HH4007 An International History of the Cold War

Semester 1, AY 2019/20 Wednesdays, 13:30-17:30 | LHS-TR+41 Assistant Professor ZHOU Taomo Office: HSS 5-22 | Email: tmzhou@ntu.edu.sg

I. Course Description

The Cold War dominated the second half of the 20th century, but until recently we had only an imperfect sense of what it was all about. In the past, historians used to write about it from within the event they were seeking to describe, so that there was no way to know its outcome. And because only a few Western countries had begun to open their archives, these accounts could only reflect one side of the story. As a result, Cold War history was once asymmetrical and incomplete. The end of the Cold War and the subsequent partial opening of Soviet, Eastern European, and Chinese archives have revolutionized the field. Everything we thought we knew is open for reconsideration, whether because of the new documents available to us or as a consequence of being able to reflect on how its outcome in new ways thanks to methodological developments within the discipline.

This course will provide an introduction to key topics in the new, international history of the Cold War. Through this course, I hope to break down the stereotypical understanding of the Cold War as a military competition between the Western and Eastern Blocs by bringing in the lived experiences of the peoples in the global south, the evolution of mass culture and media in different parts of the world, the roles of ideology and technology, and the emerging networks of interdependence that bound societies together in new ways. This course will also provide some of the factual grounding and conceptual apparatus necessary to understand the contemporary world.

II. Learning Outcomes

By the end of this course, students should demonstrate:

- A comprehensive knowledge of the historical timelines in Cold War history
- A basic degree of literacy in the existing literature on the Cold War
- The ability to write research paper by reading and thinking analytically
- Competence in classifying historical sources by genre, recognizing content, tone, and audience, and using primary sources and scholarly arguments.

III. Course Components

The format of this course is designed to encourage participation at every meeting. Except for weeks 1 and 13, we will spend our four-hour seminars according to the following schedule:

13:30-14:20 Lecture

14:20-14:40 Break

14:40-15:30 Primary Source Analysis

Each week the class will work on a set of documents compiled by 2-3 **Primary Source Collectors**. The **Primary Source Collectors** have two responsibilities:

The first is to prepare a **Collection of Primary Materials** and upload it to the "Discussions" section of NTULearn by 5pm on the Tuesday during the week he or she has signed up for. Please print out one copy of the primary source collection for the instructor. This collection should contain at least 3 pieces of documents from different sources. The documents, though possibly authored by different historical figures or targeting different audience, should be interconnected. Ideally, the documents should be selected and compiled in a way that opens up room for conversations and debates. Please refer to the guideline for written assignments for tips on where to look for primary sources.

The **Primary Source Collectors'** second responsibility is to lead the class to collectively analyse the primary sources. The collectors have the freedom to design the format of this 50-minute discussion. For instance, the collectors could open up the discussion with a presentation on the background of the texts they have selected and prepare a list of questions for the class to work on together. By the end of the collective analysis, the class should be able to understand the primary sources in light of the week's question for discussion.

15:30-15:40 Break

15:40-16:30 Secondary Source Discussion

Each student will bring to class a "Response Paper." This paper consists of a pithy and concrete (one-paragraph maximum) answer to the week's "question for discussion and for research paper." Hard copies of response papers need to be handed in at the end of every class.

To launch the debate each week, 2-3 students will act as **Discussion Initiators**. The **Discussion Initiators** have two responsibilities:

The first is to prepare a **Discussion Initiator Sheet** and upload it to the "Discussions" section of NTULearn by 5pm (17:00) on the Tuesday during the week he or she has signed up for. Please print out one copy of the Discussion Initiator Sheet for each table and for the instructor (altogether 6-7 copies). This sheet should contain quotations from the week's required readings and questions formulated in response to these readings. Both questions and quotations should be chosen for the purpose of stimulating discussion and should be short enough to fit on one-page paper double-side.

The **Discussion Initiators'** second responsibility is to open discussion in class by making a brief (10 minutes) **oral statement** in which the initiators identifies the topics that should be taken up in that session. Ordinarily, the initiators' statement will be based on the required readings, the primary source collections compiled by their classmates, and his or her own list of questions and quotations.

It is extremely important for the primary source collectors and discussion initiators to honor their commitments. As a general rule, cancellations are not accepted. If urgent circumstances prevent a student from fulfilling his or her duty, one should inform the instructor as early as possible. The student must find someone to replace his or her role for that week.

16:40- 17:30 Documentary/Film Screening

Grades will be based on:

a. Active Participation (10%). Weekly response papers as well as engagement in primary source analyses and secondary source discussions will be evaluated throughout the semester

- b. Performance as Primary Source Collector (15%). Each student should serve once in the semester as primary source collector. Collection of Primary Materials, depth of research, the collector's ability to organize class discussion and group synergy will be evaluated.
- c. Performance as Discussion Initiator (15%). Each student should serve once in the semester as discussion initiator. One cannot serve as discussion initiator and primary source collector on the same week. Discussion Initiator Sheet, oral presentation, the moderators' ability to organize class discussion, and group synergy will be evaluated.
- d. Annotated Bibliography (20%) Each student should hand in one piece of annotated bibliography in preparation for the final research paper. This should be submitted in a word document to Turnitin by 5pm on Friday, October 11. Please refer to a separate handout for instructions & the grading system.
- e. Final Research Paper (40%). Each student is expected to hand in one piece of written work. This is a research essay of no less than 3,000 words and no more than 4,000 words (excluding footnotes and bibliography). This should be submitted to Turnitin in a word document by 5pm on Friday, November 29.

VI. Reference Books

- Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Volume I: Origins; Volume II: Crisis and Détente; Volume III: Endings* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010). [in reserves and available as an eBook]
- Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

V. Course Schedule:

Week 1(August 14): Introduction

Question for discussion and for research paper:

How have the paradigms for understanding the Cold War been changing for the past three decades?

Required Readings:

- Odd Arne Westad, "The New International History of the Cold War: Three (Possible) Paradigms," *Diplomatic History* 24, no. 4 (Fall 2000), pp. 551-565. [on NTULearn]
- Michael Szonyi & Hong Liu, "New Approaches to the Study of the Cold War in Asia," in *The Cold War in Asia: The Battle for Hearts and Minds*, edited by Zhang Yangwen, Hong Liu & Michael Szonyi (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 1-11. [on NTULearn]
- Hajimu Masuda, review of Odd Arne Westad, *The Cold War: A World History* (New York: Basic Books, 2017), *American Historical Review* (June 2019), 1013-1016.

Recommended Readings for Research Paper:

- Heonik Kwon, *The Other Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).
- Bruce Cumings, "Revising Prostrevisionism: or, The Poverty of Theory in Diplomatic History," *Diplomatic History* (1993), pp. 539-569.
- Matthew Connelly, "Taking Off the Cold War Lens: Visions of North-South Conflict during the Algerian War for Independence," *American Historical Review* 105 (2000), pp. 274-285.

- Odd Arne Westad ed., *Reviewing the Cold War: Approaches, Interpretations, Theory* (New York: Frank Cass, 2006).
- Prasenjit Duara, "The Cold War as a Historical Period: An Interpretive Essay," *Journal of Global History* 6 (2011), pp. 457-480.
- Liu Hong, "Sino-Southeast Asian Studies: An Alternative Paradigm," *Asian Studies Review* 25 (2001), pp. 259-283.
- Michael C. Hawkins, "Disrupted Historical Trajectories and Indigenous Agency: Rethinking Imperial Impact in Southeast Asia History," *Sojourn* 22 (2007), pp. 274-285.
- Christopher E. Goscha and Christian Ostermann eds., *Connecting Histories:* Decolonization and the Cold War in Southeast Asia, 1945-1962 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).
- S. R. Joey Long, "Bringing the International and Transnational Back In: Singapore, Decolonization, and the Cold War," in *Singapore in World History*, edited by Derek Heng & Syed Muhd. Khairuddin (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), pp. 215-234.

Screening: Good Bye, Lenin!

Week 2 (August 21): Interpreting Ideology: Superpowers, Empires, Civilizations

Question for discussion and for research paper:

To what extent was the Cold War an ideological conflict rather than a power struggle or economic competition?

Required Readings:

- Westad, *The Global Cold War*, pp. 8-72.
- Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (Chapel Hill: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 1-26.
- Chen Jian, Mao's China and the Cold War, pp. 1-48.

Recommended Readings for Research Paper:

- John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 1-25, 189-220.
- Vladislav M. Zubok, *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).
- Melvyn P. Leffler, For the Soul of Mankind: The United States, the Soviet Union, and the Cold War (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007).
- Michael Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).
- Campbell Craig & Fredrik Logevall, *American's Cold War: The Politics of Insecurity* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2009).

Screening: BBC-CNN documentary series "Cold War": Episode 1 "Comrades."

Week 3 (August 28): Indigenizing the Cold War? The Case of the Korean War

Question for discussion and for research paper:

How Korean was the Korean War? How do we understand local conflicts against the broader context of the Cold War?

Required Readings:

- Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), Chapter 4 "China's Strategies to End the Korean War," pp. 85-117.
- Hajimu Masuda, *Cold War Crucible: The Korean Conflict and the Postwar World* (Harvard University Press, 2015), pp. 1-11, 85-113.
- Gregg Brazinsky, *Nation Building in South Korea: Koreans, Americans, and the Making of a Democracy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), pp. 1-11; 189-222.

Recommended Readings for Research Paper:

- Chen Jian, *China's Road to the Korean War: The Making of the Sino-American Confrontation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).
- William Stueck, *Rethinking the Korean War: A New Diplomatic and Strategic History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).
- John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy during the Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 87-124.
- Bruce Cumings, *The Korean War: A History* (New York: Modern Library, 2011).
- Don Oberdorfer and Robert Carlin, *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History* (New York: Basic Books, 2013).
- Sergi N. Goncharov, John W. Lewis and Xue Litai eds., *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao, and the Korean War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

Screening: BBC-CNN documentary series "Cold War": Episode 6 "Korea."

Week 4 (September 4): Envisioning Modernity: The US and the Third World

Question for discussion and for research paper:

What caused the decline of modernization theory in Cold War American academia?

Required Readings:

- Michael E. Latham. *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and "Nation Building" in the Kennedy Era* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), pp. 1-20; 109-150. [on NTULearn]
- Nils Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp. 1-23. [on NTULearn]
- Odd Arne Westad, The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 110-157. [on NTULearn]

Recommended Readings for Research Paper:

- B. R. Simpson, *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and US-Indonesian Relations*, 1960-1968 (Stanford University Press, 2008). pp. 62-86.
- Joy Rohde, "Gray Matters: Social Scientists, Military Patronage, and Democracy in the Cold War," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 96, No. 1 (Jun. 2009), pp. 99-122.
- Jason Pribilsky, "Development and the 'Indian Problem' in the Cold War Andes: *Indigenismo*, Science, and Modernization in the Making of the Cornell-Peru Project at Vicos," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (June 2009), pp. 405-426.

Screening: BBC-CNN documentary series "Cold War": Episode 3 "Marshall Plan."

Week 5 (September 11): The Middle Way: The Quest for Third World Autonomy and Its Pitfalls

Question for discussion and for research paper:

Was neutralism possible for Third World leaders during the Cold War?

Required Readings:

- Audrey Kahin and George McT Kahin, Subversion as Foreign Policy: The Secret
 Eisenhower and Dulles Debacle in Indonesia (New York: The New Press, 1995), pp. 119. [on NTULearn]
- Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New York and London: The New Press, 2007), pp. xv-50; 119-133; 207-223. [on NTULearn]
- Sulmaan Wasif Khan, *Muslim, Trade, Nomad, Spies: China's Cold War and the People's of Tibetan Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), Introduction and Chapter 4. [on NTULearn]

Recommended Readings for Research Paper:

- See Seng Tan & Amitav Acharya eds., *Bandung Revisited: The Legacy of the 1955 Asian-African Conference for International Order* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008), Introduction, Chapters 1 (by Anthony Reid), 2 (by Ang Cheng Guan), 6 (by Chen Jian) & 9 (by Michael Montesano).
- Samuel E. Crowl, "Indonesia's Diplomatic Revolution: Lining Up for Non-Alignment, 1945-1955," in Christopher E. Goscha and Christian Ostermann eds., *Connecting Histories: Decolonization and the Cold War in Southeast Asia, 1945-1962* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), pp. 238-257.
- Matthew Jones, "A 'Segregated' Asia? Race, the Bandung Conference, and Pan-Asianist Fears in American Thought and Policy, 1954-1955, *Diplomatic History* 29 (2005), pp. 841-868.
- Jason Parker, "Cold War II: The Eisenhower Administration, the Bandung Conference, and the Reperiodization of the Postwar Era," *Diplomatic History* 30 (2006), pp. 867-892.

Screening: The Killing Fields

Week 6 (September 18) The Killing Fields: Mass Violence in Cambodia and Indonesia

Ouestion for discussion and for research paper:

To what degree can foreign "superpowers" be held responsible for the mass violence that occurred in Cold War Southeast Asia?

Readings:

- David Chandler, *Voices from S-21: Terror and History in Pol Pot's Secret Prison* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 41-68. [on NTULearn]
- Ben Kiernan, "Myth, Nationalism and Genocide," *Journal of Genocide Research* 3 (2001), pp. 187-206. [on NTULearn]
- John Roosa, Pretext for Mass Murder: The September 30th Movement and Suharto's Coup d'Etat in Indonesia (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), pp. 3-33; 176-201. [on NTULearn]

Recommended Readings for Research Paper:

- Robert Cribb ed., *The Indonesian Killings of 1965-1966: Studies from Java and Bali* (Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, 1990), pp. 169-176.
- Geoffrey Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise: Political Violence in Bali* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 1-17, and 176-201.
- Bradley Simpson, *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and U.S.-Indonesian Relations*, 1960-1968 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).
- Andrew Mertha, *Brothers in Arms: Chinese Aid to the Khmer Rouge, 1975-1979* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).
- Nayan Chanda, *Brother Enemy: The War After the War* (Harcourt, 1986), Chapter 2 "Silk Worm and Mice."

Screening: The Act of Killing.

Week 7 (September 25) Deciphering Détente: Economics, Geopolitics, and Social Upheavals Question for discussion and for research paper:

Was détente possible because of the weakening of great powers during the Vietnam War, the cyclical crisis of capitalism, or the rise of popular protests?

Required Readings:

- Lien-Hang Nguyen, "The Vietnam Decade: The Global Shock of the War," in Nail Ferguson, Charles S. Maier, Erez Manela, and Daniel J. Sargent eds., *The Shock of the Global: The 1970s in Perspective* (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 159-172.
- Charles S. Maier, "'Malaise': The Crisis of Capitalism in the 1970s," in *The Shock of the Global: The 1970s in Perspective*, pp. 25-48.
- Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp. 1-6,164-212. [on NTULearn]
- Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, Chapter 9 "The Sino-American Rapprochement, 1969-1972." [on NTULearn and in reserves]

Recommended Readings for Research Paper:

- Carole Fink, Phillip Gassert and Detlef Junker, eds. *1968: The World Transformed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- Mark Atwood Lawrence, *Assuming the Burden: Europe and the American Commitment to War in Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
- Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), pp. 620-761.
- Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment*, pp. 235-341.
- Craig & Logevall, American's Cold War, pp. 216-208.
- Zubok, A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev, pp. 192-226.

October 2 Recess Week

Week 8 (October 9) Meeting cancelled due to conference travel of the instructor.

Week 9 (October 16): Revolutionary Romanticism: Africa and Latin America

Question for discussion and for research paper:

Did the failure of Cuba's African odyssey prove that power, rather than ideals, determined the outcome of foreign intervention?

Required Readings:

- Westad, *The Global Cold War*, pp. 170-180; 207-287. [on NTULearn and in reserves]
- Piero Gleijeses, "Cuba and the Cold War, 1959-1980," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Volume II.* [on NTULearn, in reserves and available as an eBook]

Recommended Readings for Research Paper:

- Piero Gleijeses, "Moscow's Proxy? Cuba and Africa 1975-1988," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 8 (Spring 2006), pp. 3-51.
- Ernesto "Che" Guevara, *The African Dream: The Diaries of the Revolutionary War in the Congo* (New York: Grove Press, 2001).
- Priya Lal, "Maoism in Tanzania: Material Connections and Shared Imaginaries," in Alexander Cook ed. *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 96-116.
- Edward George, *The Cuban Intervention in Angola, 1965-1991* (London and New York: Frank Cass, 2005).
- Thomas Borstelmann, *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle: The United States and Southern Africa in the Early Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- Vladimir Shubin, *The Hot "Cold War": The USSR in Southern Africa* (London: Pluto Press, 2008).

Screening: The Motorcycle Diaries

Week 10 (October 23): The Islamist Defiance: Iran and Afghanistan

Question for discussion and for research paper:

Was Islamism resilient against the hegemony of US and Soviet ideologies?

Required Readings:

- Westad, *The Global Cold War*, pp. 288-330. [on NTULearn and in reserves]
- Amin Saikal, "Islamism, the Iranian Revolution, and the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan," *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Volume III.* [on NTULearn and available as eBooks]
- Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), Part 1. [on NTULearn] (Kepel's talk on the subject: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tUwC63uo42Q)

Recommended Readings for Research Paper:

- "Documents on the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan," e-Dossier No. 4, *Cold War International History Project* (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, November 2001), available at https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/e-dossier-4.pdf.
- Artemy M. Kalinovsky, *A Long Goodbye: The Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan* (Harvard University Press, 2011).
- Asher Orkaby, *Beyond the Arab Cold War: The International History of the Yemen Civil War, 1962-68* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

Screening: BBC-CNN documentary series "Cold War": Episode 20 "Soldiers of God."

Week 11 (October 30): The Cultural Cold War: Literature, Music and Cinema

Guest lecture by Ms. Kathleen Ditzig, PhD Candidate, School of Art, Design, and Media, NTU

Question for discussion and for research paper:

Was all culture, on both sides of the Cold War, merely an extension of politics?

Required Readings:

- Petrus Liu, *Stateless Subjects: Chinese Martial Arts Literature & Postcolonial History* (Ithaca: Cornell East Asia Series, 2011), "Introduction," pp. 1-20 and Chapter 3 "Jin Yong's Historical Fiction and the Cold War in Asia," pp. 107-152. [on NTULearn]
- Penny Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World: Jazz Ambassador Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), "Introduction," pp. 1-26 and Chapter 4. "Getting the Soviets to Swing," pp. 92-120. [on NTULearn]
- Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1946-1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), Chapter 5. "Musicals and Modernization: The King and I," pp. 191-222. [on NTULearn]

Recommended Readings for Research Paper:

- Rienhold Wagnleitner, Coca-Colonization and the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria after the Second World War (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).
- Julia Mickenberg, Learning from the Left: Children's Literature, the Cold War, and Radical Politics in the United States (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, "Shame on US? Academics, Cultural Transfer, and the Cold War—A Critical Review," *Diplomatic History* 24 (2000), pp. 465-494.
- Joey Long, "Winning Hearts and Minds: U.S. Psychological Warfare Operations in Singapore," *Diplomatic History* 32 (2008), pp. 899-930.
- Jean Franco, *The Decline and Fall of the Lettered City: Latin America in the Cold War* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

Screening: The Year of Living Dangerously.

Week 12 (November 6): The End of the Cold War

Question for discussion and for research paper:

Was the Cold War ended by policy makers' decisions, transnational movements of policy influencers, or global economic dynamics?

Required Readings:

- Jeremi Suri, "Explaining the End of the Cold War: A Historical Consensus?" *Journal of Cold War Studies* 4 (2002), pp. 60-92. [on NTULearn]
- Matthew Evangelista, *Unarmed Forces: The Transnational Movement to End the Cold War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp. 3-24; 341-392. [on NTULearn]
- Giovanni Arrighi, "The World Economy and the Cold War, 1970-1990," *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Volume III*. [On NTULearn, in reserves and available as eBooks]

Recommended Readings for Research Paper:

- Westad, *The Global Cold War*, pp. 331-407.
- Mark Kramer, "The Demise of the Soviet Bloc," Journal of Modern History 83 (2011), pp. 788-854.
- Artemy M. Kalinovsky and Sergey Radchenko eds., The End of the Cold War and the Third World: New Perspectives on Regional Conflict (London: Routledge, 2011).
- Philip Hanson, The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Economy: An Economic History of the USSR from 1945 (London: Longman, 2003).
- Chris Miller, The Struggle to Save the Soviet Economy: Mikhail Gorbachev and the Collapse of the USSR (The University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

Screening: BBC-CNN documentary series "Cold War": Episode 24 "Conclusion."

Week 13 (November 11): Consultations on Final Research Papers