

The University of Western Ontario  
Department of History  
2016-2017 (Winter Term)

## **HIS 9308B: The U.S. and the Cold War**



Map of missile range in Cuba, 1962 (NARA 595351)

**Thursdays 9:30 a.m – 11:30 a.m.**  
**Lawson Hall Room 2270C**

**Instructor:** Professor Aldona Sendzikas

**E-mail:** [asendzi2@uwo.ca](mailto:asendzi2@uwo.ca)

**Office hours:** Tuesdays 1:30-2:30 p.m., or by appointment

**Office:** Lawson Hall 1222

**Telephone:** 661-2111, x84377

---

“There are at the present time two great nations in the world, which started from different points, but seem to tend towards the same end. I allude to the Russians and the Americans. Both of them have grown up unnoticed; and whilst the attention of mankind was directed elsewhere, they have suddenly placed themselves in the front rank among the nations, and the world learned their existence and their greatness at almost the same time.

All other nations seem to have nearly reached their natural limits, and they have only to maintain their power; but these are still in the act of growth. All the others have stopped, or continue to advance with extreme difficulty; these alone are proceeding with ease and celerity along a path to which no limit can be perceived. The American struggles against the obstacles which nature opposes to him; the adversaries of the Russian are men. The former combats the wilderness and savage life; the latter, civilization with all its arms. The conquests of the American are therefore gained by the ploughshare; those of the Russian by the sword. The Anglo-American relies upon personal interest to accomplish his ends, and gives free scope to the unguided strength and common sense of the people; the Russian centres all the authority of society in a single arm. The Principal instrument of the former is freedom; of the latter, servitude. Their starting-point is different, and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe.”

--Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Vol. II, Conclusion), 1835

**“Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you.”**  
--Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, November 1956

“A wall is a hell of a lot better than a war.”  
--U.S. President John F. Kennedy, August 1961

“I want to say, and this is very important: at the end we lucked out. It was luck that prevented nuclear war. We came that close to nuclear war at the end. Rational individuals: Kennedy was rational; Khrushchev was rational; Castro was rational. Rational individuals came that close to total destruction of their societies. And that danger exists today.”

-- Robert McNamara, former U.S. Secretary of Defense,  
interviewed by Errol Morris in *The Fog of War* (2003)

### **Course description:**

From the end of the Second World War until the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, the United States’ conflict with the U.S.S.R. dominated American military and foreign policy, but it also permeated and shaped political, economic, social, and cultural life in the United States. In this course, we will examine the role of the United States in the creation and waging of the Cold War, American responses to the Cold War, and the

effects on American society of this nearly half century-long standoff between the two emerging superpowers. Rather than attempting a chronological study, we will select and focus on several key events and “battlegrounds” of this war--both actual and symbolic—and examine them through different lenses, including: military, diplomatic, ideological, and cultural. We will also consider how the Cold War continues to shape American government and society today.

### **Assignments and grading:**

- **4 reaction papers (2-3 pages each, typed, double-spaced) (20%)**
  - The reaction paper is a response to the assigned readings for a particular week.
  - The reaction paper should not be a summary of the book you have read, but rather, your reaction and response to what you have read. The first paragraph of your paper should outline the thesis or main argument of the book. The rest of your paper should be your own response: what did you think of the author’s argument? Did he/she argue effectively and convincingly? What is your assessment of the effectiveness of the sources and methodology used? What did you learn from this book? Are there any aspects in particular that struck you? What does this book contribute to our understanding of the Cold War?
  - Reaction papers will be required for the readings assigned for Jan. 19<sup>th</sup>, Jan. 26<sup>th</sup>, Feb. 2<sup>nd</sup>, and March 9<sup>th</sup>
  - The paper should be submitted to the instructor via e-mail **by noon the day before class**. A grade will be assigned each week, based on the paper and discussion.
  
- **Research essay prospectus (10%)**
  - The prospectus is essentially a road map outlining your plans for your research paper. It should be approx. 4-5 pages in length (typed and double-spaced), and should include:
    - The research question you hope to answer.
    - A description of the primary documents that you plan to examine, and how you will access them.
    - An explanation of why this research is important, and its relation to existing scholarly literature.
    - A working thesis, if appropriate.
    - Methods to be employed (What sort of sources, arguments, and approaches do you plan to use to answer the question? What are the strengths and weaknesses of your approach?)
    - Outline explaining proposed structure of your paper.
    - Preliminary bibliography.
  - The prospectus is due at **9:30 a.m. on Thursday, March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2017**.

- **Presentation of research in progress (10%)**
    - Near the end of the term, students will give short presentations (10 minutes maximum in length) outlining their research questions, progress and findings.
    - These presentations will take place on March 23<sup>rd</sup> and March 30<sup>th</sup>.
  
  - **Research essay (40%)**
    - The research essay can be about any aspect of the United States' involvement in the Cold War. It should be based on, or begin with, or be supported by, an examination of primary documents from a Cold War-related event.
    - The research essay should be 20-25 pages in length (excluding footnotes and bibliography), typed and double-spaced.
    - It will be due two weeks after the last class session, i.e.: Thursday, April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2017, at 9:30 a.m.
  
  - **Participation (20%)**
    - Informed and thoughtful participation in class discussion each week is required. Please come to class having completed the assigned readings, and be ready to share your analyses of them, to respectfully exchange ideas with the other members of the class, and to ask—and answer—questions. In addition, you should follow current events, particularly in terms of U.S. foreign policy, and be prepared to discuss them within the context of the Cold War.
- 

## COURSE SCHEDULE

### **Week 1 (January 5<sup>th</sup>):**

1. Introduction.

### **Week 2 (January 12<sup>th</sup>):**

1. The end of WWII.
2. The atomic bomb.
3. The historiography of the Cold War.

### Readings:

- X (George F. Kennan), “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” in *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947, pp. 566-582:  
[http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp\\_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=3629](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=3629)

- NSC-68 (April 14<sup>th</sup>, 1950):  
[https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/coldwar/.../10-1.pdf](https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/coldwar/.../10-1.pdf)
- The Baruch Plan for Control of Atomic Energy (June 14<sup>th</sup>, 1946):  
<http://www.atomicarchive.com/Docs/Deterrence/BaruchPlan.shtml>
- NATO founding treaty, April 4<sup>th</sup>, 1949:  
[http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_17120.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_17120.htm)
- Excerpt from Michihiko Hachiya, M.D., *Hiroshima Diary: The Journal of a Japanese Physician August 6-September 30, 1945*, translated by Warner Wells, M.D. (1955) (available on the OWL course website under “Resources”)
- Excerpt from *Nuclear Explosions and Their Effects* (The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1958) (available on course website)
- Excerpt from David Bradley, *No Place to Hide* (1948) (available on course website)
- “The Nuclear Refugees of the Marshall Islands,” in *Exposure: Victims of Radiation Speak Out / The Chugoku Newspaper*, translated by Kirsten McIvor (1991) (available on course website under “Resources”)

### **Week 3 (January 19<sup>th</sup>):**

1. Atomic culture: co-existing with the bomb.

Readings: Choose one of the following books to read, and submit a 3-4 page reaction paper to the instructor, by e-mail, by noon on Wed. January 18<sup>th</sup>.

- Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (1988) (available online through Weldon website)
- Paul S. Boyer, *By the Dawn's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (1985/1994) (available online through Weldon website)

### **Week 4 (January 26<sup>th</sup>):**

1. Historians of the Cold War
2. The hot wars: Korea and Vietnam
3. The *Pueblo* incident (1968)

Readings: Choose one of the following books to read, and submit a 3-4 page reaction paper to the instructor, by e-mail, by noon on Wed. January 26<sup>th</sup>. In your reaction paper, try to place the book you read into one of the four main periods of Cold War historiography.

- George Kennan, *American Diplomacy 1900-1950* (1951)
- George Kennan, *The Nuclear Delusion: Soviet-American Relations in the Atomic Age* (1982)
- George Kennan, *Russia, the Atom, and the West* (1958)
- Herbert Feis, *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II* (1966)

- Herbert Feis, *Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin: The War They Waged and the Peace They Sought* (1957)
- Thomas A. Bailey, *America Faces Russia: Russian-American Relations from Early Times to Our Day* (1950)
- William Appleman Williams, *American-Russian Relations, 1781-1947* (1952)
- William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (1959)
- Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-1966* (1967)
- Gar Alperovitz, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam: The Use of the Atomic Bomb and the American Confrontation with Soviet Power* (1965)
- Joyce and Gabriel Kolko, *The Limits of Power: The World and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1945-1954* (1972)
- Thomas G. Paterson, *The Origins of the Cold War* (1974)
- Thomas G. Paterson, *Meeting the Communist Threat: Truman to Reagan* (1988)
- Lloyd Gardner, *Architects of Illusion: Men and Ideas in American Foreign Policy, 1941-1949* (1970)
- John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947* (1972)
- Howard Zinn, *Postwar America: 1945-1971* (1973)
- John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (1997)
- Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (1992)
- Marc Trachtenberg, *A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement 1945-1963* (1999)
- Tony Smith, *Thinking Like a Communist: State and Legitimacy in the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba* (1987)
- Tony Smith, *America's Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century* (1994)
- Vladislav Zubok and Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev* (1996)
- Wilson Miscamble, *From Roosevelt to Truman: Potsdam, Hiroshima, and the Cold War* (2007)
- Campbell Craig and Sergey Radchenko, *The Atomic Bomb and the Origins of the Cold War* (2008)

**Week 5 (February 2<sup>nd</sup>):**

1. Fear in Cold War America:
  - a. Communism in America
  - b. HUAC and McCarthyism
  - c. Spies in America

Readings: Choose one of the following books to read, and submit a 3-4 page reaction paper to the instructor, by e-mail, by noon on Wed. February 1<sup>st</sup>:

- David M. Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy so Immense: The World of Joe McCarthy* (1983) (Weldon)
- Curt Gentry, *J. Edgar Hoover: The Man and The Secrets* (1992) (Weldon)
- Neal Gabler, *Winchell: Gossip, Power, and the Culture of Celebrity* (1994) (Weldon)
- Kenneth D. Rose, *One Nation Underground: The Fallout Shelter in American Culture* (2001) (Weldon)
- Victor S. Navasky, *Naming Names* (1980) (Weldon)
- Ellen Schrecker, *Many are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (1998) (Weldon)
- Ellen Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities* (1986) (Weldon)
- Lillian Hellman, *Scoundrel Time* (1976) (Huron)
- M.J. Heale, *American Anticommunism: Combating the Enemy Within, 1830-1970* (1990) (Weldon)
- Senator Charles E. Potter, *Days of Shame* (1965) (Weldon)
- Morton Sobell, *On Doing Time* (1974) (Weldon)
- John F. Neville, *The Press, the Rosenbergs, and the Cold War* (1995) (Weldon)
- Ilene J. Philipson, *Ethel Rosenberg: Beyond the Myths* (1988) (Weldon)
- Alistair Cooke, *A Generation on Trial: USA vs. Alger Hiss* (1950) (Weldon)
- Tony Hiss, *Laughing Last: Alger Hiss* (1977) (Weldon)
- G. Edward White, *Alger Hiss's Looking-Glass Wars: The Covert Life of a Soviet Spy* (2004) (Weldon)
- Sigmund Diamond, *Compromised Campus: The Collaboration of Universities with the Intelligence Community, 1945-1955* (1992) (Weldon)
- Natalie Robins, *Alien Ink: The FBI's War on Freedom of Expression* (1992/1993) (Huron)
- Ronald Radosh, *Red Star over Hollywood: The Film Colony's Long Romance with the Left* (2005) (Weldon)

**Week 6 (February 9<sup>th</sup>):**

1. Competing with the USSR:
  - a. The Kitchen Debate
  - b. Khrushchev comes to America
  - c. The U2 incident

Readings:

- Excerpt from Peter Carlson, *K Blows Top: A Cold War Comic Interlude, Starring Nikita Khrushchev, America's Most Unlikely Tourist* (2009) (available on course website)
- Excerpt from Fred Kaplan, *1959: The Year Everything Changed* (2009) (available on course website)
- Excerpt from Robert H. Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty: Exhibiting American Culture Abroad in the 1950s* (1997) (available on course website)
- Eisenhower Doctrine (Jan. 5<sup>th</sup>, 1957):  
<http://millercenter.org/president/eisenhower/speeches/speech-3360>
- U.S. State Department documents re: the U-2 incident:  
[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/u2.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/u2.asp)
- President Kennedy's speech at the Berlin Wall (June 26<sup>th</sup>, 1963):  
<http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/speech-3376>

**Week 7 (February 16<sup>th</sup>):**

1. Cuba:
  - a. Castro comes to power
  - b. The Bay of Pigs
  - c. The Missile Crisis
  - d. The legacy

Readings:

- President Eisenhower's Farewell Address (Jan. 17<sup>th</sup>, 1961):  
<https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=90&page=transcript>
- Excerpt from Keith Bolender, *Cuba Under Siege: American Policy, the Revolution and Its People* (2012) (available on course website)
- Alex von Tunzelmann, "One of the Most Ridiculous Things That Has Ever Occurred in the History of the United States," in *Red Heat: Conspiracy, Murder, and the Cold War in the Caribbean* (2011) (available on course website)
- One essay of your choice from: Len Scott and R. Gerald Hughes, eds., *The Cuban Missile Crisis: A Critical Reappraisal* (2015) (available online through Weldon website)
- "Radio-TV Address of the President to the Nation from the White House," Oct. 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1962
- Prime Minister Fidel Castro's letter to Premier Khrushchev, Oct. 26<sup>th</sup>, 1962 (the two documents above are available at:  
[http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/nsa/cuba\\_mis\\_cri/docs.htm](http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/nsa/cuba_mis_cri/docs.htm) )

◆ CONFERENCE WEEK – No class on February 23<sup>rd</sup> ◆



**Week 8 (March 2<sup>nd</sup>):**

1. Ethics/morality in Cold War foreign policy
2. Research essay prospectus due!

**Readings:**

- Lora Anne Viola, “The Gulf of Tonkin Incident and Deception in American Foreign Policy,” in *Revisiting the Sixties: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on America’s Longest Decade*, eds. Laura Bieger and Christian Lammert (2013) (available on course website)
- excerpt from Stanley I. Kutler, *The American Inquisition: Justice and Injustice in the Cold War* (1982) (available on course website)
- John Loughery, “Purge of the Perverts,” in *The Other Side of Silence: Men’s Lives and Gay Identities: A Twentieth Century History* (1998) (available on course website)
- Kevin M. Kruse, “Government Under God,” in *One Nation Under God: How Corporate America Invented Christian America* (2015) (available on course website)
- Kevin M. Kruse, “Pledging Allegiance,” in *One Nation Under God: How Corporate America Invented Christian America* (2015) (available on course website)
- Andrew Preston, “The Faith of Harry Truman and the Theology of George Kennan,” in *Sword of the Spirit, Shield of Faith: Religion in American War and Diplomacy* (2012) (available on course website)
- Chapter 6: “Shifting the Focus of America’s Image Abroad,” in Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (2000) (available online through Weldon website)

**Week 9 (March 9<sup>th</sup>):**

1. Cold War culture:
  - a. Art
  - b. Literature
  - c. Film

During today’s class, we will be visiting the McIntosh Gallery to tour the new exhibit, “Cold Front.” (To be confirmed.)

**Readings:** Choose one of the following books to read, and submit a 3-4 page reaction paper to the instructor, by e-mail, by noon on Wed., March 8<sup>th</sup>:

- Peter Biskind, *Seeing is Believing: How Hollywood Taught Us to Stop Worrying and Love the Fifties* (1983) (King's)
- Bernard F. Dick, *The Screen is Red: Hollywood, Communism, and the Cold War* (2016) (King's)
- Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War* (1991) (Weldon)
- Thomas Hill Schaub, *American Fiction in the Cold War* (1991) (Weldon)
- Margot Henriksen, *Dr. Strangelove's America: Society and Culture in the Atomic Age* (1997)
- Jeff Smith, *Film Criticism, the Cold War, and the Blacklist: Reading the Hollywood Reds* (2014) (available online through Weldon website)
- Susan A. George, *Gendering Science Fiction Films: Invaders from the Suburbs* (2013) (available online through Weldon website)
- Rebecca Prime, *Hollywood Exiles in Europe: The Blacklist and Cold War Film Culture* (2014) (available online through Weldon website)
- Greg Barnhisel, *Cold War Modernists: Art, Literature, and American Cultural Diplomacy, 1946-1959* (2015) (available online through Weldon website)
- Robert J. Corber, *Cold War Femme: Lesbianism, National Identity, and Hollywood Cinema* (2011) (available online through Weldon website)
- Jeffrey Montez de Oca, *Discipline and Indulgence: College Football, Media, and the American Way of Life During the Early Cold War* (2013) (available online through Weldon website)
- Michael L. Krenn, *Fall-Out Shelters for the Human Spirit: American Art and the Cold War* (2005) (Weldon)
- Ferenc Morton Szasz, *Atomic Comics: Cartoonists Confront the Nuclear World* (2012) (Weldon)

**Week 10 (March 16<sup>th</sup>):**

1. Cold War culture: Music.

For this class, we will be joining Don Wright Faculty of Music Professor Emily Ansari's class, 9542B: Musical Americanism, for a discussion of music and the Cold War. (Time and place to be determined.)

Readings (available on the OWL course website):

- Aaron Copland, "Effect of the Cold War on the Artist in the U.S." (1949), in *Aaron Copland: A Reader: Selected Writings, 1923-72*, ed. Richard Kostelanetz (New York: Routledge, 2004), 128-131.
- Emily Abrams Ansari, "Introduction," "The Disillusioned Nationalist: Roy Harris," and "The Thwarted Progressive: Leonard Bernstein" in *The Sound of a Superpower: Musical Americanism and the Cold War* (forthcoming, Oxford

UP.) [Please note that since these are chapters of a book that is currently under review by the publisher, you may not cite nor share these articles.]

**Week 11 (March 23<sup>rd</sup>):**

1. The Space Race
2. The Cold War in the 1970s
3. Research presentations.

Readings:

- Excerpt from: William E. Burrows, *This New Ocean: The Story of the First Space Age* (1998) (available on course website)
- Excerpt from: Howard E. McCurdy, *Space and the American Imagination* (1997) (available on course website)
- Excerpt from: Lily Koppel, *The Astronaut Wives Club: A True Story* (2013) (available on course website)
- Excerpt from Fred Kaplan, *1959: The Year Everything Changed* (2009) (available on course website)
- Ralph B. Levering, “The Roller-Coaster Years, 1973-1984,” in *The Cold War: A Post-Cold War History* (1994/2005) (available on course website)
- American Reactions to Crisis: Examples of Pre-Sputnik and Post-Sputnik Attitudes and of the Reaction to other Events Perceived as Threats,” Oct. 15-16<sup>th</sup>, 1958: <http://history.nasa.gov/sputnik/oct58.html>
- “Impact of U.S. and Soviet Space Programs on World Opinion,” July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1959: <http://history.nasa.gov/sputnik/july59.html>
- Space Race Progress Memo, VP Johnson to President Kennedy, April 28<sup>th</sup>, 1961:  
[https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/7WOiWcudTkOAVpkCA19\\_Ig.aspx](https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/7WOiWcudTkOAVpkCA19_Ig.aspx)
- Reitler-Feldman Letters, 1962:  
<https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/gLQPx4-1Gky60QY6nmXEjA.aspx>

**Week 12 (March 30<sup>th</sup>):**

1. Reagan’s Cold War: The Evil Empire
  - a. Reagan, Brezhnev, Gorbachev
  - b. The Berlin Wall
  - c. The submarine war
2. Research presentations.

Readings:

- President Reagan’s speech at Brandenburg Gate (June 12<sup>th</sup>, 1987):  
<https://www.reaganfoundation.org/library-museum/permanent-exhibitions/berlin-wall/from-the-archives/president-reagans-address-at-the-brandenburg-gate/>

- President Reagan’s speech at Moscow State University (May 31<sup>st</sup>, 1988):  
<http://millercenter.org/president/reagan/speeches/speech-3416>
- Excerpt from: John Piña Craven, *The Silent War: The Cold War Battle Beneath the Sea* (2001) (available on course website)
- Excerpt from Sherry Sontag and Christopher Drew, *Blindman’s Bluff: The Untold Story of American Submarine Espionage* (1998) (available on course website)
- Paul Boyer, “The Reagan Era: The Freeze Campaign and After,” in *Fallout: A Historian Reflects on America’s Half-Century Encounter with Nuclear Weapons* (1998) (available on course website)
- Excerpt from: Ramsey Flynn, *Cry from the Deep: The Submarine Disaster that Riveted the World and Put the New Russia to the Ultimate Test* (2004) (available on course website)
- H.W. Brands, “Who Won the Cold War? 1984-1991,” in *The Devil We Knew: Americans and the Cold War* (1993) (available on course website)

### **Week 13 (April 6<sup>th</sup>):**

1. Conclusions, ramifications, and wrap-up.

#### Readings:

- Mick Broderick, “Is This the Sum of Our Fears?,” in Scott C. Zeman and Michael A. Amundson, eds., *Atomic Culture: How We Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (2004) (available on course website)
- Chalmers Johnson, “North Korea: Endgame of the Cold War,” in *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (2000) (available on course website)
- Chalmers Johnson, “China: The State of the Revolution,” in *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (2000) (available on course website)
- “Conclusion: History, Memory, and the Cold War,” in Jon Wiener, *How We Forgot the Cold War: A Historical Journey Across America* (2012) (available online through Weldon website)
- Excerpt from Ellen Schrecker, *Cold War Triumphalism: The Misuse of History After the Fall of Communism* (2004) (available on course website)