

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD  
Department of Politics and International Relations

Honour School of Philosophy, Politics, and Economics  
Honour School of Modern History and Politics

## **International Relations in the Era of the Cold War (Paper 213)**

Academic Year 2005-2006

**Course Provider:** Dr Martin Ceadel (New College)

Please contact the course provider with any additions to, or corrections of, items on this list or with any enquiries about teaching for the paper.

Subject to departmental approval, certain graduate students and others may teach the course. The names and colleges of such tutors are printed in the *Tutorial Register*, a copy of which is available in electronic form at the Politics Department's web site.

### **Syllabus**

The formal syllabus in the Examination Decrees and Regulations states that candidates will be expected to show knowledge of:

'The relations among the major powers, 1945-91, including domestic and external factors shaping foreign policy: the origins and course of the Cold War including détente and the end of the Cold War; East-West relations in Europe, with particular reference to the foreign policies of France and the Federal Republic of Germany; European integration; the external relations of China and Japan, particularly with the Soviet Union and the United States; the Soviet Union's relations with eastern Europe; decolonization and conflict in the developing world.'

### **Content and structure**

The reading list covers the following thirteen topics:

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. Japan (1952-91)
7. France, Germany, and East-West Relations in Europe (1945-91)
8. European integration (1945-91)

9. Decolonization and the changing International Economic Order (1945-91)
10. The Soviet Union's Relations with Eastern Europe (1945-91)
11. The Middle East (1945-91)
12. South-East Asia (1945-91)

### **Objectives**

The paper covers the international relations of a period crucial for the evolution of today's world. These have always generated much writing of high quality, which is now further enlivened by the progressive release and assimilation of archive material; and the period now appears sufficiently self-contained for scholars to be able to step back and gain perspective by viewing it as a whole.

The paper links strongly with the Politics 'core' 'International Relations' course [Paper 214], providing factual context and tests for many of that paper's theoretical approaches to international relations, and also valuable background for its treatment of the post-1990 'contemporary' scene. The 'Cold War' paper also links back to the Further Subject 'International Relations in the Era of Two World Wars' [Paper 212], especially as many post-war statesmen were avowedly seeking to avoid the mistakes of that earlier period.

### **Teaching arrangements**

A series of thirteen lectures will be given in Michaelmas Term and the first half of Hilary Term on topics related to those of this reading list. In addition, the minority of students who have not taken the International Relations core paper [Paper 214] may find it useful to attend the lectures for that paper in order to be introduced to relevant concepts and theories.

A number of other lectures, given for other papers and/or by visiting scholars, may also be useful for parts of this paper. Most students will have eight tutorials (groups, generally, of from one to three pupils, meeting with a tutor), during which questions - mostly on topics deriving from this reading list, though there is some scope for the development of special interests - are discussed and debated. Students are normally expected to produce 6 essays for these tutorials, and to be prepared to offer oral answers in weeks in which they are not writing essays. These tutorials may be supplemented by a small number of revision or consolidating classes.

### **Course assessment**

The course is assessed by means of a three-hour unseen examination according to the provisions set out in the *Examination Decrees and Regulations*, a copy of which has been issued to each undergraduate. Further details are available in the *PPE Handbook*, and *Essential Information for Students*, copies of which have also been issued to each undergraduate and are also available on the Politics Department's web site.

*Notes on Reading List:*

- i) This is a course with a large number of takers and an unusually rich literature. Therefore, to prevent students chasing the same items, and to minimize the arbitrary exclusion of meritorious books and articles, each topic list contains *many* more items than you can be expected to read.
- ii) Items marked \* are core reading. This year's additions to the list are in **bold type**.
- iii) Shelfmarks: PIRS (Politics, International Relations, and Sociology Library, George Street), RAI (The Rothermere American Institute's Vere Harmsworth Library).
- iv) Periodicals: abbreviations and OLIS locations are as follows:

CQ	China Quarterly = BOD Per 24633 d.225
CS	Comparative Strategy = BOD Per 2488 d 991
CWIHPB	Cold War International History Project Bulletin = P.Pol N38A (online at <a href="http://cwihp.si.edu">cwihp.si.edu</a> and – for some of the working papers – <a href="http://cwihp.si.edu/pdf/wp.number.pdf">cwihp.si.edu/pdf/wp.number.pdf</a> )
DH	Diplomatic History = Rothermere American Institute
FA	Foreign Affairs = P.Pol N.24B; PIRS
FP	Foreign Policy = Per 22284 d.123; PIRS (since 1973)
HJ	Historical Journal = K.4.66; S.Hist Per 4
IA	International Affairs = P.Pol N.24A
IJ	International Journal = Rothermere American Institute
IS	International Security = PIRS, P. Pol. N. 24C
IO	International Organization = P.Pol N.25
JAH	Journal of American History = Rothermere American Institute
JCH	Journal of Contemporary History = K.4.98, S Hist Per.20
JCR	Journal of Conflict Resolution = Per 24884 d.200
JCWS	Journal of Cold War Studies = PIRS
JP	Journal of Peace Research = BOD P.E00113
JSS	Journal of Strategic Studies = BOD Per 24885 d.237
O	Orbis = BOD Per 22284 d.168.
PR	Pacific Review = BOD. PC.00006
POC	Problems of Communism = P.Pol N.6d; SSFL
PSQ	Political Science Quarterly = P.Pol N.7; SSFL
RIS	Review of International Studies = S Hist Per.31, SSFL
S	Survival = P.Pol N.37 [last 5 years], PIRS (since 1978)
WEP	West European Politics = P.Pol N.36
WP	World Politics = P.Pol N.22; PIRS
WT	World Today = P.Pol N.36A [last 10 years]; PIRS (since 1978)

- iv) Major works of reference:

*Keesing's Contemporary Archives* (from 1989 *Record of World Events*) = S, LL.  
*Facts on File Yearbook* = S. Hist Per.19

International Institute of Strategic Studies publications:

*Adelphi Papers* -P. Pol N.38; SSFL (at U.1841)  
*The Military Balance* -Per 23149 d.13  
*Strategic Survey* -Per 23149 d.18

*Foreign Relations of the United States* (multi-volume collection of documents) = RAI

### ***Preparatory Reading***

i) For narrative coverage you should read \*ONE of

Dunbabin, John P.D., *International Relations since 1945* (Longman paperback, 2 vols., 1994).  
 P. Pol. E.27B

(Vol.1) *The Cold War: the Great Powers and their Allies*

(Vol.2) *The Post-Imperial Age: the Great Powers and the Wider World*

Lundestad, Geir, *East, West, North, South: Major Developments in International Politics, 1945-1990* (Norwegian University Press pbk, distributed by Oxford Univ. Press, 1999).P.  
 Pol. E.48N . PPE Reading Room apply staff.

Keylor, William R., *A World of Nations: The International Order Since 1945* (2003)

Reynolds, David, *One World Indivisible: a Global History since 1945* (2001). M01.G01829

ii) For more analytical or thematic treatment it is helpful to read \*ONE of:

Woods, Ngaire (ed.), *Explaining International Relations since 1945* (OUP, 1996). P. Pol.  
 E.90A

Nye, Joseph S., Jr., *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History* (1994). PPE Apply Staff, PIRS

Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy* (1994) - a survey of international relations since the 17th century, and more especially since 1945, from a distinctive Kissingerian perspective.  
 P. Pol. E.43P.

Gaddis, John L., *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (1997). P. Pol. E.28R

N.B. The relevant sections of the above works are likely to be of use also in relation to all or most of the subsequent essay topics, *even when they are not specifically cited in the individual reading lists.*

### **1. *Origins of the Cold War (1945-53)***

(a) To what extent can the deterioration of superpower relations from 1945 to 1953 be explained at the level of the international system?

(b) Do you agree that the two key episodes in the early evolution of the Cold War were the Marshall Plan and the Korean War?

- (c) In explaining the early stages of the Cold War, how much importance should be attached to countries other than the USA and the USSR?
- (d) Was the partition of Germany the main cause, or the main consequence, of the Cold War?

For all questions:

### General

\*Gaddis, John Lewis, *We Now Know. Rethinking Cold War History* (1997). PIRS, PPE Apply Staff, and P.Pol. E.28R.

\*Kramer, Mark, 'Ideology and the Cold War', *Review of International Studies*, 1999.

\*ONE of

DePorte, A.W., *Europe Between the Superpowers* (1990). P. Pol E. 47K

Leffler, Melvyn P., and Painter, David S., *Origins of the Cold War: An International History* (1994). P. Pol. E.47K

Leffler, Melvyn P., *The Specter of Communism: The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1917-53* (1994). P. Pol. E.47L

Leffler, Melvyn P., *The Struggle for Germany and the Origins of the Cold War* (P. Xerox 281 – German Historical Institute, Washington, Occasional Paper no. 16 – 1996). PIRS desk

Senarclens, Pierre de, *From Yalta to the Iron Curtain: the Great Powers and the Origins of the Cold War* (1995). P. Pol. E.78J

Yergin, Daniel, *Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State* (1978). PIRS

Gaddis, John Lewis, 'The Emerging Post-Revisionist Synthesis on the Origins of the Cold War', *Diplomatic History* 1983. RAI

\*Gould-Davies, Nigel, 'Rethinking the Role of Ideology in International Politics during the Cold War', *Journal of Cold War Studies* 1999. P. Xerox 262, PIRS Per

Wohlforth, William C., *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions during the Cold War* (1993). P. Pol. E.90

### USSR

\*Leffler, Melvyn, 'Inside Enemy Archives: the Cold War reopened', *Foreign Affairs* 75 (1996). NUF PP Cons 38

\*Zubok, Vladislav, and Pleshakov, Constantine, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev* (1996). Bod Per RR apply staff.

\*Gaiduk, Ilya, 'Stalin: Three Approaches to One Phenomenon' [review article], *DH* 1999.

\*Mark, Eduard, *Revolution by Degrees: Stalin's National-Front Strategy for Europe, 1941-1947*, CWIHP Working Paper no. 31.

Mastny, Vojtech, *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity. The Stalin Years* (1996). P. Pol. E.56A

\*McCauley, M.M. (ed.), *Communist Power in Europe, 1944-1949* (1979). S Hist 5.180.15

Petchanov, Vladimir, 'The Allies are Pressing on You to Break Your Will' ... Foreign Policy Correspondence between Stalin and Molotov ... Sept. 1945 – Dec. 1946, (ICWIHP Working Paper no. 26).

Parish, Scott D., and Narinsky, Mikhail, 'New Evidence on the Soviet Rejection of the Marshall Plan, 1947', *CWIHP Working Paper* no. 9.

\*Gati, Charles, 'Hegemony and Repression in the Eastern Alliance', in Leffler, Melvyn R., and Painter, David S., *Origins of the Cold War. An International History* (1994). BOD stolen. PIRS

Westad, Odd Arne (ed.), *The Soviet Union in Eastern Europe, 1945-89* (1994). P Pol 86E

MacDonald, Douglas J., 'Communist Bloc Expansion in the Early Cold War: Challenging Realism, Refuting Revisionism', *International Security* 20, 1995-96. P. Pol. N.24C.

Nevakivi, Jukka, 'Finland and the Cold War', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 10 (1985). P. Xerox 297.

#### USA

\*Leffler, Melvyn P., *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (1992). RAI E 813.L45 1991

\*Paterson, Thomas G., *Meeting the Communist Threat: Truman to Reagan* (1989 edn.). PIRS, RAI.

\*Gaddis, John L., *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War 1941-1947* (1972). P. Pol. E.29A

\*Gaddis, John L., *Strategies of Containment: a critical Appraisal of post-War American national Security Policy* (1982). PIRS, RAI

Mark, Eduard, 'American Policy towards Europe and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-6. An Alternative Interpretation', *Jl. Of American History*, 1981.

Jervis, Robert, 'Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?', *Journal of Cold War Studies* iii (2001). P.EO2637 v.1. P. Xerox 298, PIRS

Particularly for question (a) those who have not done the International Relations core paper, in particular, should look at

EITHER Russett, Bruce M., and Starr, Harvey, *World Politics: The Menu for Choice* (any edition): section on levels of analysis. PIRS, P. Pol. E.68.

OR Singer, J. David, 'The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations', in Knorr, Klaus, and Verba, Sidney (eds.), *The International System* (1961), P. Pol. E. 44F repro. in Rosenau, James D., *International Politics and Foreign Policy* (1969). P. Pol. E.65N

#### Mainly for (b)

Milward, Alan S., 'Was the Marshall Plan Necessary?', *Diplomatic History* 1989.

Hogan, Michael J., *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952* (1987). P.Econ.C65

\*Jervis, Robert, 'The Impact of the Korean War on the Cold War' *JCR* Dec.1980. Xerox 138.

\*Weathersby, Kathryn, "Should we Fear This?" *Stalin and the Danger of War with America* [Korean War] (CWIHP Working Paper no. 39).

Zubok, V., and Pleshakov, C., *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War*, ch. 2 and p. 155 is a convenient source for recent Soviet material on the Korean war and its origins

- Shen, Zhihua, 'Sino-Soviet Relations and the Origins of the Korean War: Stalin's Strategic Goals in the Far East', *Journal of Cold War Studies* ii (2000). P.E0 2637, P. Xerox 299, PIRS.
- Chen, Jian, *China's Road to the Korean War: the Making of the Sino-American Confrontation* (1994). P. Pol. E.21A
- Christenson, Thomas, *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilisation and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958* (1996). P. Pol. E.21D, PIRS
- Foot, Rosemary, 'Making Known the Unknown War' *DH* 15(3), Summer 1991.
- Stueck, W.W., *The Korean War: An International History* (1995). P. Pol. E.79G
- Kaufman, Burton I., *The Korean War: Challenges in Crisis, Credibility and Command* (1997 edn.). RAI
- Lee, Steven Hugh, *The Korean War* (2001) [short].

Mainly for (c) and (d)

- \*DePorte, A.W., *Europe Between the Superpowers* (1990). P. Pol. E.47K
- \*Reynolds, David (ed.), *The Origins of the Cold War in Europe* (1994). P. Pol. E.65E
- Deighton, Anne (ed.), *Britain and the First Cold War* (1990). P. Pol E.25G
- \*Deighton, Anne, 'The Cold War in Europe, 1945-1947: Three Approaches' in Woods, Ngaire, *Explaining International Relations since 1945* (1996). P. Pol. E.90A
- Rothwell, Victor, *Britain and the Cold War, 1941-7* (1982), P.Pol. E.65S, PIRS.
- \*Lundestad, Geir, 'Empire by Invitation? The United States and Western Europe, 1945-52', *Journal of Peace Research* 23, 1986. PPE Xerox 205.
- \*Reynolds, David, 'The Origins of the Cold War: the European Dimension, 1944-51', *HJ* 1985. S. Hist. Per 4.
- \*Leffler, Melvyn P., *The Struggle for Germany and the Origins of the Cold War* (P. Xerox 281 – German Historical Institute, Washington, Occasional Paper no. 16 – 1996).
- Becker, Josef, and Knipping, Franz, *Power in Europe: Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany in a Postwar World, 1945-1950* (1986). P. Pol. B.2M
- Kuniholm, Bruce R., *The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East* (1980). P. Pol. E.46C, PIRS
- Mark, Eduard, 'The War Scare of 1946 and its Consequences', *Diplomatic History*, 1997.
- Nachmani, A., 'Civil War and Foreign Intervention in Greece, 1946-49', *Jl. of Contemporary History* 1990.
- Warner, Geoffrey, 'The Division of Germany' *IA* Jan. 1975.
- Shlaim, Avi, 'The Partition of Germany and the Origins of the Cold War', *Review of International Studies*, 1985.
- Deighton, Anne, *The Impossible Peace: Britain, the Division of Germany and the Origins of the Cold War* (1990/1993) or her chapter in her *Britain and the First Cold War* (1990). P. Pol. E.25G.
- Raack, R.C., 'Stalin Plans his Post-War Germany', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1993.
- Naimark, Norman, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949* (1995). P. Pol. B.70A.
- Grosser, Alfred, *Germany in our Time: a Political History of the Post-War Years* (1970). P. Pol. B.41

## 2. Cold War, 'Peaceful Coexistence', and Containment (1953-68)

- (a) 'A policy of increasing ambition yet declining credibility.' Discuss this view of American containment policy, 1953-68.
- (b) What did Khrushchev's policy of "peaceful coexistence" amount to in practice?
- (c) Did West Germany's entry into NATO produce an easing of East-West tensions; if so, when and why?
- (d) Why did so much come to be, or at least to seem, at stake over Cuba?

Introductory for all questions:

Trachtenberg, Marc, *A Constructed Peace: the Making of the European Settlement 1945-1963* (1999)

\*Stevenson, R.W., *The Rise and Fall of Détente* (1985). PIRS

\*Beschloss, Michael, *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev* (1991). RAI, PIRS.

Keal, Paul, *Unspoken Rules and Superpower Dominance* (1983). P. Pol. E.43I

Lebow, Richard Ned, and Stein, Janice G., *We All Lost the Cold War* (1994). P. Pol. E.47D

Waltz, Kenneth, 'The Stability of a Bipolar World', *Daedalus*, 1964. P. Xerox 302.

Gray, Colin S., 'Strategy in the Nuclear Age: The United States, 1945-91', in Murray, Williamson, Knox, MacGregor, Bernstein, Alwin, *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States and War*.

Mainly for (a)

\*Gaddis, John L., Gaddis, John L., *Strategies of Containment: a Critical Appraisal of post-War American National Security Policy* (1982). PIRS, RAI

\*Gaddis, John L., *The Long Peace* (1987). PIRS, RAI

Gaddis, John L., *We Now Know* (1997/98). PIRS, P.Pol. E. 28E and 'Apply Staff'.

Paterson, Thomas G., *Meeting the Communist Threat: Truman to Reagan* (1988). RAI

Immerman, Richard H. (ed.), *John Foster Dulles and the Diplomacy of the Cold War* (1990). RAI

\*EITHER Paterson, Thomas G. (ed.), *Kennedy's Quest for Victory: American Foreign Policy, 1961-1963* (1989). RAI, PIRS.

\*OR Freedman, Lawrence, *Kennedy's Wars: Berlin, Cuba, Laos and Vietnam* (2000). RAI, PIRS

Fish, M. Steven, 'After Stalin's Death. The Anglo-American Debate over a New Cold War', *Diplomatic History* 10 (1986). RAI

Articles on 'Containment: 40 Years Later', *FA*, Spring 1987.

Kissinger, Henry, 'Reflections on Containment', *Foreign Affairs* 73 (1994).

Mainly for (b)

\*Zubok, Vladislav, and Pleshakov, Constantine, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev* (1996). PIRS, PPE Apply Staff.

Mastny, Vojtech, *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity: The Stalin Years* (1996); ch. 10. P. Pol. E.56A

Taubman, William, *Khrushchev: the man and his era* (2003), chs 13-19.

Kramer, Mark, 'The early Post-Stalin Succession Struggle and Upheavals in East-Central Europe: Internal-External Linkages in Soviet Foreign Policy', *Jl. of Cold War Studies* (1999).

Nordlander, David, 'Khrushchev's Image in the Light of Glasnost and Perestroika', *Russian Review* 52 (1993).

Evangelista, Matthew, "Why Keep Such an Army?": Khrushchev's Troop Reductions, CWIHP Working Paper no. 19 (1997).

Zaloga, Steven, *Target America: the Soviet Union and the Arms Race, 1945-64* (1993).

OR Holloway, David, *The Soviet Union and the Arms Race* (1984). PIRS.

\*Heikal, Mohammed, *Sphinx and Commissar: The Rise and Fall of Soviet Influence on the Arab World* (1978), esp. pp.57-9 and chs. 3-7. P. Pol. E.33A.

\*Beschloss, Michael, *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev, 1960-1963* (1991). RAI, PIRS.

Mainly for (c)

\*Hanrieder, Wolfram (ed.), *West German Foreign Policy 1949-79* (1980); chs. by Calleo ('Germany and the Balance of Power'), Schwarz ('Adenauer's Ostpolitik'), Willis ('Germany, France, and Europe'). P. Pol. E.31A.

Adomeit, Hannes, *Imperial Overstretch: Germany in Soviet Policy from Stalin to Gorbachev* (1998), esp. Part 2. P. Pol. E.1E

\*Garton Ash, Timothy, *In Europe's Name. Germany and the Divided Continent* (1993). Prologue and chs. 1-3. PIRS, P.Pol. E.1G.

\*Gaddis, John Lewis, *We Now Know* (1997), ch. 5. P.Pol. E. 28E and 'Apply Staff'.

Schwarz, Hans-Peter, *Adenauer, Vol. 2, The Statesman*. R.F01229

Richardson, James L., *Crisis Diplomacy. The Great Powers since the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (1994), ch. 9. P. Pol. E.65J

Freedman, Lawrence, *Kennedy's Wars: Berlin, Cuba, Laos and Vietnam* (2000) - on Berlin. RAI, PIRS.

Allard, Sven, *Russia and the Austrian State Treaty: A Case Study of Soviet Policy in Europe* (1970). 2489e.478

Mainly for (d)

Freedman, Lawrence, *Kennedy's Wars: Berlin, Cuba, Laos and Vietnam* (2000). RAI, PIRS

\*Fursenko, A., and Naftali, T., *One Hell of a Gamble: Khrushchev, Kennedy, Castro and the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1958-1964* (1997). RAI

\*Gaddis, John Lewis, *We Now Know* (1997/98), ch. 9. P.Pol. E. 28E and 'Apply Staff'.

\*White, Mark J. (ed.), *The Cuban Missile Crisis* (1996). RAI, PIRS

White, Mark J. (ed.), *The Kennedys and Cuba: The declassified Documentary History* (1999), RAI, PIRS.

Nathan, James A. (ed.), *The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited* (1992). RAI

Williamson, Edwin, *The Penguin History of Latin America* (1992), esp. ch. 12. SLA 310.26

Dunbabin, J.P.D., *The Post-Imperial Age* (1994), ch. 16. P. Pol. E27B

Patterson, Thomas G. (ed.), *Kennedy's Quest for Victory* (1989) - ch. on 'Controlling Revolutions: Latin America'. RAI, PIRS

Mao, Tse-Tung, and Guevara, Che, *Guerrilla Warfare* (1965) - section by Guevara. PIRS  
CWIHP *Bulletin* 5 (1995), 'Cold War Crises', section on Cuba.

Chang, Laurence, and Kornbluh, Peter, *The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962: A National Security Archive Documents Reader* (1992). RAI, PIRS

Khrushchev, Nikita, *Khrushchev Remembers: The Glasnost Tapes* (1990), ch. 7. P. Pol. B.86CC, PIRS

Kissinger, Henry, *White House Years* (1979), ch. 16. RAI, PIRS

Betts, Richard K., *Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance* (1987). 23161.d132, PIRS

### 3. *Cold War and Détente (1969-85)*

- (a) What did détente actually achieve?
- (b) Was Kissinger's détente policy a brilliant improvisation or a fundamental change in America's post-war foreign policy?
- (c) What was the contribution of the USSR to the rise and fall of détente, 1969-85?
- (d) 'More than any other important development between 1945 and 1985, détente was both promoted and undermined by domestic political considerations.' Discuss.

Mainly for (a)

\*Bowker, Mike, and Williams, Phil, *Superpower Détente: A Reappraisal* (1988). PIRS, PPE apply staff.

\*Davy, Richard (ed.), *European Détente: A Reappraisal* (1992). P. Pol. E.24A, PIRS.

\*Garthoff, Raymond, *Détente and Confrontation* (1994 edn.). RAI, PIRS

White, Brian, 'The Concept of Détente', *RIS* 1981. S.Hist. Per. 31, PIRS.

Stevenson, R.W., *The Rise and Fall of Détente* (1985). PIRS, PPE apply staff; RAI.

Mainly for (b) and (d)

\*Isaacson, Walter, *Kissinger: a Biography* (1993). RAI, PIRS

\*Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy* (1994); (cf. also Kissinger's memoirs - *The White House Years* (1979); *Years of Upheaval* (1982); *Years of Renewal* (1999) - extremely lengthy, but useful for specific episodes.) PIRS, RAI

Hersh, Seymour M., *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House* (1983) - critical; extends to the Vietnam cease-fire only. RAI, PIRS

Bell, Coral, 'Kissinger in Retrospect: The Diplomacy of Power Concert', *IA* 53 (1977).

Bull, Hedley, 'Kissinger: The Primacy of Geopolitics', *IA* 56 (1980).

Burr, William (ed.), *The Kissinger Transcripts: the Top Secret Talks with Beijing and Moscow* (1999 - National Security Archive), esp. chs. 5, 7. PIRS

Mann, Jim, *About Face. A History of America's Curious Relationship with China from Nixon to Clinton* (2000), chs. 1-3. PIRS

Friedberg, A.L., 'The Evolution of US Strategic Doctrine, 1945-80', in Huntingdon, S.P. (ed.), *The Strategic Imperative: New Policies for American Security* (1982).[Bod M01.E16338]

- Gray, Colin S., 'Strategy in the Nuclear Age: The United States, 1945-1991', in Murray, Williamson, Knox, MacGregor, and Bernstein, Alvin, *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States and War* (1994). M95.E00504
- Kissinger, Henry, 'NATO: The Next Thirty Years' and rejoinder by McGeorge Bundy, *Survival* 21 (1979).
- Mainly for (c) and (d)
- Gelman, Harry, *The Brezhnev Politburo and the Decline of Détente* (1984). P. Pol. B.38U, PIRS
- Bluth, Christoph, 'The Evolution of Soviet Military Doctrine', *Survival* 30 (1988).
- Heuser, Beatrice, 'Warsaw Pact Military Doctrines in the 1970s and 1980s: Findings in the East German Archives', *Comparative Strategy* xii (1993). P. Xerox 207
- MccGwire, Michael, *Military Objectives in Soviet Foreign Policy* (1987). M90.E00858
- Nelson, Keith L., *The Making of Détente: Soviet-American Relations in the Shadow of Vietnam* (1995). RAI, PIRS
- \*Westad, Odd Arne (ed.), *The Fall of Détente: Soviet-American Relations in the Carter Years* (Oslo, 1997). PIRS, P.Pol. E. 87
- \*Garton Ash, Timothy, *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent* (1993). PIRS, P.Pol. E.1G
- White, Brian, *Britain, Détente and Changing East-West Relations* (1992). P. Pol. E.87A, PIRS
- Gaddis, John Lewis, *The Long Peace* (1987) esp. ch.8. PIRS, RAI
- Wohlforth, William C., *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions during the Cold War* (1993). P. Pol. E.90 – but see also the comments in Kramer, 'Ideology and the Cold War', *Review of International Studies*, 1999.
- Dunbabin, J.P.D., *The Cold War* (1994), ch.6. P. Pol. E.27B
- Pry, Peter V., *War Scare. Russia and America on the Nuclear Brink* (1999) – initial pages on Operation VRYAN (RYAN). P. Pol. Eb.55D.

#### 4. The End of the Cold War

- (a) What factors led to the end of the Cold War?
- (b) How and why did the Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe collapse?
- (c) Why did the Cold War end so comparatively peacefully?
- (d) 'From the onset of the Cold War the US goal had been to persuade the Soviets to change their behaviour so that there would be nothing left to contain'. Is this how the Cold War ended?

##### General readings:

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## 5. China, 1949-91

- (a) Whatever appeared good for China's domestic economic development became Beijing's foreign policy.' Is this an accurate assessment of Chinese external policy, 1949-85?
- (b) Where should one look for the springs of Chinese foreign policy, 1949-85?
- (c) 'Both negatively and positively, the US has been at the centre of China's foreign-policy concerns post 1949.' Discuss.
- (d) Can 'realism' explain Chinese policy towards the Soviet Union, 1949-85?

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## 6. *Japan (1952-91)*

- (a) How well did Japan's "dependent independence" serve its own interests and how well those of the United States, 1952-91?
- (b) Did Japan's economic power compensate for its diplomatic weakness, 1952-91?
- (c) Does the survival, throughout the Cold War of the US-Japanese alliance of 1951, despite trade conflicts between the two allies, indicate there is a hierarchy of issues in international relations?
- (d) Why was there no Japanese challenge to US political hegemony 1952-1991?

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7. *France, Germany, and East-West Relations in Europe, 1945-91*

- (a) Who managed French foreign and defence policy more effectively: the leaders of the Fourth Republic or President de Gaulle?
- (b) How far did de Gaulle's successors modify his legacy, 1969-85?
- (c) Was Adenauer an archetypal 'realist'?
- (d) How consistent was German foreign policy, 1963-85?

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See also Topic 7 – 'European Integration'

## 8. 'European Integration', 1945-91

- (a) Have existing theories of integration consistently underestimated the importance of individual leaders for the process of integration in western Europe, 1945-85?
- (b) What are the interests that have been pursued through the project of European integration?
- (c) Account for the variable speed of western European integration, 1945-85.
- (d) Was European integration between 1945 and 1985 a French project but a German achievement?

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### 9. *Decolonisation and the Changing International Economic Order, 1945-91*

- (a) To what extent did colonies contribute to their own emancipation?
- (b) Why did Asia decolonize before Africa?
- (c) 'The manner in which countries have achieved independence since the Second World War has had surprisingly little effect on their subsequent international alignment.' Discuss, with reference to the period 1945-91.
- (d) How should we explain the successes and failures of 'Third World' attempts to reform the international order between 1945 and 1991?

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- Mainly for (c) and (d)
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**10. *The Soviet Union's Relations with Eastern Europe, 1945-85***

- (a) Which concept better captures the essence of Soviet ascendancy over Eastern Europe, 1945-85: 'empire' or 'sphere of influence'?
- (b) Evaluate the comparative effectiveness of the various mechanisms by which the Soviet Union sought to impose its will on Eastern Europe, 1945-85.
- (c) What determined the degree of independence of the USSR exercised by the various communist states of Eastern Europe, 1945-85?
- (d) Explain why the Soviet Union intervened militarily in some of the internal crises of its Eastern European satellites, 1945-85, but not others.

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### 11. *The Middle East (1945- 1991)*

- (a) Do you agree that the principal sources of instability in the Middle East between 1945 and 1991 were forces external to the region?
- (b) Which external power pursued its interests in the Middle East most effectively between 1945 and 1991: Britain, the United States, or the Soviet Union?
- (c) Why did the Arab-Israeli dispute prove so intractable, 1945-1991?
- (d) Why did united Arab action prove so elusive, 1945-1991?

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## 12. *South-East Asia (1945- 1991)*

- (a) Account for the instability of the region between 1945 and 1991.
- (b) Why did Communism make such headway in Indo-China in the first post-war decade?
- (c) 'The United States lost its Vietnam War on the home front.' Discuss.
- (d) '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.

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