

## **America, Russia, and the Cold War**

History 512:354

Rutgers University, Fall 2018

Tuesdays and Thursdays, 2:50 to 4:10 PM

Campbell Hall, Room A5

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### **Course Description**

Are America and Russia doomed to be enemies? Why have Americans seen Russia, more than any other nation in the last 130 years, as the opposite of American ideals and virtues? What was "the Cold War"? When did it begin? How did it end? What has caused American-Russian relations to deteriorate into a dangerous "new cold war" in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

This course will address those questions as it examines the international competition and conflict known as "the Cold War." It will begin by tracing the roots of American-Soviet ideological antagonism back to the late nineteenth century, when many Americans became interested in the liberation of the tsarist empire and sympathized with a revolutionary movement they hoped would bring a "free Russia." The class will then look in depth at American responses to the Russian revolutions of 1917, including the controversial U.S. intervention in the Russian Civil War and the refusal to recognize the Soviet government until 1933 -- a period some historians have called "the first Cold War." After briefly considering whether the U.S.-Soviet collaboration during the Second World War could have provided a foundation for postwar cooperation, the course will explore in detail how a conflict between the two superpowers widened into a global struggle between capitalist and socialist camps. Then the class will analyze how, after the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, superpower relations shifted back and forth between detente and confrontation until the Cold War finally ended in the late 1980s. Finally, the course will examine the reversion of America and Russia back to mutual demonization and hostility in the era of Vladimir Putin.

### **Learning Goals**

In this course students will be encouraged to: think critically about different interpretations of the Cold War; analyze information and images from a variety of sources; and improve their abilities to write concisely, clearly, and persuasively.

## **Requirements and Grading**

1. Attendance at lectures is required. Attendance will be recorded on sign-in sheets before the beginning of class. Since late arrivals are disruptive, students who arrive after the start of class (2:50 PM) will not be allowed to sign the roster. Students who arrive late may ask at the end of class to be marked "present."

Each student will be allowed three unexcused absences. Beyond that, **each unexcused absence will result in a deduction of 2% from the final course grade.** If the campus is open and classes are not canceled, absences will not be excused because of weather conditions. Absences will be excused on the basis of documentation (for example, a note from a doctor, dean, or coach).

Students will be expected to comply with the History Department's Classroom Etiquette Policy (see <http://history.rutgers.edu/undergraduate/academicpolicies>).

**Electronic devices may not be used during the class period for personal communication or entertainment. Students who use electronic devices for purposes unrelated to the class will be marked absent.** Please take care of your personal needs (including eating and using the restroom) before entering the classroom and plan to stay in the room until class has ended.

2. Completion of the assigned reading by the dates specified in this syllabus and informed participation in class discussions. **This will count for 10 % of your grade.**

3. Three short (5-6 page) essays on assigned topics. Each essay will compare different interpretations presented in required readings and develop critical responses to them. Essays that contain plagiarism (unacknowledged use of others' words or ideas) will not be accepted. For more information, see the Statement on Plagiarism at [history.rutgers.edu/undergraduate/AcademicPolicies](http://history.rutgers.edu/undergraduate/AcademicPolicies). The essays will be due on September 20, November 1, and December 11. **Each essay will count for 25 % of your grade.** Essays may not be submitted by e-mail.

4. Examination, November 20. Identification and discussion of the historical significance of ten individuals, events, etc. from a list of fifty. **The exam will count for 15 % of your grade.**

5. Grades will be assigned in accordance with the scale below. Since Rutgers University does not recognize minus grades and some plus grades, minus signs and some plus signs will be omitted from the final grades submitted for the course.

A+	97-100
A	93-96
A-	90-92
B+	87-89
B	83-86
B-	80-82
C+	77-79
C	73-76
C-	70-72
D+	67-69
D	63-66
D-	60-62
F	0-59

### **Required Reading**

1. The following books have been ordered through the Rutgers University Bookstore, One Penn Plaza, New Brunswick:  
Chen, Jian. Mao's China and the Cold War  
Fursenko, Aleksandr and T. Naftali, "One Hell of a Gamble": The Secret History of the Cuban Missile Crisis (Norton, 1997)  
Leffler, Melvyn P. For the Soul of Mankind: The United States, the Soviet Union, and the Cold War (Hill and Wang)  
Westad, Odd Arne. The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times (Cambridge University Press)

Copies of the assigned books will be available at the undergraduate reserve desk at Alexander Library.

2. Additional required readings have been placed on electronic reserve at Alexander Library. To access these articles and chapters, go to [www.libraries.rutgers.edu](http://www.libraries.rutgers.edu), click on "Find Reserves," type "Foglesong" in the search field and click on "instructor."

## **Schedule of Lectures and Reading Assignments**

Note: In order for lectures and discussions to be valuable, it is essential that students complete the **required reading** by the dates specified. Doing some of the **recommended reading** may enhance your essays.

### SEPTEMBER 4: INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE

#### **Recommended Reading:**

Odd Arne Westad, ed., Reviewing the Cold War: Approaches, Interpretations, Theory (2000), Introduction [E-Reserve]

### SEPTEMBER 6: AMERICAN-RUSSIAN RELATIONS, 1776-1917: THE ORIGINS OF AN AMERICAN DRIVE FOR A "FREE RUSSIA"

#### **Required Reading** [E-Reserve]:

Gaddis, Russia, the Soviet Union, and the United States, Chapter II  
Walter LaFeber, "The Turn of Russian-American Relations, 1880-1905," in A. O. Chubarian, et al, ed., Russkoe Otkrytie Ameriki (Moscow, 2002), 280-291.

#### **Recommended Reading:**

D. S. Foglesong, The American Mission and the "Evil Empire", Chapter 1 [E-Reserve]

### SEPTEMBER 11: ROOTS OF THE AMERICAN-SOVIET IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT

#### **Required Reading:**

M. Hunt, Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy, Ch. 4 [E-Reserve]  
J. Jacobson, When the Soviet Union Entered World Politics, Ch. 1 [E-Reserve]

Westad, The Global Cold War, Introduction and Chapters 1 and 2.

#### **Recommended Reading:**

A. Gleason, "Republic of Humbug: The Russian Nativist Critique of the United States, 1830-1930," American Quarterly, Vol. 44 (1992), 1-23. [E-Reserve]  
W. A. Williams, America Confronts a Revolutionary World: 1776-1976  
R. Debo, Revolution and Survival: The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia, 1917-1918 (1979)

SEPTEMBER 13: U.S. INTERVENTION IN THE RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR,  
1917-1920

**Required Reading** [E-Reserve]:

Gaddis, Russia, the Soviet Union, and the United States, Chapter III

G. F. Kennan, "American Troops in Russia: The True Record"

W. A. Williams, "American Intervention in Russia, 1917-1920"

President Wilson's Aide-Memoire on Intervention, July 1918 [on sakai]

**Recommended Reading:**

G. F. Kennan, The Decision to Intervene (1958)

D. S. Foglesong, America's Secret War Against Bolshevism (1995)

D. Foglesong, "Foreign Intervention," in E. Acton, ed., Critical Companion to the Russian Revolution, 1914-1921 (1997), 106-114. [E-reserve]

D. Davis and E. Trani, The First Cold War (2002)

SEPTEMBER 18: A COLD PEACE: NON-RECOGNITION, 1920-1933  
AND THE FAILURE OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY, 1933-1941

**Required Reading** [E-Reserve]:

Gaddis, Russia, the Soviet Union, and the United States, Ch. IV & V

**Recommended Reading:**

P. Filene, Americans and the Soviet Experiment, 1917-1933 (1967)

M.J. Carley, Silent Conflict: A Hidden History of Early Soviet-Western Relations (2014)

SEPTEMBER 20: "Cold War" (CNN Documentary): Ep. 1: "Comrades"  
**FIRST ESSAY DUE.**

SEPTEMBER 25: THE GRAND AND STRANGE ALLIANCE:  
AMERICAN-BRITISH-SOVIET COOPERATION IN WORLD WAR II

**Required Reading**

Gaddis, Russia, Soviet Union, and United States, Ch. VI [E-Reserve]

Frank Costigliola, Roosevelt's Lost Alliances: How Personal Politics Helped Start the Cold War (2012), Introduction and Chapter 6 [E-Reserve]

**Recommended Reading:**

Diane S. Clemens, Yalta (1970)

R. Levering, American Opinion and the Russian Alliance, 1939-1945

Vojtech Mastny, Russia's Road to the Cold War (1979)

SEPTEMBER 27: THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR IN EUROPE, 1945-8

**Required Reading:**

Leffler, For the Soul of Mankind, Introduction and Chapter I

**Recommended Reading:**

W. Hixson, George F. Kennan: Cold War Iconoclast (1989)

F. Harbutt, The Iron Curtain: Churchill, America, and the Origins of the Cold War (1986)

William Taubman, Stalin's American Policy

OCTOBER 2: *"Dawn"* (1988 documentary on atomic weapons)

*"Cold War": episode 2: "Iron Curtain"*

OCTOBER 4: ATOMIC WEAPONS & THE EARLY COLD WAR, 1945-53

**Required Reading:** [E-Reserve]

Michael D. Gordin, Red Cloud at Dawn: Truman, Stalin, and the End of the Atomic Monopoly (2009), Introduction and Chapter 1

George Orwell, "You and the Atomic Bomb" (October 19, 1945)

**Recommended Reading:**

G. Alperovitz, Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam

D. Holloway, Stalin and the Bomb: The Soviet Union and Atomic Energy, 1939-1956 (1994)

Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan, Introduction and Chapter 5

R. J. Maddox, ed., Hiroshima in History: The Myths of Revisionism, Introduction & Michael Kort, *"Racing the Enemy: A Critical Look"*

OCTOBER 9: THE COLD WAR IN ASIA, 1945-1950

**Required Reading:**

Jian Chen, Mao's China and the Cold War, pages 1-144.

**Recommended Reading:**

B. Cumings, The Origins of the Korean War (1990)

S. Goncharov, et al, Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao and the Korean War (1993)

Masuda Hajimu, Cold War Crucible: The Korean Conflict and the Postwar World (2015)

OCTOBER 11: THE KOREAN WAR

*"Battle for Korea"* (PBS Documentary, 2001); *"MacArthur"* (Documentary, 2001)

OCTOBER 16: FROM CONTAINMENT TO "LIBERATION," 1948-1953:  
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE IN THE EARLY COLD WAR  
*"Red Planet Mars" (1952) excerpts*

**Required Reading:**

W. Hixson, Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961 (1997), Introduction and Ch. 1 [E-Reserve]

Jian Chen, Mao's China and the Cold War, Chapter 6

**Recommended Reading:**

S. Lucas, Freedom's War: The American Crusade Against the Soviet Union (1999)

G. Mitrovich, Undermining the Kremlin (2000)

T. Shaw and D. Youngblood, Cinematic Cold War: The American and Soviet Struggle for Hearts and Minds (2010)

OCTOBER 18: CONFRONTATION AND DETENTE IN THE 1950s

**Required Reading:**

Leffler, For the Soul of Mankind, Chapter II

Jian Chen, Mao's China and the Cold War, Chapter 7

**Recommended Reading:**

V. Zubok and C. Pleshakov, Inside the Kremlin's Cold War, Ch. 6 and 7

W. Taubman, Khrushchev: The Man and His Era (2003)

OCTOBER 23: THE ARMS RACE AND SPACE RACE, 1953-1962

*"A Bigger Bang for the Buck" (1988 WGBH documentary)*

*"Cold War: Sputnik" (CNN documentary, 1998)*

**Recommended Reading:**

W. McDougall, The Heavens and the Earth: A Political History of the Space Age (1985)

R. Divine, The Sputnik Challenge: Eisenhower's Response to the Soviet Satellite (1993)

OCTOBER 25: THE COLD WAR IN LATIN AMERICA, 1953-1963

**Required Reading:**

Westad, The Global Cold War, Chapter 5

Fursenko and Naftali, "One Hell of a Gamble" (start)

**Recommended Reading:**

P. Gleijeses, Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States

T. Paterson, Contesting Castro (1994)

S. Rabe, The Most Dangerous Area in the World (1999)

OCTOBER 30: KENNEDY, KHRUSHCHEV, AND THE CUBAN CRISIS  
*"Cold War: Cuba 1959-1962"* (CNN Documentary)

**Required Reading:**

Leffler, For the Soul of Mankind, Chapter III  
Fursenko and Naftali, "One Hell of a Gamble" (finish)

**Recommended Reading:**

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Robert Kennedy and His Times (1978)  
Michael Dobbs, One Minute to Midnight (2008)

NOVEMBER 1: THE COLD WAR AND THE CONGO: *"Lumumba"* (Film)

**Recommended Reading:**

L. De Witte, The Assassination of Lumumba (2001)

**SECOND ESSAY DUE.**

NOVEMBER 6: THE COLD WAR IN AFRICA

**Required Reading:**

Westad, The Global Cold War, 131-143 and Chapters 6 and 7.

**Recommended Reading:**

T. Borstelmann, The Cold War and the Color Line (2001)  
P. Gleijeses, Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976

NOVEMBER 8: THE COLD WAR AND THE MIDDLE EAST

**Required Reading:**

S. Yaqub, Containing Arab Nationalism (2004), Introduction and Chapter 1 [E-Reserve]

Westad, The Global Cold War, 119-131 and Chapter 8.

**Recommended Reading:**

D. Little, American Orientalism

NOVEMBER 13: *"Cold War: Vietnam 1954-1968"* (CNN Documentary)

**Required Reading:**

Westad, The Global Cold War, 180-194.

**Recommended Reading:**

Ilya Gaiduk, The Soviet Union and the Vietnam War  
John Dumbrell, President Lyndon Johnson and Soviet Communism

NOVEMBER 15: THE VIETNAM WAR AND THE RISE OF DETENTE

*"Cold War: Detente 1969-1975"* (CNN Documentary, 1998)

*Film Clip: "The Russians Are Coming, The Russians Are Coming"*

**Required Reading:**

Jian Chen, Mao's China and the Cold War, Chapters 8 and 9

NOVEMBER 20: **EXAMINATION**



NOVEMBER 22: NO CLASS: THANKSGIVING DAY.

NOVEMBER 27: THE DEMISE OF DÉTENTE

**Required Reading:**

Leffler, For the Soul of Mankind, Chapter IV.

**Recommended Reading:**

R. Garthoff, Detente and Confrontation (1985)

Jonathan Haslam, Russia's Cold War: From the October Revolution to the Fall of the Wall (2011), Chapters 8-10

NOVEMBER 29: REAGAN AND A NEW COLD WAR

**Required Reading:**

P. Schweizer, Victory, Introduction [E-Reserve]

Westad, The Global Cold War, Chapter 9

**Recommended Reading:**

F. Fitzgerald, Way Out There in the Blue

J. Wilson, The Triumph of Improvisation: Gorbachev's Adaptability, Reagan's Engagement, and the End of the Cold War (2014)

DECEMBER 4: GORBACHEV AND SOVIET "NEW THINKING"

**Required Reading:**

Leffler, For the Soul of Mankind, Chapter V.

**Recommended Reading:**

R. D. English, Russia and the Idea of the West: Gorbachev, Intellectuals, and the End of the Cold War (2000)

DECEMBER 6: THE END OF THE COLD WAR

**Required Reading:**

Westad, The Global Cold War, Chapter 10 and Conclusion.

Leffler, For the Soul of Mankind, Conclusion.

**Recommended Reading:**

R. Garthoff, The Great Transition: American-Soviet Relations and the End of the Cold War (1994)

DECEMBER 11: A NEW COLD WAR?

**Recommended Reading:** [E-Reserve]

Stephen F. Cohen, Soviet Fates and Lost Alternatives: From Stalinism to the New Cold War (2011), Chapter 7: "Who Lost the Post-Soviet Peace?" pp. 162-198.

Kathryn Stoner and Michael McFaul, "Who Lost Russia (This Time)? Vladimir Putin," Washington Quarterly, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Summer 2015), 167-184.

**THIRD ESSAY DUE.**