



The University of Western Ontario

**HISTORY 9308A
The U.S. and the Cold War
Fall 2018-19**

Thursdays 2:30 – 4:30 p.m., Lawson Hall Room 2270C

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Office Hours: TBA

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Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev during the “Kitchen Debate” at the American National Exhibition in Moscow, 24 July 1959 (photo: Elliott Erwitt) (NARA 16916093)

“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 greatness at 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 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 four different lenses: military, diplomatic, ideological, and cultural. We will also consider how the Cold War continues to shape American government and society today.

Course Syllabus:

Students are expected to attend all class sessions, having completed the weekly assigned readings, and to participate in class discussion based on these readings. Students will also be expected to complete five short written assignments, a 20-25 page research paper, and an oral presentation of research in progress. Details of these assignments are listed below under “Methods of Evaluation.”

Course Materials:

Throughout the term, students will be required to select and read four books from a list (provided below). These books are available at Weldon Library or online through the library website. In addition, weekly readings consisting of articles and documents will be assigned. These will be available either on the course website or online.

Methods of Evaluation:

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 consist of your own response to the book: 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?
- 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.
- See course schedule below for specific due dates for the reaction papers.

Research essay prospectus (10%)

The prospectus is essentially a road map outlining your plans for your research paper. It should be approximately 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 research question? What are the strengths and weaknesses of your approach?)
- Outline explaining the proposed structure of your paper.
- Preliminary bibliography.

The prospectus is due at 2:30 p.m. on Thursday, November 1st, 2018.

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 November 22nd and 29th, 2018.

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.

Further details will be provided in class.

The research essay will be due one week after the last class session, i.e.: Thursday, December 13th, 2018.

Participation (20%)

Informed and thoughtful participation in class discussion each week is essential to a graduate seminar class. Please come to class having completed the assigned readings, and be prepared 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 historical context of the Cold War.

You may use your laptop in class to reference course readings and to take notes, but may be asked to turn off your laptop (or any other electronic device) if you are using it for other purposes and/or it is distracting you from engagement in class discussion.

Absences and missed assignments

Absences from class will result in a loss of participation marks for that day. If the absence is due to an illness or other emergency, the student may request an alternate assignment from the instructor to make up for the absence.

All of the written assignments must be completed and submitted by the deadlines indicated. Late assignments will be penalized 2% per day, including weekends.

Requests for accommodations

If you find that you are unable to meet a deadline for an assignment, either written or oral, you must communicate this to the course instructor as soon as possible. Routine requests for extensions should be

brought to the instructor in advance of a due date for consideration. If requesting accommodation (for medical, non-medical, or compassionate reasons), the student should contact the Graduate Chair, Professor Nancy Rhoden, who will consult with both the student and the course instructor in making the decision on whether or not to grant accommodation.

Course Schedule and Readings:

(Please note that this schedule may change slightly depending on the availability of guest speakers.)

Week 1 (September 6th):

1. Introduction.

Week 2 (September 13th):

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
- NSC-68 (April 14th, 1950): https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/coldwar/documents/index.php?documentid=10-1
- The Baruch Plan for Control of Atomic Energy (June 14th, 1946): <http://www.atomicarchive.com/Docs/Deterrence/BaruchPlan.shtml>
- NATO founding treaty, April 4th, 1949: 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 (September 20th):

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

Readings: Choose one of the following books to read, and submit a 2-3 page reaction paper to the instructor, by e-mail, by noon on Wed. September 19th.

- 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 (September 27th):

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 2-3 page reaction paper to the instructor, by e-mail, by noon on Wed. September 26th. 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 (October 4th):

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 2-3 page reaction paper to the instructor, by e-mail, by noon on Wed. October 3rd:

- 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)

Fall Reading Week (October 11th) – no class session today

Week 6 (October 18th):

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

Readings:

- Excerpt from Robert H. Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty: Exhibiting American Culture Abroad in the 1950s*

- (1997) (available on course website)
- Peter Carlson, “Nikita Khrushchev goes to Hollywood,” in *Smithsonian Magazine*, July 2009: <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/nikita-khrushchev-goes-to-hollywood-30668979/>
- Eisenhower Doctrine (Jan. 5th, 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
- President Kennedy’s speech at the Berlin Wall (June 26th, 1963): <http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/speech-3376>

Week 7 (October 25th):

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. 17th, 1961): <https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=90&page=transcript>
- 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. 22nd, 1962
- Prime Minister Fidel Castro’s letter to Premier Khrushchev, Oct. 26th, 1962
(the two documents above are available at: http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/nsa/cuba_mis_cri/docs.htm)

Week 8 (November 1st):

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 (November 8th):

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

Readings: Choose one of the following books to read, and submit a 2-3 page reaction paper to the instructor, by e-mail, by noon on Wed., November 7th:

- 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 (November 15th):

1. Cold War culture: Music.

For this class, we will be joined by Dr. Emily Abrams Ansari, Associate Professor of Music History, from the Don Wright Faculty of Music, for a discussion of the role of music in the Cold War. Professor Ansari is the author of the book *The Sound of a Superpower: Musical Americanism and the Cold War*.

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* (NY: Oxford UP, 2018).

Week 11 (November 22nd):

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)
- 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. 15-16th, 1958:
<http://history.nasa.gov/sputnik/oct58.html>
- “Impact of U.S. and Soviet Space Programs on World Opinion,” July 7th, 1959:
<http://history.nasa.gov/sputnik/july59.html>
- Space Race Progress Memo, VP Johnson to President Kennedy, April 28th, 1961:
https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/7WOiWcudTkOAVpkCA19_lg.aspx
- Reitler-Feldman Letters, 1962:
<https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/gLQPX4-1Gky60QY6nmXEjA.aspx>

Week 12 (November 29th):

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 12th, 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 31st, 1988): <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/may-31-1988-address-moscow-state-university>
- 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 (December 6th):

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)

Additional Statements

Accessibility Options:

Please contact the course instructor if you require material in an alternate format or if you require any other arrangements to make this course more accessible to you. You may also wish to contact Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD) at 519 661-2111 x 82147 for any specific question regarding an accommodation.

Plagiarism:

Students must write their essays and assignments in their own words. Whenever students take an idea, or a passage from another author, they must acknowledge their debt both by using quotation marks where appropriate and by proper referencing such as footnotes or citations. Plagiarism is a major academic offense

Support Services

Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western, http://uwo.ca/health/mental_wellbeing/ for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.

If you have any further questions or concerns please contact, Heidi Van Galen, Administrative Officer, Department of History, 519-661-2111 x84963 or e-mail vangelen@uwo.ca.