International Relations in the Era of the Cold War (213)
Tutorial Guidelines & Reading List

Topics

The departmental guidelines contain 12 topics, for which I have selected eight for us to cover below. The first four are compulsory, the latter four are the ones I think are most interesting, and that I have most familiarity with, from those listed on the departmental reading list. However, I am willing to change one or two of these last four if they exclude something you really want to study. Please let me know if you wish to do this as soon as possible.

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)
5. China (1949-91)
6. South East Asia (1945-91)
7. The Middle East (1945-91)
8. France, Germany, and East-West Relations in Europe (1945-91) [but see note in this section]

Essays Etc.
You will write five essays over the term. You can choose what weeks you wish to write essays on. In the weeks when you do not write an essay, I’d still like you to write an essay plan, of around a single side of A4, with a bullet pointed argument, references to appropriate academics, and so forth. If you have tutorial partners, you must send them essays you have written/read their essays when they send them to you, prior to class.

If you are writing an essay: Essays are between 1500-2500 words, and contain citations. I know some tutors don’t care about citations, but I think it’s helpful to properly reference your work, it is particularly important in IR, will make your essays more useful for revision, and will help you gain familiarity with the literature for collections and finals. However, I am deeply uninterested in prescribing a particular citation style for you to use – anything comprehensible will be fine.

I am not fond of the practice of students having to read their essays out in tutorials. As such, you must e-mail your essay to me by 3pm the day before the tutorial – that is your deadline. I will pidge your marked essays back to you by the day after the tutorial, at the latest.

Free advice: This may be obvious, but is worth highlighting. Good essays in IR need to show three crucial things: familiarity with the literature, use of ‘real world’ examples, and engagement with counter-arguments. So you need to read the views of academics that disagree with arguments you make, so you can address their objections, and not look foolish. The same goes for essay plans.

What Reading You Need To Do
In each week, all the ‘Preliminary’ readings in my reading list below must be read regardless of whether you are writing an essay or not – i.e. preliminary readings are compulsory. The only
exception is if it is extremely clear from a brief glance at a reading that it is not relevant for your chosen essay/essay plan question – but this should not generally be the case. You should ideally then read two to three further items of your choice from the Further Reading section, especially if you are writing an essay and they are relevant for your question. On all topics go and look for more reading on the departmental reading list when necessary.

I have given chapter or page references for many readings. Where I have not, this doesn’t mean you should read the whole book. Choose an interesting and useful chunk of it to read.

If you’ve any serious problems with the reading, or any other questions, then get in touch with me at jonathan.leadermaynard@politics.ox.ac.uk. I expect us to avoid any occurrence of people missing deadlines for essays, but if there is some serious problem you must let me know well in advance so that we can see if there is a solution. I really hope, however, that this does not happen.

Reading List

General Preparatory Reading (over the Holidays)
Many of the weakly readings come from the Dunbabin books, so you can read them in advance or in each week..

Definitely: Joseph Nye, Understanding International Conflicts (2000), Ch. 2 & 5

  o Vol.1 The Cold War: the Great Powers and their Allies
  o Vol.2 The Post-Imperial Age: the Great Powers and the Wider World

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

Finally, if you didn’t read it completely when you took the IR core paper, then reading the entirety of Allison, Graham, Essence of Decision (1999), is also advisable.
**Week One - Origins of the Cold War 1945-53**

**Essay Questions:**
1. To what extent can the deterioration of superpower relations from 1945 to 1953 be explained at the level of the international system?
2. In what sense was the Cold War an ideological conflict?
3. Do you agree that the two key episodes in the early evolution of the Cold War were the Marshall Plan and the Korean War?
4. In explaining the early stages of the Cold War, how much importance should be attached to countries other than the USA and the USSR?

**Preliminary Reading**
- Nigel Gould-Davies, ‘Rethinking the Role of Ideology in International Politics during the Cold War’, *Journal of Cold War Studies* (1999)

**Further Reading**

**USSR**

**USA**

**Marshall Plan and Korean War**
Other Countries

Week Two - Cold War, ‘Peaceful Coexistence’, and Containment 1953-68

Essay Questions:
1. ‘A policy of increasing ambition yet declining credibility.’ Discuss this view of Western containment policy, 1953-68.
2. What did Khrushchev’s policy of “peaceful coexistence” amount to in practice?
3. Why did so much seem to be at stake over Cuba?
4. What were the major continuities and discontinuities in EITHER American OR Soviet foreign policy between 1953 and 1968?

Preliminary Reading
– John Dunbabin, International Relations since 1945, Vol. 1 (1994) Ch. 5 & 7
– Melvyn Leffler, For the Soul of Mankind (2007), Ch. II & III.

Further Reading
Containment

Khrushchev
– Vladislav Zubok and C. Pleshakov, Inside the Kremlin’s Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev, 1996
– Mohammed Heikal, Sphinx and Commissar: The Rise and Fall of Soviet Influence on the Arab World 1978, esp. pp.57-9 and chs. 3-7

Cuba
– Graham Allison, Essence of a Decision (1999)
– John Lewis Gaddis, We Now Know (1997/98), ch. 9
Week Three - Cold War and Détente 1969-85

Essay Questions:
1. What did détente achieve?
2. What was the contribution of the USSR to the rise and fall of détente, 1969-85?
3. ‘Détente was both promoted and undermined by domestic political considerations.’
   Discuss.

Preliminary Reading
– John Dunbabin, International Relations since 1945 Vol. 1 (1994), Ch. 9

Further Reading
General

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

USSR
Week Four - The End of the Cold War

Essay Questions:
1. What factors led to the end of the Cold War?
2. Why did the Cold War end so comparatively peacefully?
3. ‘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.

Preliminary Reading

Further Reading
Causes of the End of the Cold War
– Daniel Thomas, ‘Human rights ideas, the demise of communism and the end of the cold war’, Journal of Cold War Studies, 7:2, 2005
– Melvyn Leffler, For the Soul of Mankind (2007), Ch. V.

Implications for IR Theory

US

USSR
Week Five – China 1949-91

Essay Questions:
1. Why did China fight some wars but avoid others, 1949-91?
2. Where should one look for the springs of Chinese foreign policy, 1949-91?
3. Can ‘realism’ explain Chinese policy towards the Soviet Union, 1949-91?

Preliminary Reading
– John Dunbabin, International Relations since 1945, Vol. 1, Ch. 10 & pp.428-442

Further Reading
– Odd Arne Westad (ed.), Brothers in Arms: the Rise and Fall of the Sino-Soviet Alliance 1998
– J.W. Garver, Foreign Relations of the People’s Republic of China 1993
Essay Questions:
3. “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.

PRELIMINARY READING
- John Dunbabin, *International Relations since 1945, Vol. 1*, pp.240-270
- John Dunbabin, *International Relations since 1945, Vol. 2*, Ch. 6
- Lawrence Freedman, 'Vietnam and the Disillusioned Strategist', International Affairs, 1996
- Geoffrey Warner, 'The United States and Vietnam: From Kennedy to Johnson', International Affairs, 1997

FURTHER READING

Vietnam
- S. William, *The Second Indochina War: A Short Political and Military History*

Wider Region
- John Dunbabin, J., *International Relations since 1945, Vol. 2, Ch. 2*
Week Seven - *The Middle East 1945-1991*

*Essay Questions:*
1. Do you agree that the principal sources of instability in the Middle East between 1945 and 1991 were forces external to the region?
2. Why did the Arab-Israeli dispute prove so intractable, 1945-1991?
3. Why did united Arab action prove so elusive, 1945-1991?

**Preliminary Reading**
- John Dunbabin, *International Relations since 1945, Vol. 2, Part 3* [but skim sections of limited relevance to your question]

**Further Reading**
- Peter Sluglett, ‘The Cold War in the Middle East’ in Louise Fawcett ed, *The International Relations of the Middle East* (2005)
- Yezid Sayigh and Avi Shlaim (eds.), *The Cold War and the Middle East*, 1997

**Arab-Israeli Relations**
- James L. Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War*, 2005

**Lack of Arab Unity**
Week Eight - France, Germany, and East-West Relations in Europe, 1945-91

N.B. This is the week I am least interested in of the eight topics. I want you to have a good selection of topics for exam revision, but given the relative predictability of exam questions (they essentially always ask one on each topic) we probably don’t need to do this topic. I think it may be useful to, instead, do a revision/overview week primarily focusing on the four major topics from Weeks 1-4 – though I would still like you to read the Dunbabin readings below so that you have some overview of developments in Western Europe. But if you would like to do this topic, then we can. Please let me know your preferences on this.

Essay Questions:
1. Who managed French foreign and defence policy more effectively: the leaders of the Fourth Republic or President de Gaulle?
2. How far did de Gaulle’s successors modify his legacy, 1969-91?
3. How consistent was German foreign policy, 1963-91?

Preliminary Reading
– John Dunbabin, International Relations since 1945, Vol. 1, Chs. 13 & 14

Further Reading
France
– Frederic Bozo, ‘Mitterrand, France, the end of the cold war and German unification’, CWH, 7:4, 2007
– George Ross, S. Hoffmann and S. Malzacher (eds.), The Mitterrand Experiment 1987; chs. 18-20
– Richard Ullman, ‘The covert French Connection’ Foreign Policy xxv 1989
– John W. Young, France, The Cold War and the Western Alliance 1990

Germany
– Hammes Adomeit, Imperial Overstretch: Germany in Soviet Policy from Stalin to Gorbachev 1998, esp. ch. 2
– Wolfram Hanrieder ed., West German Foreign Policy 1949-79 1980 esp. chs. *1, 2, 8, 9