

The Cold War: A Global History, 1945-1991

MW 10:15 – 11:14

Location TBA

Prof. Benjamin Nathans
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DRAFT

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.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM:

The University of Pennsylvania protects **academic freedom**, which was established to promote the integrity of research and teaching. The principles of academic freedom are founded on the idea that a university's purpose is to generate and disseminate new knowledge that can serve the common good in a democratic society, and that such knowledge requires free and open inquiry. To safeguard the university's public mission, academic freedom entails the following rights for faculty and students:

- The right of faculty members to full freedom in research, teaching, extramural speech (public speech on issues of general concern) and intramural speech (speech about the university itself, including criticism of it).
- The right of students to freedom in learning, which includes freedom of association and expression and freedom of inquiry in the classroom.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY:

Students are expected to abide by the [University of Pennsylvania Code of Academic Integrity](#).

REQUIREMENTS:

Each week students will attend two lectures and one 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 submit two papers (Weeks 5 and 11), take three quizzes (Weeks 6, 12, and 16; your lowest quiz score will be dropped), and an in-class or oral final exam (during exam period).

GRADING:

Participation in recitations:	25%
Three-page paper:	15%
Strongest Quiz	5%
Five-page paper:	25%
2 nd -Strongest Quiz:	5%
Final exam (in-class or oral)	25%

REQUIRED TEXTS:

Edward Judge and John Langdon, *A Hard and Bitter Peace: A Global History of the Cold War* (3rd edition, 2018)
Edward Judge and John Langdon, *The Cold War Through Documents* (3rd edition, 2018)
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
The following reference works are available on-line via Franklin:
M. Leffler & O. A. Westad, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* 3 vols. (2010)
R. Immerman & Petra Goedde, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War* (2013)
A. Kalinovsky & C. Daigle, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of the Cold War* (2014)

LECTURE AND READING SCHEDULE

Week One: The Cold War as History

Jan. 15: Course Introduction - Why the Cold War is a Hot Topic

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 3-18 (chapter 1)
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]
Orthodox, Revisionist, and Post-Revisionist Views, in Martin McCauley, ed., *Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1949* (2003), 118-122 [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 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

Jan. 20: university closed (Martin Luther King, Jr. Day)

Jan. 22: The Problem of Origins

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 19-37 (Chapter 2)

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

Jan. 27: The War Inside the War

Jan. 29: 1945 - One Europe or Two?

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 38-76 (chapters 3-4)

“The Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima,” “Stalin’s Election Speech,” “Churchill’s ‘Iron Curtain’ Speech,” and “*Pravda*’s Interview with Stalin,” in Judge and Langdon, eds., *The Cold War through Documents* [C]

Telegrams by George F. Kennan (Feb. 1946) and Nikolai Novikov (Sept. 1946), in Kenneth M. Jensen, *Origins of the Cold War: The Novikov, Kennan, and Roberts ‘Long Telegrams of 1946*, pp. ix-xi, 3-31 [C]

Week Four: Cold War Keywords

Feb. 3: Totalitarianism and Imperialism

Feb. 5: Psychological Warfare: The Struggle for Hearts and Minds

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) and "NSC-68: American Cold War Strategy" (1950), in *The Cold War through Documents* [C]
Full text of NSC-68 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]

Week Five: Cold Wars at Home – The "Culture Front"

Feb. 10: Home Fronts
Feb. 12: Our Germans... and Theirs

***** 3-page paper due on Feb. 12 *****

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 77-93
Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights* (2002), 3-46 [C]
"McCarthy on 'Communists' in the U.S. Government" (1950), in *The Cold War through Documents* [C]
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 Six: Decolonization and Proxy Wars (I)

Feb. 17: Korea Divided
Feb. 19: The Superpowers and China

***** Quiz #1 in class on Feb. 19 *****

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 94-139
“The Sino-Soviet Split, 1960–1964” (four documents), in *The Cold War through Documents* [C]
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]

Week Seven: Crises and Turning Points

Feb. 24: Berlin: “Showplace of the Cold War”
Feb. 26: The Cuban Missile Crisis

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 140-61, 212-36
“The Berlin Crisis” (1961) and “Kennedy’s Berlin Speech” (1963), in *The Cold War through Documents* [C]
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

Week Eight: Decolonization and Proxy Wars (II)

Mar. 3: Africa and Latin America
Mar. 5: The Middle East

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 162-211
“The Suez Crisis, 1956” (pp. 129-133); “The Congo Crisis, 1960” (pp. 152-158);
“Salvador Allende’s Freely Elected Marxist Government in Chile, 1970-1973” (pp. 230-35), in *The Cold War through Documents*
Isaac Chotiner, [“The Real Story Behind Patrice Lumumba’s Assassination.”](#) *The New Yorker* (October 20, 2023)

Week Nine: Spring Break

Week Ten: Keeping the Cold War Cool?

Mar. 17: Nuclear Weapons and Mutual Assured Destruction
Mar. 19: Sputnik and Dishwashers

Readings: Suri, *Power and Protest*, 1-43
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]
 “Dulles on ‘Massive Retaliation’” (1954), “Eisenhower’s Farewell Address on the Military-Industrial Complex” (1961), “The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty” (1963), and “The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty” (1968), in *The Cold War through Documents* [C]
 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]
 David Riesman, “The Nylon War,” *Common Cause* (1951) [C]
 Khrushchev and Nixon: The Kitchen Debate
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-CvQOuNecy4>

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* \(Jan. 17, 2014\)](#)

Week Eleven: Decolonization and Proxy Wars (III)

Mar. 24: Creating the “Third World”
 Mar. 26: The Indochina Wars

***** 5-page paper due on Mar. 26 *****

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 237-82
 “The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution” (1964), Lin Biao, “Long Live the Victory of People’s War” (1965), “Lyndon Johnson and the Vietnam War” (1965–1968), in *The Cold War through Documents* [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*

Visualizing the Rise and Fall of Colonialism:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ihD3_Nm8qA&spfreload=10

Visualizing the Disintegration of Four European Maritime Empires:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EwOA8AfeHM4>

Week Twelve: The Rise and Fall of Détente

Mar. 31: The Great Disruption

Apr. 2: Convergence and Globalization

***** Quiz #2 in class on Apr. 2 *****

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 283-318

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 Thirteen: Dissidents and Spies

Apr. 7: The Soviet Dissident Movement

Apr. 9: Espionage and Intelligence

Readings: Benjamin Nathans, *To the Success of Our Hopeless Cause: The Many Lives of the Soviet Dissident Movement*, Prologue [C]

“The Helsinki Final Act” (1975), in *The Cold War through Documents* [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]

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 Fourteen: Re-Starting, and Ending, the Cold War

Apr. 14: The “Second Cold War,” 1975-85

Apr. 16: TBA

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 319-56

“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]

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

Apr. 21: Gorbachev, Reagan, and “The Turn”

Apr. 23: 1989: Annus mirabilis

Readings: Judge and Langdon, 357-78

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]

Ronald Reagan, “Tear Down This Wall” (1987), in *The Cold War through Documents* [C]

Mikhail Gorbachev, “New Political Thinking” (1987) [C]

Week Sixteen: Globalization or Geopolitics?

Apr. 28: The Soviet Implosion

***** Quiz #3 in class on Apr. 28 *****

Apr. 30: The Post-Cold War Disorder

Readings:

Judge and Langdon, 379-92

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]

“The Kohl-Gorbachev Agreement on German Unification” (1990) and “Gorbachev’s Resignation Speech” (1991), in *The Cold War through Documents* [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]

***** IN-CLASS FINAL OR ORAL EXAM DURING FINALS PERIOD *****