

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Department of Politics and International Relations

Honour School of Philosophy, Politics, and Economics
Honour School of History and Politics

International Relations in the Era of the Cold War (Paper 213)

Academic Year 2016-17

Course Provider: Dr Jonathan Leader Maynard (New College)

In addition to staff members, certain graduate students and others may teach the course: their names and colleges are listed on the *Tutorial Register*, which is available on the DPIR web site.

Syllabus

The formal syllabus in the Examination Decrees and Regulations states that candidates will be expected to show knowledge of:

‘The relations among the major powers, 1945-91, including domestic and external factors shaping foreign policy: the origins and course of the Cold War including détente and the end of the Cold War; East-West relations in Europe, with particular reference to the foreign policies of France and the Federal Republic of Germany; European integration; the external relations of China and Japan, particularly with the Soviet Union and the United States; the Soviet Union’s relations with eastern Europe; decolonization and conflict in the developing world.’

Content and structure of the reading list:

The main phases of superpower relations:

1. Origins of the Cold War (1945-53)
2. Cold War, Peaceful Co-existence, and Containment (1953-68)
3. Cold War and Détente (1969-85)
4. The End of the Cold War (1985-91)

Area-related topics:

5. China (1949-91)
6. Japan (1952-91)
7. France, Germany, and East-West Relations in Europe (1945-91)
8. European integration (1945-91)
9. Decolonization and the International Economic Order (1945-91)
10. The Soviet Union’s Relations with Eastern Europe (1945-91)
11. The Middle East (1945-91)
12. South-East Asia (1945-91)

Objectives

The era mainly defined by east-west tension was also one in which decolonization transformed the international system. It has always generated writing of high quality, which was been further enlivened by the steady release of new archive material. The paper gives students the opportunity to assess the international relations of a transformative and often dangerous era. This paper links strongly with the Politics ‘core’ ‘International Relations’ course by providing an empirical referent for many of Paper 214’s theoretical approaches, and historical background for its treatment of the

post-1990 world. In addition, the paper links back to the Further Subject 'International Relations in the Era of Two World Wars' [Paper 212], especially as many post-war statesmen were deliberately seeking to avoid the mistakes of that earlier period.

Teaching arrangements

A series of lectures will be given in Michaelmas Term and the early weeks of Hilary Term on topics related to those of this reading list. In addition, the minority of students who have not taken the International Relations core paper [Paper 214] may find it useful to attend the lectures for that paper, given in both Michaelmas and Hilary Terms, in order to be introduced to relevant concepts and theories. A number of other lectures, given for other papers and/or by visiting scholars, may also be useful for parts of this paper. Most students will have eight tutorials (groups, generally, of from one to three pupils, meeting with a tutor), during which questions are discussed and debated. Many students will cover topics 1-4 to obtain an overview of the period and then pick four of the eight area-related topics. They are normally expected to produce 6 essays for their tutorials, and to be prepared to offer an oral presentation in weeks in which they are not writing essays.

Course assessment

The course is assessed by means of a three-hour unseen examination according to the provisions set out in the *Examination Decrees and Regulations*, a copy of which has been issued to each undergraduate. Further details are available in the *PPE Handbook*, and *Essential Information for Students*, copies of which have also been issued to each undergraduate and are also available on the DPIP's web site.

Notes on Reading List:

- i) This is a course with an unusually rich literature. Therefore, to prevent students chasing the same items, and to minimize the arbitrary exclusion of meritorious books and articles, each topic list contains many more items than you can be expected to read.
- ii) Items marked * or ** are specially recommended; **those in bold are new to the list and are flagged up to help libraries.**
- iii) Periodicals: abbreviations are as follows:

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|---------------|--|
| <i>CQ</i> | <i>China Quarterly</i> |
| <i>CS</i> | <i>Comparative Strategy</i> |
| <i>CWIHPB</i> | <i>Cold War International History Project Bulletin</i> (online at cwihp@si.edu) |
| <i>DH</i> | <i>Diplomatic History</i> |
| <i>EHQ</i> | <i>European Historical Quarterly</i> |
| <i>FA</i> | <i>Foreign Affairs</i> |
| <i>FP</i> | <i>Foreign Policy</i> |
| <i>HJ</i> | <i>Historical Journal</i> |
| <i>IA</i> | <i>International Affairs</i> |
| <i>IJ</i> | <i>International Journal</i> |
| <i>IS</i> | <i>International Security</i> |
| <i>IO</i> | <i>International Organization</i> |
| <i>JAH</i> | <i>Journal of American History</i> |
| <i>JCH</i> | <i>Journal of Contemporary History</i> |
| <i>JCR</i> | <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> |
| <i>JCWS</i> | <i>Journal of Cold War Studies</i> |
| <i>JEIH</i> | <i>Journal of European Integration History</i> |
| <i>JP</i> | <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> |
| <i>JSS</i> | <i>Journal of Strategic Studies</i> |
| <i>O</i> | <i>Orbis</i> |
| <i>PR</i> | <i>Pacific Review</i> |
| <i>POC</i> | <i>Problems of Communism</i> |

| | |
|------------|--|
| <i>PSQ</i> | <i>Political Science Quarterly</i> |
| <i>RIS</i> | <i>Review of International Studies</i> |
| <i>S</i> | <i>Survival</i> |
| <i>WEP</i> | <i>West European Politics</i> |
| <i>WP</i> | <i>World Politics</i> |
| <i>WT</i> | <i>World Today</i> |

iv) Major works of reference and documentation:

International Institute of Strategic Studies publications:

Adelphi Papers

The Military Balance

Strategic Survey

Foreign Relations of the United States (multi-volume collection of documents)

Documents on British Policy Overseas (multi-volume collection of documents)

(Similar collections of documents exist for other major countries, eg France and Germany, as well)

Preparatory Reading

For a short introduction, see: Harper, John Lamberton, *The Cold War* (2011)

For comprehensive accounts, particularly recommended are:

**Leffler, Melvyn., and Westad, Odd Arne (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, 3 vols, 2010*: vol 1 is 'Origins', vol.2 'Crises and Détente', and Vol.3 'Endings'

**Dunbabin, John P.D., *International Relations since 1945, 1994/2008*

Vol.1 *The Cold War: the Great Powers and their Allies*

Vol.2 *The Post-Imperial Age: the Great Powers and the Wider World*

Other surveys:

* Ball, S. J., *The Cold War: An International History, 1947-1991*, 1998

*Hanhimaki, Jussi, *The Cold War: a History in Documents and Eye Witness Accounts* (2014)

*Leffler, Melvyn P, *For the Soul of Mankind: the United States, the Soviet Union and the Cold War*, 2007 (good but selective)

*Lundestad, Geir, *East, West, North, South: Major Developments in International Politics, 1945-1990*, 6th ed 2010

*Keylor, William R., *A World of Nations: The International Order Since 1945*, 2nd ed 2009

*Reynolds, David, *One World Divisible: a Global History since 1945*, 2001

For more analytical or thematic treatment, it is helpful to read at least one of:

*Woods, Ngaire ed., *Explaining International Relations since 1945*, 1996

*Nye, Joseph S., Jr., *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History*, 1994

*Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy*, 1994

**Westad, O A, *Global Cold War: third world interventions and the making of our times*, 2005

1. Origins of the Cold War 1945-53

(a) To what extent can the deterioration of superpower relations from 1945 to 1953 be explained at the level of the international system?

(b) Do you agree that the two key episodes in the early evolution of the Cold War were the Marshall Plan and the Korean War?

(c) In explaining the early stages of the Cold War, how much importance should be attached to countries other than the USA and the USSR?

(d) Was the partition of Germany the main cause, or the main consequence, of the Cold War?

For all questions:

DePorte, A.W., *Europe between the Superpowers*, 1990

*Engerman, David, 'Ideology and the Origins of the Cold War', in Leffler, M. and Westad, O. A., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol.1 (2010)

**Gaddis, John Lewis, 'The Emerging Post-Revisionist Synthesis on the Origins of the Cold War', *Diplomatic History*, 1983

*Gaddis, John Lewis, *The Cold War*, 2005 *or* *We Now Know. Rethinking Cold War History*, 1997

*Gould-Davies, Nigel, 'Rethinking the Role of Ideology in International Politics during the Cold War', *JCWS*, 1999

Hopf, Ted. *Reconstructing the Cold War: the Early Years 1955-58* (2012)

Kramer, Mark, 'Ideology and the Cold War', *RIS*, 1999

**Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol.1 esp. chs 2, 4-5

Leffler, Melvyn P., and Painter, David S. eds, *Origins of the Cold War: An International History*, 1994/ 2005

Leffler, Melvyn P., *The Specter of Communism: The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1917-53*, 1994

Leffler, Melvyn P., *The Struggle for Germany and the Origins of the Cold War* P. Xerox 281 – German Historical Institute, Washington, Occasional Paper no. 16 – 1996

Senarclens, Pierre de, *From Yalta to the Iron Curtain: the Great Powers and the Origins of the Cold War*, 1995

*Wohlforth, William C., *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions during the Cold War* (1993)

USSR

*Gaiduk, Ilya, 'Stalin: Three Approaches to One Phenomenon' [review article], *DH*, 1999

*Gati, Charles, 'Hegemony and Repression in the Eastern Alliance', in Leffler, *Origins*

*Haslam, Jonathan, *Russia's Cold War: From the October Revolution to the Fall of the Wall*, 2011 chs 2-4

Hasanli, Jamil, *Stalin and the Turkish Crisis of the Cold War, 1945-1953* (2011, p/n 2013)

*Leffler, Melvyn, 'Inside Enemy Archives: the Cold War reopened', *FA* 75, 1996

MacDonald, Douglas J., 'Communist Bloc Expansion in the Early Cold War: Challenging Realism, Refuting Revisionism', *IS*, 20, 1995-96

*Mark, Eduard, 'Revolution by Degrees: Stalin's National-Front Strategy for Europe, 1941-1947', *CWIHP Working Paper* no. 31

Mastny, Vojtech, *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity. The Stalin Years*, 1996

McCauley, M.M. ed., *Communist Power in Europe, 1944-1949*, 1979

Nevakivi, Jukka, 'Finland and the Cold War', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 10, 1985

Petchanov, Vladimir, '“The Allies are Pressing on You to Break Your Will” ... Foreign Policy Correspondence between Stalin and Molotov ,Sept. 1945 – Dec. 1946', *CWIHP Working Paper* no. 26

Parish, Scott D., and Narinsky, Mikhail, 'New Evidence on the Soviet Rejection of the Marshall Plan, 1947', *CWIHP Working Paper* no. 9

Roberts, Geoffrey, *Stalin's wars: from world war to cold war, 1939-1953*, 2006

Westad, Odd Arne ed., *The Soviet Union in Eastern Europe, 1945-89*, 1994

*Zubok, Vladislav, and Pleshakov, Constantine, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev*, 1996

USA

Anslover, Nicole J., *Harry S. Truman: the Coming of the Cold War* (2014)

Cox, M., and Kennedy-Pipers, C., 'The Tragedy of American Diplomacy? Rethinking the Marshall Plan', *JCWS* 7, 2005

*Gaddis, John L., *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War 1941-1947*, 1972

- **Gaddis, John L., *Strategies of Containment: a critical Appraisal of post-War American national Security Policy*, 1982 (a classic)
- **Jervis, Robert, 'Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?', *JCWS*, 3 2001.
- *Leffler, Melvyn P., *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War*, 1992
- Mark, Eduard, 'American Policy towards Europe and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-6. An Alternative Interpretation', *JAH*, 1981
- Paterson, Thomas G., *Meeting the Communist Threat: Truman to Reagan*, 1989 edn

Mainly for (b):

- Chen, Jian, *China's Road to the Korean War: the Making of the Sino-American Confrontation*, 1994
- Christenson, Thomas, *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilisation and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958*, 1996
- Foot, Rosemary, 'Making Known the Unknown War' *DH* 153, Summer 1991
- Hogan, Michael J., *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952*, 1987
- *Jervis, Robert, 'The Impact of the Korean War on the Cold War' *JCR* Dec.1980.
- Kaufman, Burton I., *The Korean War: Challenges in Crisis, Credibility and Command*, 1997
- Lee, Steven Hugh, *The Korean War*, 2001
- Milward, Alan S., 'Was the Marshall Plan Necessary?', *DH*, 1989
- Shen, Zhihua, 'Sino-Soviet Relations and the Origins of the Korean War: Stalin's Strategic Goals in the Far East', *JCWS* ii 2000
- Stueck, W.W., *The Korean War: An International History*, 1995
- *Weathersby, Kathryn, "Should we Fear This?" *Stalin and the Danger of War with America* [Korean War] *CWIHP Working paper* no. 39.
- Zubok, V., and Pleshakov, C., *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War*, 1996

Mainly for (c) and (d):

- Becker, Josef, and Knipping, Franz, *Power in Europe: Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany in a Postwar World, 1945-1950* 1986.
- Deighton, Anne ed., *Britain and the First Cold War*, 1990
- **Deighton, Anne, 'The Cold War in Europe, 1945-1947: Three Approaches' in Woods *Explaining International Relations*
- Deighton, Anne, *The Impossible Peace: Britain, the Division of Germany and the Origins of the Cold War*, 1990/1993 or her chapter in her *Britain and the First Cold War*, 1990
- *DePorte, A.W., *Europe Between the Superpowers*, 1990
- Kuniholm, Bruce R., *The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East*, 1980
- *Lundestad, Geir, 'Empire by Invitation? The United States and Western Europe, 1945-52', *JP*, 23, 1986
- Mark, Eduard, 'The War Scare of 1946 and its Consequences', *DH*, 1997
- Nachmani, A., 'Civil War and Foreign Intervention in Greece, 1946-49', *JCH*, 1990
- Naimark, Norman, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949*, 1995
- Raack, R.C., 'Stalin Plans his Post-War Germany', *JCH*, 1993
- *Reynolds, David ed., *The Origins of the Cold War in Europe*, 1994
- *Reynolds, David, 'The Origins of the Cold War: the European Dimension, 1944-51', *HJ* 1985
- Shlaim, Avi, 'The Partition of Germany and the Origins of the Cold War', *Review of International Studies*, 1985.

2. Cold War, 'Peaceful Coexistence', and Containment 1953-68

- (a) 'A policy of increasing ambition yet declining credibility.' Discuss this view of Western containment policy, 1953-68.

- (b) What did Khrushchev's policy of "peaceful coexistence" amount to in practice?
- (c) Did West Germany's entry into NATO produce an easing of East-West tensions; if so, when and why?
- (d) Why did so much seem to be at stake over Cuba?

For all questions:

- *Beschloss, Michael, *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev*, 1991
- Fink, Carole ed, *1956: European and global perspectives*, 2006
- Fink, Carole, *1968: The world transformed*, 1998
- Gaddis, John Lewis, 'Grand Strategies in the Cold War,' in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.2*.
- Gray, Colin S., 'Strategy in the Nuclear Age: The United States, 1945-91', in Murray, Williamson, Knox, MacGregor, Bernstein, Alwin, *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States and War*, 1994
- Keal, Paul, *Unspoken Rules and Superpower Dominance*, 1983
- Lebow, Richard Ned, and Stein, Janice G., *We All Lost the Cold War*, 1994
- Trachtenberg, Marc, *A Constructed Peace: the Making of the European Settlement 1945-1963*, 1999
- *Stevenson, R.W., *The Rise and Fall of Détente*, 1985
- **Waltz, Kenneth, 'The Stability of a Bipolar World', *Daedalus*, 1964

Mainly for (a):

- **Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.1* , ch.14; vol.2 , ch.6
- *Gaddis, John L., Gaddis, John L., *Strategies of Containment: a Critical Appraisal of post-War American National Security Policy*, 1982
- *Gaddis, John L., *The Long Peace*, 1987
- Gaddis, John L., *We Now Know*, 1998
- Bury, Helen, *Eisenhower and the Cold War Arms Race* (2014)
- Deighton, Anne, 'A Different 1956: British Responses to the Polish Events, June-November, 1956', *CWH*, 6/4, November 2006
- Colman, Jonathan, *The Foreign Policy of Lyndon Baines Johnson: The United States and the Cold War, 1963-1969* (2010, p/b 2012)
- Paterson, Thomas G., *Meeting the Communist Threat: Truman to Reagan*, 1988
- Immerman, Richard H. ed., *John Foster Dulles and the Diplomacy of the Cold War*, 1990
- *EITHER Paterson, Thomas G. ed., *Kennedy's Quest for Victory: American Foreign Policy, 1961-1963*, 1989
- *OR Freedman, Lawrence, *Kennedy's Wars: Berlin, Cuba, Laos and Vietnam*, 2000
- Fish, M. Steven, 'After Stalin's Death. The Anglo-American Debate over a New Cold War', *DH* 10, 1986
- Articles on 'Containment: 40 Years Later', *FA*, Spring 1987
- *Kissinger, Henry, 'Reflections on Containment', *FA* 73, 1994

Mainly for (b):

- *Haslam, Jonathan, *Russia's Cold War: From the October Revolution to the Fall of the Wall*, 2011 ch. 5-7 (particularly good on Khrushchev)
- *Zubok, Vladislav, and Pleshakov, C, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev*, 1996
- Mastny, Vojtech, *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity: The Stalin Years*, 1996; ch. 10
- Taubman, William, *Khrushchev: the man and his era*, 2003, chs 13-19
- Kramer, Mark, 'The early Post-Stalin Succession Struggle and Upheavals in East-Central Europe: Internal-External Linkages in Soviet Foreign Policy', *JCWS*, 1999
- Nordlander, David, 'Khrushchev's Image in the Light of Glasnost and Perestroika', *Russian Review* 52, 1993

**Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol.2 ch.7
 Evangelista, Matthew, “*Why Keep Such an Army?*”: *Khrushchev’s Troop Reductions*, CWIHP
Working Paper no. 19 1997
 Zaloga, Steven, *Target America: the Soviet Union and the Arms Race, 1945-64* 1993
 OR Holloway, David, *The Soviet Union and the Arms Race* 1984
 *Heikal, Mohammed, *Sphinx and Commissar: The Rise and Fall of Soviet Influence on the Arab
 World* 1978, esp. pp.57-9 and chs. 3-7
 *Beschloss, Michael, *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev, 1960-1963* 1991

Mainly for (c):

Bischof, Gunther and Saki Dockrill (eds), *Cold War Respite: the Geneva Summit of 1955*, 2000
 *Hanrieder, Wolfram ed., *West German Foreign Policy 1949-79* 1980; chs. by Calleo ‘Germany
 and the Balance of Power’, Schwarz ‘Adenauer’s Ostpolitik’, Willis ‘Germany, France, and
 Europe’
 Adomeit, Hannes, *Imperial Overstretch: Germany in Soviet Policy from Stalin to Gorbachev* 1998,
 esp. Part 2
 *Garton Ash, Timothy, *In Europe’s Name. Germany and the Divided Continent* 1993. Prologue and
 chs. 1-3.
 *Gaddis, John Lewis, *We Now Know* 1997, ch. 5.
 Schwarz, Hans-Peter, *Adenauer*, Vol. 2, *The Statesman*. R.F01229
 Richardson, James L., *Crisis Diplomacy. The Great Powers since the Mid-Nineteenth Century* 1994,
 ch. 9.
 Freedman, Lawrence, *Kennedy’s Wars: Berlin, Cuba, Laos and Vietnam* 2000 - on Berlin
 Allard, Sven, *Russia and the Austrian State Treaty: A Case Study of Soviet Policy in Europe* 1970

Mainly for (d):

*George, Alice L., *The Cuban Missile Crisis: The Threshold of Nuclear War* (2013)
 Freedman, Lawrence, *Kennedy’s Wars: Berlin, Cuba, Laos and Vietnam* 2000
 *Fursenko, A., and Naftali, T., *One Hell of a Gamble: Khrushchev, Kennedy, Castro and the Cuban
 Missile Crisis, 1958-1964*, 1997
 *Scott, L., and Hughes, R. G., *The Cuban Missile Crisis A Critical Reappraisal* (2015)
 *Gaddis, John Lewis, *We Now Know* 1997/98, ch. 9
 *White, Mark J. ed., *The Cuban Missile Crisis*, 1996
 White, Mark J. ed., *The Kennedys and Cuba: The declassified Documentary History*, 1999
 Nathan, James A. ed., *The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited*, 1992
 Williamson, Edwin, *The Penguin History of Latin America*, 1992, esp. ch. 12
 Dunbabin, J.P.D., *The Post-Imperial Age*, 1994, ch. 16
 Patterson, Thomas G. ed., *Kennedy’s Quest for Victory*, 1989
 CWIHP *Bulletin* 5 1995, ‘Cold War Crises’, section on Cuba.
 Chang, Laurence, and Kornbluh, Peter, *The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962: A National Security Archive
 Documents Reader*, 1992
 Khrushchev, Nikita, *Khrushchev Remembers: The Glasnost Tapes* 1990, ch. 7
 Kissinger, Henry, *White House Years*, 1979
 Betts, Richard K., *Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance*, 1987

3. Cold War and Détente 1969-85

- (a) What did détente achieve?
- (b) Was Kissinger’s détente policy a fundamental change in America’s post-war foreign policy?
- (c) What was the contribution of the USSR to the rise and fall of détente, 1969-85?
- (d) ‘Détente was both promoted and undermined by domestic political considerations.’ Discuss.

Context

*Leffler, Melvyn P, *For the Soul of Mankind: the United States, the Soviet Union and the Cold War*, 2007

**Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol.2, chs. 6-7, 10

Mainly for (a):

*Bowker, Mike, and Williams, P, *Superpower Détente: A Reappraisal*, 1988

*Davy, Richard ed., *European Détente: A Reappraisal*, 1992

*Garthoff, Raymond, *Détente and Confrontation*, 1994 edn

*Hanhimäki, Jussi M. "Détente in Europe, 1962-75," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol.2.

*Ludlow, N Piers ed, *European Integration and the Cold War*, 2007

Stevenson, R.W., *The Rise and Fall of Détente*, 1985

White, Brian, 'The Concept of Détente', *RIS*, 1981

Mainly for (b) and (d):

Alvandi, Roham, *Nixon, Kissinger and the Shah* (2014)

Bell, Coral, 'Kissinger in Retrospect: The Diplomacy of Power Concert', *IA* 53 1977.

*Bull, Hedley, 'Kissinger: The Primacy of Geopolitics', *IA* 56 1980.

Burr, William ed., *The Kissinger Transcripts: the Top Secret Talks with Beijing and Moscow* 1999 , esp. chs. 5, 7

*Dallek, Robert, *Nixon and Kissinger: Partners in Power*, 2007

Friedberg, A.L., 'The Evolution of US Strategic Doctrine, 1945-80', in Huntingdon, S.P. ed., *The Strategic Imperative: New Policies for American Security* 1982.[Bod M01.E16338]

Gray, Colin S., 'Strategy in the Nuclear Age: The United States, 1945-1991', in Murray, Williamson, Knox, MacGregor, and Bernstein, Alvin, *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States and War*, 1994

Hersh, Seymour M., *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House*, 1983

*Isaacson, Walter, *Kissinger: a Biography*, 1993

Kissinger, Henry, 'NATO: The Next Thirty Years' and rejoinder by McGeorge Bundy, *Survival* 21 1979.

*Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy* 1994; cf. also Kissinger's memoirs – *The White House Years* 1979; *Years of Upheaval* 1982; *Years of Renewal* 1999)

Mann, Jim, *About Face. A History of America's Curious Relationship with China from Nixon to Clinton*, 2000

Mainly for (c) and (d):

Bluth, Christoph, 'The Evolution of Soviet Military Doctrine', *Survival* 30, 1988

Gaddis, John Lewis, *The Long Peace*, 1987 ch.8

Garton Ash, Timothy, *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent*, 1993

Gelman, Harry, *The Brezhnev Politburo and the Decline of Détente*, 1984

Haslam, Jonathan, *Russia's Cold War: From the October Revolution to the Fall of the Wall*, 2011, ch. 8-10

Heuser, Beatrice, 'Warsaw Pact Military Doctrines in the 1970s and 1980s: Findings in the East German Archives', *CS*, xii 1993

MccGwire, Michael, *Military Objectives in Soviet Foreign Policy*, 1987

Nelson, Keith L., *The Making of Détente: Soviet-American Relations in the Shadow of Vietnam*, 1995

Pry, Peter V., *War Scare. Russia and America on the Nuclear Brink* 1999

*Westad, Odd Arne ed., *The Fall of Détente: Soviet-American Relations in the Carter Years* , 1997

White, Brian, *Britain, Détente and Changing East-West Relations*, 1992

*Wohlforth, William C., *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions during the Cold War*, 1993 & comments in Kramer, 'Ideology and the Cold War', *RIS*, 1999

4. The End of the Cold War

- (a) What factors led to the end of the Cold War?
- (b) How and why did the Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe collapse?
- (c) Why did the Cold War end so comparatively peacefully?
- (d) 'The Cold War was ended by the belief in two fallacies: that America's Strategic Defense Initiative was technologically feasible; and that the Soviet Union was politically reformable.' Discuss.

For all questions:

- Baker, James A., and DeFrank, T.M., *The Politics of Diplomacy: Revolution, War and Peace 1989-92*, 1995
- Beschloss, Michael R., and Talbott, Strobe, *At the Highest Levels: The Inside Story of the End of the Cold War*, 1993
- Booth, Ken, and Cox, Michael, *The Interregnum: Controversies in World Politics 1989-1999* 1999, or in *RIS* 25, December 1999
- Bowker, Mike, and Brown, Robin, *From Cold War to Collapse: Theory and World Politics in the 1980s*, 1993 chs. 2, 4
- Bozo, Frédéric, 'Mitterrand's France, the End of the Cold War, and German Unification: A Reappraisal', *CWH*, 7:4, 2007
- Breslauer, George, and Tetlock, Phillip, eds., *Learning in US and Soviet Foreign Policy 1991 Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe*, Final Act HMSO, London, August 1975
- *Cox, Michael, 'Rethinking the End of the Cold War', *RIS*, 20(2), 1994
- *Deudney, Daniel, and Ikenberry, John G, 'The International Sources of Soviet Change', *IS*, Winter 1991/2.
- **English, Robert D., 'Power, Ideas, and New Evidence on the Cold War's End', *IS*, 2002
- Judt, Tony, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*, 2005, chapter XIX, 'The End of the Old Order'
- Fukayama, Francis, 'The End of History', *The National Interest*, Washington DC, 16, Summer 1989
- *Gaddis, John L., 'International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War', *IS*, Winter 1992/3
- *Garthoff, Raymond, *The Great Transition: American-Soviet Relations and the End of the Cold War*, 1994
- *Haas, Mark L. *The Ideological Origins of Great Power Politics: 1789-1989*, 2005, ch. 6
- *Hogan, Michael J. ed., *The End of the Cold War*, 1992
- Jervis, Robert, 'The End of the Cold War on the Cold War?', *DH*, XVII, 4, 1993
- *Lebow, Richard Ned, and Risse-Kappen, T. eds., *International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War*, 1995
- Lebow, Richard Ned, 'The Rise and Fall of the Cold War in Comparative Perspective', in Booth, **Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol.3, chs 12-14, 17, 23,24.
- Ludlow, N Piers et al, *Europe and the End of the Cold War: A Reappraisal*, 2008
- *Mueller, John, 'What was the Cold War about? Evidence from its Ending', *PSQ*, Winter 2004/5
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5. China, 1949-91

(a) Why did China fight some wars but avoid others, 1949-91?

(b) Where should one look for the springs of Chinese foreign policy, 1949-91?

(c) 'Both negatively and positively, the US has been at the centre of China's foreign-policy concerns post 1949.' Discuss.

(d) Can 'realism' explain the Sino-Soviet relationship, 1946-91?

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*Shambaugh, David, *Beautiful Imperialist: China Perceives America, 1972-1990* 1991.
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6. Japan 1952-91

(a) How well did Japan's "dependent independence" serve its own interests and how well those of the United States, 1952-91?

(b) Did Japan's economic power compensate for its diplomatic weakness, 1952-91?

(c) Does the survival, throughout the Cold War of the US-Japanese alliance of 1951, despite trade conflicts between the two allies, indicate there is a hierarchy of issues in international relations?

(d) Why was there no Japanese challenge to US political hegemony 1952-1991?

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7. France, Germany, and East-West Relations in Europe, 1945-91

- (a) Who managed French foreign and defence policy more effectively: the leaders of the Fourth Republic or President de Gaulle?
- (b) How far did de Gaulle's successors modify his legacy, 1969-91?
- (c) Was Adenauer a 'realist'?
- (d) How consistent was German foreign policy, 1963-91?

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Hanrieder, Wolfram, *Germany, America, Europe* 1989
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- *Mueller, Klaus-Juergen, *Adenauer and De Gaulle – De Gaulle and Germany: A Special Relationship* 1992
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- *Young, John W, *France, The Cold War and the Western Alliance* 1990
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[See also Topic 8 – 'European Integration']

8. European Integration, 1945-91

- Have existing theories of integration underestimated the importance of individual leaders for the process of integration in western Europe, 1945-91?
- Why did European integration first succumb to, and then recover from, 'Eurosclerosis'?
- Was European integration between 1950 and 1991 a French project but a German achievement?
- Why and with what results for the international relations of Europe did the European Community expand its membership during the cold war?

Context:

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- *Deighton, Anne, *Building Postwar Europe: National Decision-makers and European Institutions, 1948-63* 1995
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9. Decolonisation and the International Economic Order, 1945-91

(a) To what extent did colonies contribute to their own emancipation?

(b) Why did Asia decolonize before Africa?

(c) 'The manner in which countries have achieved independence since the Second World War has had surprisingly little effect on their subsequent international alignment.' Discuss, with reference to the period 1945-91.

(d) How should we explain the successes and failures of 'Third World' attempts to reform the international order between 1945 and 1991?

Context:

**Darwin, John, *After Tamerlane: The Global History of Empire* 2007, chs. 8-9.

*Westad, O A, *Global Cold War: third world interventions and the making of our times*, 2005

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Krasner, Stephen D., *Structural Conflict: the Third World against Global Liberalism* 1985

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*Mortimer, Robert, *The Third World Coalition in International Politics* 1984

- **Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol.2,ch.13; vol.3, chs 6, 10, 11.
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10. The Soviet Union's Relations with Eastern Europe, 1945-1991

- (a) Which concept better captures the essence of Soviet ascendancy over Eastern Europe, 1945-91: 'empire' or 'sphere of influence'?
- (b) Evaluate the comparative effectiveness of the various mechanisms by which the Soviet Union sought to impose its will on Eastern Europe, 1945-91.
- (c) What determined the degree of independence of the USSR exercised by the various communist states of Eastern Europe, 1945-91?
- (d) Explain why the Soviet Union intervened militarily in some of the internal crises of its Eastern European satellites, 1945-91 but not in others.

Context:

- *Gati, Charles, *The Bloc that Failed: Soviet-East European Relations in Transition* 1991
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- *Doyle, Michael W., *Empires* 1986. ch.1
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- Keal, Paul, *Unspoken Rules and Superpower Dominance* 1983
- Soviet Union in Eastern Europe* 1986
- *Kramer, Mark, 'The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: Spheres of Influence', in Woods, Ngaire, *Explaining International Relations*
- Triska, Jan F., *Dominant Powers and Subordinate States: The United States in Latin America and the*
- *Westad, Odd Arne, Holtsmark, Sven, and Neuman, Iver B. eds., *The Soviet Union in Eastern Europe, 1945-89* 1994; esp. chs. by Hausleitner, Roberts, and Wettig.

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- *Adomeit, Hannes, *Imperial Overstretch: Germany in Soviet Policy from Stalin to Gorbachev*, 1998
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- Clissold, Stephen ed., *Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, 1939-1973*, 1975
- Heuser, Beatrice, *Western 'Containment' Policies in the Cold War*, 1989
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11. The Middle East 1945- 1991

- (a) Do you agree that the principal sources of instability in the Middle East between 1945 and 1991 were forces external to the region?
- (b) Which external power pursued its interests in the Middle East most effectively between 1945 and 1991: Britain, the United States, or the Soviet Union?
- (c) Why did the Arab-Israeli dispute prove so intractable, 1945-1991?
- (d) Why did united Arab action prove so elusive, 1945-1991?

For all questions:

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- Hinnebusch, Raymond A. *The International Politics of the Middle East*, 2014
- *Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol.1, ch.23; vol.2, ch.15;

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12. South-East Asia 1945- 1991

(a) Account for the instability of the region between 1945 and 1991.

(b) Why did Communism make such headway in Indo-China in the first post-war decade?

(c) 'The United States lost its Vietnam War on the home front.' Discuss.

(d) 'America's failure in Vietnam has distracted attention from the overall success of its policy in respect of South-East Asia as a whole between 1945 and 1991.' Discuss.

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