons in Disaster: MdGeorge 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](#)

-- John Marcum, "Africa: A Continent Adrift," *Foreign Affairs*, [America and the World 1988/89](#)

--Steven Coll, *Ghost Wars*

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

### **10. February 3: The Cold War at Home: Equality v. Efficiency**

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

--Janos Kornai, "Efficiency and the Principles of Socialist Ethics" in Kornai, *Contradictions and dilemmas*, pp.125-39.

### Optional

---Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market*, Chapter 3, "Capitalism and Socialism," pp. 100-36

--Bela Balassa, "The Hungarian Economic Reform," *Economica* (February 1970): 1-22.

--Frederick Pryor, "Growth and Fluctuations of Production in OECD and East European Countries," *World Politics* 57 (January 1985): 204-37

--Abram Bergson, "Development under Two Systems: Comparative Productivity Growth since 1950," *World Politics* 23 (July 1971): 579-517

--James Prickett and Walter Galenson, "Communism and Trade Unionism: an Exchange," in Richard Rowan, editor, *Readings in Labor Economics and Labor Relations*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, pp. 213-26

-- Bernard Karsh and Philip Karman, "The Impact of the Political Left," in Charles Rehmus and Doris McLaughlin, *Labor in American Politics*, pp. 185-91.

--Sidney Tarrow, "Political Dualism and Italian Communism" *American Political Science Review* 61, No. 1 (March 1967):39-53

### **11. February 8: The Cold War at Home: Civil Rights and Human Rights**

--Gaddis, Ch. V, "The Recovery of Equity," and VI, "The Actors," pp. 156-237 (R)

--Peter Juviler and Hannah Zawadska, "Détente and Soviet Domestic Politics," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science* 33 (No. 1, 1978): 158-67

Optional:

--John Skrentny, "The Effect of the Cold War on African-American Civil Rights: America and the World Audience, 1945-1968," *Theory and Society* 27 (April 1998): 237-85

--Richard Dean, "Contacts with the West: Dissidents View of the Western Support for the Human Rights Movement in the Soviet Union," *Universal Human Rights* 2, No. 1 (January-March 1980):47-65

--Jerry F. Hough, 'The Soviet System: Petrification or Pluralism?' in Hough (ed.) *The Soviet Union and Social Science Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977. Also in *Problems of Communism* 21, No. 2 (March-April 1972): 25-45.

--Tony Judt, "The dilemmas of dissidence," *East European Politics and Society* 2 (March 1988): 185-240

--Timothy Garton Ash, "The Hungarian lesson," in *The Uses of Adversity*

**12. February 10: The Great Political Landslide**

--Gaddis, Chapter VI (above) and VII, "The Triumph of Hope," pp. 195-259

--Vladislav Zubok, "New Evidence of the "Soviet factor" in the Peaceful Revolutions of 1989," *Cold War International History Project Bulletin*, Issue 12/13, Fall-Winter 2001

Optional

---Frederick Pryor, "Growth and Fluctuations of Production in OECD and East European Countries," *World Politics* 57 (January 1985): 204-37

--Laura Tyson, "The debt crisis and adjustment responses in Eastern Europe: a comparative perspective," *International Organization* 40 (Spring 1986):239-87

--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

--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.

--Moshe Lewin, *The Gorbachov Phenomenon*

**February 15:** Midterm exam (or "exam") and start of paper presentations

**February 15-March 10: 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](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=topics.home)

--CNN: special series on the Cold War

[http://web.archive.org/web/\\*/http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/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>