

## **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](mailto: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

Definitely: 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*

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**

- John Dunbabin, *International Relations since 1945 Vol. 1* (1994/2008) Ch. 3-4
- Robert Jervis, ‘Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?’, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 3 (2001)
- John Lewis Gaddis, ‘The Emerging Post-Revisionist Synthesis on the Origins of the Cold War’, *Diplomatic History* (1983)
- David Engerman, ‘Ideology and the Origins of the Cold War’, in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.1*.
- Anne Deighton, ‘The Cold War in Europe, 1945-1947: Three Approaches’ in Woods, N. *Explaining International Relations Since 1945* (1996)
- Nigel Gould-Davies, ‘Rethinking the Role of Ideology in International Politics during the Cold War’, *Journal of Cold War Studies* (1999)

### **FURTHER READING**

#### **USSR**

- Vladimir Petchanov, ‘The Soviet Union and the World, 1944-1953,’ in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.1*
- Ilya Gaiduk, ‘Stalin: Three Approaches to One Phenomenon’, *Diplomatic History* (1999)
- David Priestland, ‘Cold War Mobilisation and Domestic Politics: The Soviet Union,’ in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.1*.

#### **USA**

- Melvyn Leffler, ‘The Emergence of American Grand Strategy, 1945-1952,’ in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.1*.
- Laura McEnaney, ‘Cold War Mobilisation and Domestic Politics: The United States,’ in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.1*.
- Eduard Mark, ‘American Policy towards Europe and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-6. An Alternative Interpretation’, *Journal of American History* (1981)

#### **Marshall Plan and Korean War**

- William Hitchcock, ‘The Marshall Plan and the Creation of the West,’ in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.1*.
- Milward, Alan S., ‘Was the Marshall Plan Necessary?’, *Diplomatic History* (1989)
- Jervis, Robert, ‘The Impact of the Korean War on the Cold War’, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Dec.1980
- William Stueck, ‘The Korean War,’ in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.1*.

### **Other Countries**

- Anne Deighton, “Britain and the Cold War, 1945-1955,” in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.1.*
- Geir Lundestad, ‘Empire by Invitation? The United States and Western Europe, 1945-52’, *Journal of Peace Research*, 23 (1986)
- Avi Shlaim, ‘The Partition of Germany and the Origins of the Cold War’, *Review of International Studies* (1985)

## **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.
- Kenneth Waltz, 'The Stability of a Bipolar World', *Daedalus* (1964)
- Henry Kissinger, 'Reflections on Containment', *Foreign Affairs* 73 (1994)
- John Lewis Gaddis, "Grand Strategies in the Cold War," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.2.*

### **FURTHER READING**

#### **Containment**

- J. McMahon, "US national security policy from Eisenhower to Kennedy," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.1.*
- Frank Costigliola, "US national security policy from Kennedy to Johnson" in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.2.*

#### **Khrushchev**

- Vojtech Mastny, "Soviet Foreign Policy, 1953-1962," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.1.*
- Svetlana Savranskaya and William Taubman, "Soviet Foreign Policy, 1962-1975," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.2.* (section on Khrushchev).
- Vladislav Zubok and C. Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev*, 1996
- Evangelista, Matthew, "Why Keep Such an Army?": Khrushchev's Troop Reductions', *Cold War International History Project Bulletin, Working Paper* no. 19 (1997)
- 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**

- James Hershberg, "The Cuban Missile Crisis," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.2*
- Graham Allison, *Essence of a Decision* (1999)
- A. Fursenko and T. Naftali, *One Hell of a Gamble: Khrushchev, Kennedy, Castro and the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1958-1964* (1997)
- 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
- Jussi M. Hanhimäki, "Détente in Europe, 1962-75," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.2.*
- Hedley Bull, 'Kissinger: The Primacy of Geopolitics', *International Affairs*, 56 1980
- Robert Schulzinger, "Détente in the Nixon-Ford years," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.2.*
- Svetlana Savranskaya and William Taubman, "Soviet Foreign Policy, 1962-1975," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.2.* (section on Brezhnev).

### **FURTHER READING**

#### **General**

- William C. Wohlforth, *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions during the Cold War*, (1993)
- Keith L. Nelson, *The Making of Détente: Soviet-American Relations in the Shadow of Vietnam* (1995)
- John Lewis Gaddis, *The Long Peace* (1987) ch.8

#### **The Collapse of Détente**

- Olav Njølstad, "The collapse of the Superpower détente," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.3.*
- Nancy Mitchell, "The Cold War and Jimmy Carter," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.3.*
- Odd Arne Westad (ed.), *The Fall of Détente: Soviet-American Relations in the Carter Years*, 1997

#### **USSR**

- Vladislav M. Zubok, "Soviet foreign policy from Détente to Gorbachev," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.3.*
- Christoph Bluth, 'The Evolution of Soviet Military Doctrine', *Survival* 30 (1988)
- Beatrice Heuser, 'Warsaw Pact Military Doctrines in the 1970s and 1980s: Findings in the East German Archives', *Comparative Strategy*, xii (1993)

## **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**

- John Dunbabin, *International Relations since 1945, Vol. 1*, pp.24-32, Ch. 12 & pp.452-471
- Archie Brown, "The Gorbachev Revolution and the End of the Cold War," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.3*.
- Alex Pravda, "The Collapse of the Soviet Union 1990-91," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.3*.
- Michael Cox, 'Rethinking the End of the Cold War', *RIS*, 20(2) (1994)
- Robert D. English, 'Power, Ideas, and New Evidence on the Cold War's End', *International Security* (2002) [N.B. read the footnotes in this article – they contain important evidence].

### **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
- Daniel Deudney, and John G. Ikenberry, 'The International Sources of Soviet Change', *International Security* (1991/2).
- Emily Rosenberg, "Consumer capitalism and the end of the Cold War," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.3*.
- Melvyn Leffler, *For the Soul of Mankind* (2007), Ch. V.

#### **Implications for IR Theory**

- Adam Roberts, "An 'incredibly swift transition': reflections on the end of the Cold War," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.3*.
- John Lewis Gaddis, 'International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War', *IS*, Winter 1992/3
- Lebow, Richard Ned, and Risse-Kappen, T. eds., *International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War*, 1995

#### **US**

- Beth A. Fischer, "US Foreign Policy under Reagan and Bush," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.3*.

#### **USSR**

- Hannes Adomeit, 'Russia as a "Great Power" in World Affairs: Images and Reality', *IA*, 1995
- Walter Lacqueur, 'Gorbachev and Epimetheus: The Origins of the Russian Crisis', *JCH* 1993

## **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
- Rosemary Foot, 'The Study of China's International Behaviour: International Relations Approaches,' in Ngaire Woods, *Explaining International Relations Since 1945* (1996)
- Niu Jun, "The birth of the people's Republic of China and the road to the Korean War," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.1*.
- Shu Guang Zhang, "The Sino-Soviet Alliance and the Cold War in Asia, 1954-62," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.1*.
- Sergey Radchenko, "The Sino-Soviet Split," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.2*.
- Chen Jian, "China and the Cold War after Mao," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.3*.

### **FURTHER READING**

- He Di, 'The Most Respected Enemy: Mao Zedong's Perception of the United States', *The China Quarterly* 137 1994, pp.144-58.
- Craig Dietrich, *People's China: A Brief History* 1986, 1994 or 1998 edn.
- Thomas obinson and David Shambaugh eds., *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* 1994.
- John Lewis Gaddis, *The Long Peace* 1987, chs. 4-6.
- 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



## **Week Six – South East Asia 1945-91**

### *Essay Questions:*

1. “The United States intervened in Vietnam for reasons of ideology, not security.” Discuss.
2. “The United States lost its Vietnam War on the home front.” Discuss.
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
- Frederik Logevall, “The Indochina Wars and the Cold War, 1945-1975,” in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol.2*.
- Melvyn Leffler, *For the Soul of Mankind*, 2007, pp.210-233
- 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**

- Jian Chen, 'China's Involvement in the Vietnam War 1964-9', *China Quarterly*, 1995
- Stanley Karnow, *Vietnam: A History*, 1994
- Anthony Short, *The Origins of the Vietnam War*, 1989
- S. William, *The Second Indochina War: A Short Political and Military History*
- Jayne Werner & David Hunt, *The American War in Vietnam*, 1993 (esp. Ngo Vinh Long's article on the Tet offensive if you want to do question 2).

#### **Wider Region**

- Stein Tonnesson, ‘The Longest Wars: Indochina 1945-75’, *Journal of Peace Research*, 1985
- J.W. Brands, ‘The Limits of Manipulation: How the United States Didn’t Topple Sukarno’, *Journal of American History*, 1989.
- Jian Chen, ‘China and the First Indo-China War, 1950-1954’, *China Quarterly*, 1993
- 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]
- Avi Shlaim, *War and Peace in the Middle East* (1995) Ch. 2-5 [it's a short book] **and/or** Avi Shlaim, 'The Middle East: The Origins of Arab-Israeli Wars,' in Ngaire Woods, *Explaining International Relations Since 1945* (1996)
- Douglas Little, "The Cold War in the Middle East: Suez Crisis to Camp David Accords," in Leffler, M, and Westad, O A, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol.2.
- Fouad Ajami, 'The End of Pan-Arabism', *Foreign Affairs* 57, 1978-9
- Michael J. Cohen. 'The Superpowers in the Middle East', *Int History Rev*, vol. XVII (1995) 339

### **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**

- Ritchie Ovendale, *The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Wars* 1992 edn
- Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* 2000
- Charles Smith, 'The Arab-Israeli Conflict' in Louise Fawcett ed *The International Relations of the Middle East* (2005)
- Neil Caplan, 'Zionism and the Arabs: Another Look at the "New" Historiography', *Journal of Contemporary History* (2001)
- James L. Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War*, 2005

### **Lack of Arab Unity**

- Fouad Ajami, Fouad, *The Arab Predicament: Arab Political Thought and Practice since 1967* (1992)
- Malcolm Kerr, *The Arab Cold War: Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir and his Rivals, 1958-1970*, 1971
- Adeed Dawisha. *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair*, (2003)

## **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
- Andrew Wyatt-Walter, 'The United States and Western Europe: The Theory of Hegemonic Stability,' in Ngaire Woods, *Explaining International Relations Since 1945* (1996)
- M. Leffler, and O.A. Westad, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol.2, ch.8, 10; vol.3, chs.14, 16.
- Helga Haftendorn et al eds, *The strategic triangle: France, Germany and the US in the shaping of the new Europe* (2006)
- Klaus-Juergen Mueller, *Adenauer and De Gaulle – De Gaulle and Germany: A Special Relationship* (1992)

### **FURTHER READING**

#### **France**

- Frederic Bozo, *Two Strategies for Europe: De Gaulle, the United States, and the Atlantic Alliance* 2000.
- 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
- Philip H. Gordon, *A Certain Idea of France: French Security Policy and the Gaullist Legacy* 1993
- John W. Young, *France, The Cold War and the Western Alliance* 1990

#### **Germany**

- Hans-Peter Schwarz, 'Adenauer and Russia' in K-G von Hase ed, *Adenauer at Oxford*, 1983
- Hammes Adomeit, *Imperial Overstretch: Germany in Soviet Policy from Stalin to Gorbachev* 1998, esp. ch. 2
- Hans Schwarz, *Adenauer, Vol. 2, The Statesman, 1952-1967*; also the later part of Vol 1
- Wolfram Hanrieder ed., *West German Foreign Policy 1949-79* 1980 esp. chs. \*1, 2, 8, 9
- Wolfram Hanrieder and G. Auton, *The Foreign Policies of West Germany, France and Great Britain* 1980.

