

America, Russia, and the Cold War

History 512:354, Fall 2023

Tuesdays and Thursdays, 2:00-3:20 PM, Campbell Hall, Room A3

Professor David S. Foglesong

E-mail: dsfogle@history.rutgers.edu



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 21st 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 twenty-first century.

Learning Goals

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

Requirements and Grading

1. 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. The essays will be due on September 19, November 2, and December 7. **Each essay will count for 30% of your grade.** The printed essays must be submitted in class on the due dates.

2. Examination. November 21. Identification and discussion of the historical significance of ten individuals, events, etc. from a list of fifty. **The exam will count for 10% of your grade.**

3. Students who regularly participate actively in class discussions by raising and answering questions in ways that show they have completed the relevant required reading will have their grades for the course raised by one point at the end of the semester (for example, from B+ to A).

Office Hours

I will be available to meet students after class on Tuesdays and Thursdays or by appointment on Zoom. Please email me if you would like to set a time to meet on Zoom.

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)

2. Additional required readings have been placed on the Canvas site for the course, under the Reading List heading.

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 5: INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE

Recommended Reading:

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

John Mueller, "What Was the Cold War About? Evidence from Its Ending," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 199, No. 4 (2004-5), 609-631.

Stephen Kotkin, "The Cold War Never Ended: Ukraine, the China Challenge, and the Revival of the West," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 101, No. 3 (May/June 2002), 64-78.

SEPTEMBER 7: AMERICAN-RUSSIAN RELATIONS, 1776-1917: THE ORIGINS OF AN AMERICAN DRIVE FOR A "FREE RUSSIA"

Required Reading [Canvas]:

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 [Canvas]

SEPTEMBER 12: ROOTS OF THE AMERICAN-RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN-SOVIET IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT

Required Reading:

M. Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Ch. 4 [Canvas]

J. Jacobson, *When the Soviet Union Entered World Politics*, Ch. 1 [Canvas]

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. [Canvas]

W. A. Williams, *America Confronts a Revolutionary World: 1776-1976*

SEPTEMBER 14: U.S. INTERVENTION IN THE RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR,
1917-1920

Required Reading [Canvas]:

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

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. [Canvas]

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

SEPTEMBER 19: A COLD PEACE: NON-RECOGNITION, 1920-1933
AND THE FAILURE OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY, 1933-1941

Required Reading [Canvas]:

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)

Recommended Viewing: "Cold War" (CNN): Episode 1: "Comrades."
Watch the documentary on YouTube.

FIRST ESSAY DUE.

SEPTEMBER 21: THE GRAND AND STRANGE ALLIANCE:
AMERICAN-BRITISH-SOVIET COOPERATION IN WORLD WAR II

Required Reading [Canvas]

Gaddis, *Russia, Soviet Union, and United States*, Ch. VI

Frank Costigliola, *Roosevelt's Lost Alliances: How Personal Politics*

Helped Start the Cold War (2012), Introduction and Chapter 6

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 26: FROM ALLIES TO ADVERSARIES IN EUROPE,
1945-1948

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*

Recommended Viewing: CNN "Cold War": episode 2: "Iron Curtain"

SEPTEMBER 28: THE PRESS AND THE MAKING OF "THE COLD WAR":
WORDS AND IMAGES, 1945-1950

Required Reading:

Les Adler and Thomas Paterson, "Red Fascism: The Merger of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in the American Image of Totalitarianism, 1930s-1950s," *American Historical Review*, VI. 75, No. 4 (April 1970), 1046-1064. [Canvas]

Masuda Hajimu, *Cold War Crucible: The Korean Conflict and the Postwar World* (2015), Introduction [Canvas]

Recommended Viewing: "The Russian Question" (1948)

OCTOBER 3: ATOMIC WEAPONS & THE EARLY COLD WAR, 1945-53

Required Reading: [Canvas]

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 [Canvas]

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

OCTOBER 5: THE COLD WAR IN EAST ASIA, 1945-1950

Required Reading:

Jian Chen, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, pages 1-84.

Recommended Reading:

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

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

OCTOBER 10: THE KOREAN WAR

Watch "Battle for Korea" (PBS Documentary, 2001)

Required Reading:

Jian Chen, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, Chapter 4

Recommended Viewing: "Cold War" (CNN), Episode 5: "Korea."

OCTOBER 12: FROM CONTAINMENT TO "LIBERATION," 1948-1953:
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE IN THE EARLY COLD WAR

Watch last part of "Red Planet Mars" (1952)

Required Reading:

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

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 17: THE COLD WAR AND SOUTH ASIA, 1947-1974

Required Reading: [Canvas]

Odd Arne Westad, *The Cold War: A World History* (2017), Chapter 16:
"The Cold War and India," pages 423-448.

Vojtech Mastny, "The Soviet Union's Partnership with India," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Summer 2010), 50-90.

Recommended Reading:

Paul McGarr, *The Cold War in South Asia: Britain, the United States and the Indian Subcontinent, 1945-1965* (2013)

OCTOBER 19: 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*, Chapters 6 and 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 24: THE ARMS RACE AND SPACE RACE, 1953-1962

Watch "Cold War" (CNN), Episode 8: "Sputnik."

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 26: 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 31: KENNEDY, KHRUSHCHEV, AND THE CUBAN CRISIS

Watch "Cold War" (CNN), Episode 10: "Cuba 1959-1962"

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 2: 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)

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

P. Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976*

Recommended Viewing: "Lumumba" (Film, 2000, free on YouTube)

SECOND ESSAY DUE.

NOVEMBER 7: THE COLD WAR AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Required Reading:

S. Yaqub, *Containing Arab Nationalism* (2004), Introduction and Chapter 1 [Canvas]

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

Recommended Reading:

D. Little, *American Orientalism*

Matthew Connelly, "Taking Off the Cold War Lens," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 105, No. 3 (June 2000), 739-769.

NOVEMBER 9: THE VIETNAM WAR AND THE RISE OF DÉTENTE

Required Reading:

Westad, *The Global Cold War*, 180-194.

Jian Chen, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, Chapters 5, 8, and 9

Recommended Reading:

Ilya Gaiduk, *The Soviet Union and the Vietnam War*

Recommended Viewing:

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

"The Russians Are Coming, The Russians Are Coming"

NOVEMBER 14: THE DEMISE OF DÉTENTE

Required Reading:

Leffler, *For the Soul of Mankind*, Chapter IV.

Recommended Reading:

R. Garthoff, *Detente and Confrontation* (1985)

NOVEMBER 16: REAGAN AND A NEW COLD WAR

Required Reading:

P. Schweizer, *Victory*, Introduction [Canvas]

Westad, *The Global Cold War*, Chapter 9

George F. Kennan, "The G.O.P. Won the Cold War? Ridiculous." *New York Times*, October 28, 1992. [Canvas]

Recommended Reading:

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

Recommended Viewing:

"Cold War: "Star Wars" (CNN)

NOVEMBER 21: EXAMINATION

NOVEMBER 23: NO CLASS. THANKSGIVING RECESS.

NOVEMBER 28: 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)

NOVEMBER 30: CITIZEN ACTIVISM AND THE OVERCOMING OF
SOVIET-AMERICAN HOSTILITY

Required Reading: [Canvas]

Matthias Neumann, "Children Diplomacy during the late Cold War: Samantha Smith's visit of the 'Evil Empire'" in *History*, Vol. 104 No. 360 (2019), 275-308.

D.S. Foglesong, "When the Russians Really Were Coming: Citizen Diplomacy and the End of Cold War Enmity in America," *Cold War History*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (2020).

Recommended Reading:

David Cortright, *Peace Works: The Citizen's Role in Ending the Cold War* (1993)

DECEMBER 5: 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 7: AFTERMATH OF THE COLD WAR:

RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE 1990s

Required Reading:

William H. Hill, *No Place for Russia: European Security Institutions Since 1989* (2018), Introduction and Chapter 5 [Ebook at libraries.rutgers.edu]

M. E. Sarotte, *Not One Inch: America, Russia, and the Making of Post-Cold War Stalemate* (2021), Introduction. [Ebook at libraries.rutgers.edu]

Recommended Reading:

Ivo H. Daalder and Michael E. O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly: NATO's War to Save Kosovo* (1999)

THIRD ESSAY DUE.

DECEMBER 12: "A NEW COLD WAR"

Recommended Reading: [Canvas]

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.