

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON  
Department of History

*History 375: The Cold War—From World War II to End of Soviet Empire*

Fall 2023

Mr. McCoy

**I. COURSE REQUIREMENTS & OBJECTIVES:**

**Course Description:** Designed for students with some background in U.S. history or international studies, the course probes the global dynamics of the Cold War, from its origins during World War II through the end of the Soviet empire in 1991. This transformative era in international history emerged when the end of World War II coincided with the rapid decolonization of European empires to produce a world divided between two rival superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union. Not only did the Cold War split most of the world into communist and capitalist blocs, but it also penetrated deep inside many societies, shaping art, culture, electoral politics, and mass consciousness.

After exploring the Cold War's key aspects such as nuclear warfare, espionage, and mind control, the course tracks its international history through three main phases. First, as the Iron Curtain divided Europe during the late 1940s, the rival superpowers competed for dominion over this divided continent through espionage, cultural display, and deployment of nuclear-armed military forces. When the conflict spread around the globe, it was marked by conventional warfare (Korea), communist revolutions (China, Vietnam), counterinsurgency campaigns (Greece, Malaya, and the Philippines), and CIA-sponsored coups (Iran, Guatemala).

After the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 brought the superpowers to the brink of nuclear war, the Cold War's superpower rivalry shifted to the Third World, marked by a massive surrogate war in Vietnam, CIA regime change in Indonesia and Chile, and Soviet intervention to end the Prague Spring. Rejecting the repressive Cold War politics of their own governments, a younger generation staged mass protests around the globe during the 1960s—including anti-war demonstrations in the U.S., militant protests in Asia and Latin America, and a student uprising that nearly toppled the French government.

In the Cold War's final phase after 1975, superpower surrogate warfare coincided with the politics of developing societies to produce devastating conflicts on three continents—in southern Africa, Central America, and Central Asia. Bloodied by Islamic resistance during its decade-long occupation of Afghanistan, the Red Army withdrew in defeat and the Soviet Union collapsed just two years later as 22 satellite states and captive republics broke free from Moscow's grip.

Through the sum of such content, students should finish the course with knowledge about a key facet of U.S. foreign policy, a grasp of “geopolitics” as an analytical tool, and a lasting ability to analyze future international developments. More broadly, the course will impart sharpened analytical abilities, refined research skills, improved oral presentations, and better writing skills.

**Class Meetings:** Lectures are held in Humanities 1121, Tuesdays and Thursdays, 2:30-3:45 p.m.

**Contacts:** Alfred McCoy has office hours in 5131 Humanities by appointment on Thursdays 11:30 to 1:30 pm, and can be contacted via phone (office 263-1855) or email <awmccoy@wisc.edu>. Henry Bielenberg has office hours by appointment in 4268 Humanities, and can be contacted by phone (office 263-1687) or email <hbielenberg@wisc.edu>.

**Readings:** To follow the lectures, students should read selections from the required readings on Canvas before the relevant lecture. To gain some sense of the temper of times past and prepare an optional extra-credit reflection paper, students are also urged to sample the films and fiction cited in Section IV of the Syllabus, some of which are available on Canvas.

**Credit Policy:** The credit standard for this 4-credit course is met by an expectation of a total of 180 hours of student engagement with the course’s learning activities (at least 45 hours per credit or 9 hours per week), which include regularly scheduled meeting times, dedicated online time, reading, writing, individual consultations with the instructor, and other student work as described in the syllabus.

**Course Aims:** Apart from studying a critical period, the course allows students an opportunity to refine essential academic skills--critical reading, academic research, and expository writing.

**Course Standards:** In keeping with University regulations, you are required to do your own work for the course and not reproduce, without attribution and quotation marks, the work of others—including published or unpublished sources and text generated by Artificial Intelligence (AI).

**Course Requirements:** For each of these assignments, there are different requirements for both the amount and form of work to be done:

**a.) Lecture Quizzes:** After every assigned lecture on Tuesdays and Thursday, students shall take a short online quiz via Canvas, located under the “Quizzes” tab. Lecture Quizzes will only be available between 3:45 p.m. and 10:00 p.m.

**b.) Mid-term:** During the lecture on *Thursday, October 19* a list of questions—based on the material covered in the lectures and the required readings through Week 7—will be distributed in class. Using footnotes and following the format outlined below in Part V, students will complete a five-page essay and submit their paper at the start of class on *Tuesday, October 24*.

**c.) Essay:** At the start of class on *Tuesday, October 31*, students will submit a two-page outline for their major essays that includes: (1.) one-paragraph abstract of the argument, (2.) an outline of the paper’s main points, and (3.) a preliminary bibliography. Students who have questions about the outline are urged to meet with the instructor during office hours and by individual appointment to discuss alternative approaches.

At *9:00 a.m. on Monday, November 20*, students shall submit a 2,500-word research essay (about 8 to 10 pages) with footnotes and bibliography. A list of topics is appended below in Part III, and the format for the essays is detailed in Part V below.

**d.) Final Exam:** Students shall take a two-hour final examination on **Wednesday, December 20, at 7:45-9:45 am**. Students will be required to answer two questions— (1.) one on a broad theme from the lectures and Required Readings, and (2.) for 2% extra-credit, a reflection on how literature illuminates history based on two of the films or works of fiction in Section IV.

**This course is graded on an A, AB, B, BC, C, D, F scale:**

A = 92-100

AB = 88-91

B	= 82-87
BC	= 77-81
C	= 72-76
D	= 67-71
F	= 66 or below.

**Final Grade:** Mark in the course shall be computed as follows:

—lecture quizzes:	<b>20%</b>
—midterm exam	<b>10%</b>
—research essay:	<b>20%</b>
—discussion section mark:	<b>30%</b>
—final examination:	<b>20%</b>

**Graduate Grading:** In lieu the above requirements, graduate students shall submit a longer, more intensively researched 5,000-word essay with notes, annotated bibliography, and preponderance of primary sources examining the interface between theory and empirical evidence for a major theme in the course. The instructor must approve paper topics in advance.

**Suggested Textbooks:** Sold at University Bookstore, State Street Mall:

Leffler, Melvyn and Odd Arne Westad, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Westad, Odd Arne, *The Global Cold War: Third World Intervention* (New York: Cambridge, 2007).

Weiner, Tim, *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA* (New York: Doubleday, 2007).

**Reference Volumes:**

Westad, Odd Arne, *The Cold War: A World History* (New York: Basic Books, 2019).

## II. READINGS:

### WEEK 1 (September 7): ORIGINS & HISTORY

#### **Lecture:**

Rival Superpowers & the U.S. National Security State: Air Power, Espionage, and Nuclear Arms

#### **Required Readings: (Total: 129 pages)**

Brzezinski, Zbigniew, *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), 3-9.

Kruszewski, Charles. “**The Pivot of History**,” *Foreign Affairs* 32, no. 3 (1954), 388-401.

Leffler, Melvyn P., “**The Emergence of an American Grand Strategy, 1945-1952**,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. I*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 67-89.

McCoy, Alfred W., *In the Shadows of the American Century: The Rise and Decline of US Global Power* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2017), 27-60.

Weiner, Tim, *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA* (New York: Doubleday, 2007), 3-38.

Westad, Odd Arne. “**The Cold War and the International History of the Twentieth Century**,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. I*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1-19.

***Suggested Readings:***

Darwin, John, “**The Geopolitics of Decolonization**,” in *Endless Empire: Spain’s Retreat, Europe’s Eclipse, America’s Decline*, eds. Alfred W. McCoy, Josep Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 191-202.

Darwin, John, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 610-48.

Gaddis, John Lewis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 26-53.

Holloway, David, “**Nuclear Weapons and the Escalation of the Cold War, 1945-1962**,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. I*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 376-97.

Immerwahr, Daniel, *How to Hide an Empire: A Short History of the Greater United States* (London: Penguin Random House, 2019), 355-90.

Leffler, Melvyn P., “**The Cold War: What do ‘We Now Know’?**” *American Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (1999), 501-24.

Mackinder, H.J. “**The Geographical Pivot of History**,” *Geographical Journal* 23, no. 4 (1904), 421-37.

Milne, David, *Worldmaking: The Art and Science of American Diplomacy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015), 217-325.

Young, Marilyn B., “**The Age of Global Power**,” in *Making the Forever War: Marilyn B. Young on the Culture and Politics of American Militarism*, eds. Mark Philip Bradley and Mary L. Dudziak (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2021), 15-34.

**PHASE ONE: NORTH ATLANTIC NUCLEAR STALEMATE**

**WEEK 2 (September 12): DIVIDED EUROPE**

***Lectures:***

Iron Curtain Descends: Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia) & Western Europe (Germany, France, Italy)  
Greek Civil War & Start of the Cold War

***Required Readings: (Total: 118 pages)***

Barnes, Trevor, “**The Secret Cold War: The C.I.A. and American Foreign Policy in Europe 1946-1956. Part I**,” *Historical Journal* 24, no. 2 (1981), 399-415.

- Barnes, Trevor, "The Secret Cold War: The C.I.A. and American Foreign Policy in Europe 1946-1956. Part II," *Historical Journal* 25, no. 3 (1982), 649-70.
- Brogi, Alessandro, *A Question of Self-Esteem: The United States and the Cold War Choices in France and Italy, 1944-58* (Westport: Praeger, 2002), 75-105.
- Fowler, Glenn, "Irving Brown, 77, U.S. Specialist on International Labor Movement," *New York Times*, February 11, 1989,  
<https://www.nytimes.com/1989/02/11/obituaries/irving-brown-77-us-specialist-on-international-labor-movement.html>
- Fowler, Glenn, "Jay Lovestone, Communist Leader Who Turned Against Party, Dies" *New York Times*, March 9, 1990,  
<https://www.nytimes.com/1990/03/09/obituaries/jay-lovestone-communist-leader-who-turned-against-party-dies.html>
- Ganser, Daniele, *NATO's Secret Armies: Operation Gladio and Terrorism in Western Europe* (London: Frank Cass, 2005), 15-24.
- Hevesi, Dennis. "James A. Van Fleet, Leader in Korean War, Dies at 100," *New York Times*, September 24, 1992, <https://www.nytimes.com/1992/09/24/us/james-a-van-fleet-leader-in-korean-war-dies-at-100.html>.
- Iatrides, John O. and Nicholas X. Rizopoulos, "The International Dimension of the Greek Civil War," *World Policy Journal* 17, no. 1 (2000), 87-102.
- Rajak, Svetozar, "The Cold War in the Balkans, 1945-1956," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. I*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 198-220.

### ***Suggested Readings:***

- Gitlin, Todd, "Counter-Insurgency: Myth and Reality in Greece," in *Containment and Revolution: Western Policy Toward Social Revolution*, ed. David Horowitz (London: Blond, 1967), 140-81.
- Iatrides, John O., "George F. Kennan and the Birth of Containment: The Greek Test Case," *World Policy Journal* 22, no. 3 (2005), 126-43.
- Marantzidis, Nikos, "The Greek Civil War (1944-1949) and the International Communist System," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 15, No. 4 (2013), 25-53.
- Naimark, Norman, "The Sovietization of Eastern Europe, 1944-1953," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. I*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 175-97.
- Pechatnov, Vladimir O., "The Soviet Union and the World, 1944-1953," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. I*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 90-111.
- Rudgers, David F., "The Origins of Covert Action," *Journal of Contemporary History* 35, no. 2 (2000), 249-62.
- Weiner, Tim, *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA* (New York: Doubleday, 2007), 32-38.

Wittner, Lawrence, S., *American Intervention in Greece, 1943-1949* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 36-69, 223-53

### WEEK 3 (September 19): COLD WAR AMERICA

#### Lectures:

NATO versus the Warsaw Pact: Nuclear Arms, Espionage, and Military Mobilization  
Anti-Communist Crusade: Arts, Mass Media, McCarthyism, and Mind Control

#### Required Readings: (Total: 105 pages)

Hitchcock, William I., "The Marshall Plan and the Creation of the West," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. I*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 154-74.

Leffler, Melvyn, "Strategy, Diplomacy, and the Cold War: The United States, Turkey, and NATO, 1945-1952," *Journal of American History* 71, no. 4 (1985), 807-25.

McEnaney, Laura, "Cold War Mobilization and Domestic Politics: The United States," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. I*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 420-41.

Wilford, Hugh, *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 51-69, 99-122.

#### Suggested Readings:

Bernstein, Carl, "The CIA and the Media," *Rolling Stone*, October 20, 1977, <https://www.carlbernstein.com/the-cia-and-the-media-rolling-stone-10-20-1977>.

Henrikson, Alan K., "The Creation of the North Atlantic Alliance, 1948-1952," *Naval War College Review* 33, no. 3 (1980), 4-34.

Jenkins, Tricia and Matthew Alford, "Intelligence Activity in Hollywood: Remembering the 'Agency' in CIA," *Scope: An Online Journal of Film and Television Studies* 23 (2012), 1-14.

Kaplan, Lawrence A., "The United States and the Origins of NATO 1946-1949," *The Review of Politics* 31, no. 2 (1969), 210-22.

Lasch, Christopher, "The Cultural Cold War: A Short History of the Congress for Cultural Freedom," in *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History*, ed. Barton Bernstein (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968), 322-59.

Lewontin, R.C., "The Cold War and the Transformation of the Academy," in *Cold War & the University: Toward an Intellectual History of the Postwar Years*, ed. Noam Chomsky (New York: New Press, 1998), 1-33.

Liberman, Peter, *Does Conquest Pay?: The Exploitation of Occupied Industrial Societies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 120-45.

Mastny, Vojtech, "The New History of Cold War Alliance," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 4, no. 2 (2002), 55-84.

Saunders, Frances Stonor, *Who Paid the Piper?: The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta Books, 1999), 85-145.

Simpson, Christopher, *Science of Coercion: Communication Research and Psychological Warfare 1945-1960* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 3-14.

#### WEEK 4 (September 26): COLD WAR COMES TO ASIA

##### Lectures:

Chinese Revolution  
Korean War

##### Required Readings: (Total: 112 pages)

- Kim, Monica, *The Interrogation Rooms of the Korean War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 1-28.
- Kraus, Richard Curt, "The Cultural Revolution Era, 1964-1976," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Modern China*, ed. Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 203-25.
- Millett, Allan R., "Introduction to the Korean War," *Journal of Military History* 65, no. 4 (2001), 921-35.
- Smith, S.A., "The Early Years of the People's Republic, 1950-1964," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Modern China*, ed. Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 178-202.
- Zhang, Shu Guang, "The Sino-Soviet Alliance and the Cold War in Asia, 1954-1962," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. I*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 353-75.

##### Suggested Readings:

- Armstrong, Charles K., *The Koreas* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 57-75.
- De Bary, W.M. Theodore and Richard Lufrano, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition: Volume Two, From 1600 Through the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 573-77.
- Hajimu, Masuda, *Cold War Crucible: The Korean Conflict and the Postwar World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 69-81, 114-44
- Kim, Monica, "Empire's Babel: US Military Interrogation Rooms of the Korean War," *History of the Present* 3, no. 1 (2013), 1-28.
- Kim, Monica, "Intelligence of Fools: Reading the US Military Archive of the Korean War," *Positions: Asia Critique* 23, no. 4 (2015), 696-723.
- Kim, Monica, *The Interrogation Rooms of the Korean War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 349-60.
- Kwon, Heonik, *After the Korean War: An Intimate History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 1-20.
- Luthi, Lorenz M., *Cold Wars: Asia, the Middle East, Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 117-37.
- Luthi, Lorenz, M., *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 19-45.

- Millet, Allan R., “**The Korean War: A 50-Year Critical Historiography**,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 24, no. 1 (2001), 188-224.
- Radcjenko, Sergey, “**The Sino-Soviet Split**,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. II*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 349-72.
- Rosinger, Lawrence K., “**The White Paper in Brief**,” *Far Eastern Survey* 18, no. 18 (1949), 205-08.
- Spence, Jonathan D., *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1990), 484-513, 514-40.
- Stueck, William, *The Korean War: An International History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 348-70.
- Westad, Odd Arne, *The Cold War: A World History* (New York: Basic Books, 2019), 159-82.
- Zhai, Qiang, “**China’s Emerging Role on the World Stage**,” in *The Regional Cold Wars in Europe, East Asia, and the Middle East: Crucial Periods and Turning Points*, ed. Lorenz M. Luthi (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 68-82.

## WEEK 5 (October 3): ASIAN REVOLUTIONS

### Lectures:

- Anti-Colonial Revolutions in Indonesia and Vietnam
- Anti-Communism in the Philippines, Malaya, and Indonesia

### Required Readings: (Total: 108 pages)

- Bonner, Raymond, *Waltzing with a Dictator: The Marcoses and the Making of American Policy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), 28-44.
- Fawthrop, Tom. “William Young obituary,” *The Guardian*, May 4, 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/may/04/william-young-obituary>
- Kahin, Audrey R. and George McT. Kahin, *Subversion as Foreign Policy: The Secret Eisenhower and Dulles Debacle in Indonesia* (New York: New Press, 1995), 1-19.
- Karnow, Stanley. “Lucien E. Conein; Spook,” *New York Times*, January 3, 1999, <https://www.nytimes.com/1999/01/03/magazine/the-lives-they-lived-lucien-e-conein-spook.html>
- Opper, Marc, *People’s Wars in China, Malaya, and Vietnam* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2020), 173-204.
- Pace, Eric, “Edward Lansdale Dies at 79,” *New York Times*, February 24, 1987, <https://www.nytimes.com/1987/02/24/obituaries/edward-lansdale-dies-at-79-adviser-on-guerrilla-warfare.html>
- Ricklefs, M.C., *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200, Third Edition* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2001), 261-86.
- “Roger Trinquier,” **Wikipedia**, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roger\\_Trinquier](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roger_Trinquier)



- Sidarto, Lina, "Westerling's War," **Jakarta Post**, May 19, 2010, <https://archive.ph/20130204101417/http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2010/05/19/westerling039s-war.html>
- Sullivan, Patricia, "Phan Xuan An, 79," **Washington Post**, September 21, 2006, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2006/09/21/pham-xuan-an-79/1e52cd76-ae6c-4bdf-9d94-de9a25a3d34f/>
- Weiner, Tim, *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA* (New York: Doubleday, 2007), 142-54.

### ***Suggested Readings:***

- Anderson, Benedict, *Java in a Time of Revolution: Occupation and Resistance, 1944-1946* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), 125-66.
- Boot, Max, *The Road Not Taken: Edward Lansdale and the American Tragedy in Vietnam* (New York: Liveright, 2018), 65-170.
- Bradley, Mark Philip, "Decolonization, the Global South, and the Cold War, 1945-1962," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. I*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 464-85.
- Bradley, Mark Philip, *Imagining Vietnam and America: The Making of Postcolonial Vietnam, 1919-1950* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 107-45.
- Bradley, Mark Philip, "Vietnamese Revolutionary Nationalism and the First Vietnam War," in *The Columbia History of the Vietnam War*, ed. David Anderson (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 93-118.
- Comber, Leon, "'Traitor of All Traitors'—Secret Agent 'Extraordinaire': Lai Teck, Secretary-General, Communist Party of Malaya (1939-1947)," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 83, no. 2 (2010), 1-25.
- Conboy, Kenneth and James Morrison, *Feet to the Fire: CIA Covert Operation in Indonesia, 1957-1958* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1999), 1-49.
- Deery, Phillip, "Malaya, 1948: Britain's Asian Cold War?" *Journal of Cold War Studies* 9, no. 1 (2007), 29-54.
- Frey, Marc, "The Indonesian Revolution and the Fall of the Dutch Empire: Actors, Factors, and Strategies," in *The Transformation of Southeast Asia: International Perspectives on Decolonization*, eds. Marc Frey, Ronald W. Pruessen and Tai Yong Tan (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), 83-104.
- Goscha, Christopher, *Vietnam: A New History* (New York: Basic Books, 2016), 237-73.
- Hack, Karl, "'Iron Claws on Malaya': The Historiography of the Malayan Emergency," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 30, no. 1 (1999), 99-125.
- Hack, Karl, "The Origins of the Asian Cold War: Malaya 1948," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 40, no. 3 (2009), 471-96.

- Kahin, Audrey R. and George McT. Kahin, *Subversion as Foreign Policy: The Secret Eisenhower and Dulles Debacle in Indonesia* (New York: New Press, 1995), 132-34, 140-42, 148-58, 168-74, 179-95.
- Kerkvliet, Benedict J., *The Huk Rebellion: A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California, 1977), 156-202.
- Lawrence, Mark Atwood, "Transnational Coalition-Building and the Making of the Cold War in Indochina, 1947-1949," *Diplomatic History* 26, no. 3 (2002), 453-80.
- MacDonald, Douglas J., *Adventures in Chaos: American Intervention for Reform in the Third World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 129-59.
- Sidel, John T., *Republicanism, Communism, Islam: Cosmopolitan Origins of Revolution in Southeast Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021), 169-202.
- Scott, James and Ben Kerkvliet, "The Politics of Survival: Peasant Response to 'Progress' in Southeast Asia," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 4, no. 2 (1973), 241-68.

**{{MID-TERM EXAM: Distributed in-class, Thursday October 19}}**

## **WEEK 6 (October 10): MIDDLE EAST**

### **Lectures:**

CIA Coup in Iran  
Arab Nationalism and Suez Canal Crisis

### **Required Readings: (Total: 66 pages + film)**

- FILM**— Ayella, Joe, director, *American Coup* (Journeyman Pictures: 2010), 1:38:00, <https://tv.apple.com/us/movie/american-coup/umc.cmc.4rx5e0zxo1b5f4pxndx29xyfp>. (Rental, \$3.99, Apple TV)
- Boyle, Peter, G., "The Hungarian Revolution and the Suez Crisis," *History* 90, no. 4 (2005), 550-65.
- Cavoski, Jovan, "Constructing Nasser's Neutralism: Egypt and the Rise of Nonalignment in the Middle East," in *The Regional Cold Wars in Europe, East Asia, and the Middle East: Crucial Periods and Turning Points*, ed. Lorenz M. Luthi (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 88-103.
- Little, Douglas, "The Cold War in the Middle East: Suez Crisis to Camp David Accords," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. II*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 305-26.
- Molotsky, Irvin. "Kermit Roosevelt, Leader of C.I.A. Coup in Iran, Dies at 84," **New York Times**, June 11, 2000, <https://www.nytimes.com/2000/06/11/us/kermit-roosevelt-leader-of-cia-coup-in-iran-dies-at-84.html>
- Weiner, Tim, *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA* (New York: Doubleday, 2007), 81-92.

### **Suggested Readings:**

- Adamthwaite, Anthony, "Suez Revisited," *International Affairs* 64, no. 3 (1988), 449-64.

- Dietl, Ralph, “**Suez 1956: A European Intervention?**,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 43, no. 2 (2008), 259-78.
- Gasiorowski, Mark J, “**The 1953 Coup d’Etat in Iran,**” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19, no. 3 (1987), 261-79.
- Gorst, Anthony and Lewis Johnman, *The Suez Crisis* (New York: Routledge, 1997), xi-xii, 1-35.
- Heiss, Mary Ann, “**Real Men Don't Wear Pajamas: Anglo-American Cultural Perceptions of Mohammed Mossadeq and the Iranian Oil Nationalization Dispute,**” in *Empire and Revolution: The United States and the Third World Since 1945*, eds. Peter L. Hahn and Mary Ann Heiss (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2001), 178-91.
- Karabell, Zachary, *Architects of Intervention: The United States, the Third World, and the Cold War, 1946-1962* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999), 50-91, 150-66.
- Kinzer, Stephen, *All the Shah’s Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2003), 62-82, 150-66.
- Little, Douglas, “**Mission Impossible: The CIA and the Cult of Covert Action in the Middle East,**” *Diplomatic History* 28, no. 5 (2004), 663-701.
- Luthi, Lorenz M., *Cold Wars: Asia, the Middle East, Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 52-67.
- Painter, David S., “**Oil and the American Century,**” *Journal of American History* 99, no. 1 (2012), 24-39.
- Peden, G.C., “**Suez and Britain’s Decline as a World Power,**” *Historical Journal* 55, no. 4 (2012), 1073-96.
- Wilber, Donald, “**Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran, November 1952–August 1953,**” *CIA Clandestine Service History*, March 1954, 5-77, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB28/#documents>.
- Yergin, Daniel, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991), 479-98.
- Zahrani, Mostafa T., “**The Coup that Changed the Middle East: Mossadeq v. The CIA in Retrospect,**” *World Policy Journal* 19, no. 2 (2002), 93-99.

## WEEK 7 (October 17): LATIN AMERICA

### Lectures:

CIA Intervention in Guatemala  
Cuban Revolution, CIA Invasion, & Soviet Missile Crisis

### Required Readings: (Total: 118 pages)

AP, “Santo Trafficante, Reputed Mafia Chief, Dies at 72,” **New York Times**, March 19, 1987, <https://www.nytimes.com/1987/03/19/obituaries/santo-trafficante-reputed-mafia-chief-dies-at-72.html>.

- Cullather, Nick, *Secret History: The CIA's Classified Account of its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 74-104.
- Gleijeses, Piero, "Ships in the Night: The CIA, the White House and the Bay of Pigs," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 27, no. 1 (1995), 1-42.
- Weiner, Tim, "E. Howard Hunt, Agent Who Organized Botched Watergate Break-In, Dies at 88," *The New York Times*, January 24, 2007, <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/24/obituaries/24hunt.html>.
- Weiner, Tim, *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA* (New York: Doubleday, 2007), 93-104, 194-209.
- Zelikow, Philip, "American Policy and Cuba, 1961-1963," *Diplomatic History* 24, no. 2 (2000), 317-34.

### ***Suggested Readings:***

- Boot, Max, "Operation Mongoose: The Story of America's Efforts to Overthrow Castro," *The Atlantic*, January 5, 2018, 1-12.
- Gleijeses, Piero, "Cuba and the Cold War, 1959-1980," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. II*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 327-48.
- Gleijeses, Piero, *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944-1954* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 223-66, 319-60.
- Gleijeses, Piero, "The Agrarian Reform of Jacobo Arbenz," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 21, no. 3 (1989), 453-80.
- Hershberg, James G., "The Cuban Missile Crisis," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. II*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 65-87.
- LaFeber, Walter, *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1993), 111-26, 243-56, 284-302.
- Prados, John, *Presidents' Secret Wars: CIA and Pentagon Covert Operations Since World War II* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1996), 171-217.
- Schlesinger, Stephen and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (New York: Doubleday, 1982), 65-77, 227-55.
- Vandenbroucke, Lucien S., "Anatomy of a Failure: The Decision to Land at the Bay of Pigs," *Political Science Quarterly* 99, no. 3 (1984), 471-91.

**PHASE II: STRUGGLE FOR THE THIRD WORLD****WEEK 8 (October 31): INDOCHINA--WAR & REVOLUITON****Lectures:**

Vietnam War, Secret War in Laos  
 Cambodia: Rise of the Khmer Rouge

**Required Readings: (Total: 119 pages)**

- Fawthrop, Tom. "William Young obituary," **The Guardian**, May 4, 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/may/04/william-young-obituary>
- Karnow, Stanley. "Lucien E. Conein; Spook," **New York Times**, January 3, 1999, <https://www.nytimes.com/1999/01/03/magazine/the-lives-they-lived-lucien-e-conein-spook.html>
- Kiernan, Ben, "**The Impact on Cambodia of the U.S. Intervention in Vietnam**," in *The Vietnam War: Vietnamese and American Perspectives*, eds. Jayne Werner and Luu Doan Huynh (New York: Routledge, 1993), 216–26.
- Leary, William D. "Death of a Legend: Anthony J. Poshepny," **Air America**, June 27, 2003, <https://www.air-america.org/in-remembrance-1/anthony-tony-poe-poshepny.html>
- Logevall, Frederick, "**The Indochina Wars and the Cold War, 1945-1975**," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. II*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 281-304.
- McCoy, Alfred W., "**America's Secret War in Laos, 1955-1975**," in *A Companion to the Vietnam War*, eds. Marilyn B. Young and Robert Buzzanco (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), pp. 283-312.
- O'Kane, Rosemary H. T., "**Cambodia in the Zero Years: Rudimentary Totalitarianism**," *Third World Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (1993), 735-48.
- Quinn-Judge, Sophie, "**Victory on the Battlefield, Isolation in Asia: Vietnam's Cambodia Decade, 1979-1989**," in *The Third Indochina War: Conflict between China, Vietnam, and Cambodia, 1972-79*, eds. Odd Arne Westad and Sophie Quinn-Judge (New York: Routledge, 2006), 207-27.
- Shawcross, William, "**Bombing Cambodia: A Critique**," in *Light at the End of the Tunnel: A Vietnam War Anthology*, ed. Andrew J. Rotter (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), 287-97.
- Weiner, Tim, *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA* (New York: Doubleday, 2007), 252-57, 343-45.

**Suggested Readings:**

- Clymer, Kenton, "**A Casualty of War: The Break in American Relations with Cambodia, 1965**," in *A Companion to the Vietnam War*, eds. Marilyn B. Young and Robert Buzzanco (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 198-219.
- Conboy, Kenneth, *Shadow War: The CIA's Secret War in Laos* (Boulder: Paladin Press, 1995), 57-66, 95-102, 105-13, 247-58, 323-34.

Herring, George C., “**America and Vietnam: The Unending War**,” *Foreign Affairs* 70, no. 5 (1991), 104-19.

Herring, George C., “**The Cold War and Vietnam**,” *OAH Magazine of History* 18, no. 5 (2004), 18-21.

Nguyen, Lien-Hang T., “**The Sino-Vietnamese Split and the Indochina War, 1968-1975**,” in *The Third Indochina War: Conflict between China, Vietnam, and Cambodia, 1972-79*, eds. Odd Arne Westad and Sophie Quinn-Judge (New York: Routledge, 2006), 12-27.

Prados, John, *Presidents’ Secret Wars: CIA and Pentagon Covert Operations Since World War II* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1996), 261-96.

**{{ESSAY OUTLINE Due: Tuesday, October 31, 9:00 am}}**

## **WEEK 9 (October 31): GENERATION IN REVOLT—THE 1960s**

### **Lectures:**

Students at the Barricades: Japan, South Korea, Philippines, Mexico, France, and U.S.  
Prague Spring and Soviet Intervention

### **Required Readings: (Total: 113 pages)**

Bischof, Gunter, Stefan Karner, and Peter Ruggenthaler, “**Introduction**,” in *The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact of Czechoslovakia in 1968*, eds. Gunter Bischof, Stefan Karner and Peter Ruggenthaler (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), 10-32.

Kemp-Welch, Anthony, “**Eastern Europe: Stalinism to Solidarity**,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. II*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 219-237.

McDermott, Kevin and Matthew Stibbe, “**The Prague Spring and Warsaw Pact Invasion Through the Soviet and East European Lens**,” in *Eastern Europe in 1968: Responses to the Prague Spring and Warsaw Pact Invasion*, eds. Kevin McDermott and Matthew Stibbe (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), 1-17.

Suri, Jeremi, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 1-6, 164-212.

### **Suggested Readings:**

Bischof, Gunter, “**‘No Action’: The Johnson Administration and the Warsaw Pact Invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968**,” in *The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact of Czechoslovakia in 1968*, eds. Gunter Bischof, Stefan Karner and Peter Ruggenthaler (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), 209-22.

Brown, Timothy S., “**‘1968’ East and West: Divided Germany as a Case Study in Transnational History**,” *American Historical Review* 114, no. 1 (2009), 69-96.

Fichter, Madigan, “**Yugoslav Protest: Student Rebellion in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo in 1968**,” *Slavic Review* 75, no. 1 (2016), 99-121.

- Gould, Jeffrey L., “**Solidarity under Siege: The Latin American Left, 1968,**” *American Historical Review* 114, no. 2 (2009), 348-75.
- Hall, Mitchell K., “**The Vietnam Era Antiwar Movement,**” *OAH Magazine of History* 18, no. 5 (2004), 13-17.
- Heimann, Mary, “**The Scheming Apparatchik of the Prague Spring,**” *Europe-Asia Studies* 60, no. 10 (2008), 1717-33.
- Jakovina, Tvrtko, “**“Tito, the Bloc-Free Movement, and the Prague Spring,”** in *The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact of Czechoslovakia in 1968*, eds. Gunter Bischof, Stefan Karner and Peter Ruggenthaler (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), 391-404.
- Jobs, Richard Ivan, “**Youth Movements: Travel, Protest, and Europe in 1968,**” *American Historical Review* 114, no. 2 (2009), 376-404.
- Kapur, Nick, *Japan at the Crossroads: Conflict and Compromise after Anpo* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), 1-34.
- Kramer, Mark, “**The Prague Spring and the Soviet Invasion in Historical Perspective,**” in *The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact of Czechoslovakia in 1968*, eds. Gunter Bischof, Stefan Karner and Peter Ruggenthaler (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), 41-57.
- Marotti, William, “**Japan 1968: The Performance of Violence and the Theater of Protest,**” *American Historical Review* 114, no. 1 (2009), 97-135.
- Skilling, H. Gordon, “**Thaw and Freeze-up: Prague 1968,**” *International Journal* 25, no. 1 (1969), 192-201.
- Suri, Jeremi, “**The Promise and Failure of 'Developed Socialism': The Soviet 'Thaw' and the Crucible of the Prague Spring, 1964-1972,**” *Contemporary European History* 15, no. 2 (2006), 133-58.
- Suri, Jeremi. “**Counter-Cultures: the Rebellions Against the Cold War Order, 1965-1975,**” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. II*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 460-81.
- Suri, Jeremi, “**The Rise and Fall of an International Counterculture, 1960-1975,**” *American Historical Review* 114, no. 1 (2009), 45-68.
- Stoneman, Anna J., “**Socialism with a Human Face: The Leadership and Legacy of the Prague Spring,**” *The History Teacher* 49, no. 1 (2015), 103-25.

## WEEK 10 (November 7): CIA COVERT WARS

### Lectures:

Indonesia: Psywar & Destruction of the Communist Party  
Socialism and CIA Intervention in Chile

### Required Readings: (Total: 120 pages)

Adams, Michael. “Obituary: Norman Reddaway,” *The Independent*, November 3, 1999, <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/obituary-norman-reddaway-1122084.html>

- Bevins, Vincent, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program That Shaped Our World* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2020), 188-206.
- Kornbluh, Peter, *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* (New York: New Press, 2003), 79-115.
- Robinson, Geoffrey, *The Killing Season: A History of the Indonesian Massacres, 1965-66* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 82-117.
- Scott, Peter Dale, "The United States and the Overthrow of Sukarno, 1965-1967," *Pacific Affairs* 58, no. 2 (1985), 239-64.
- Weiner, Tim, *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA* (New York: Doubleday, 2007), 258-62.

### ***Suggested Readings:***

- Anderson, Benedict, "Impunity and Reenactment: Reflections on the 1965 Massacre in Indonesia and its Legacy," *Asia-Pacific Journal* 11, issue 15, no. 4 (2013), 1-15.
- Bevins, Vincent, *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program That Shaped Our World* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2020), 117-35, 159-80.
- Devine, Jack, "What Really Happened in Chile: The CIA, the Coup Against Allende, and the Rise of Pinochet," *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 4 (2014), 26-35.
- Dinges, John, *The Condor Years: How Pinochet and his Allies Brought Terrorism to Three Continents* (New York: New Press, 2004), 63-81, 99-125.
- Easter, David, "'Keep the Indonesian Pot Boiling': Western Covert Intervention in Indonesia, October 1965-March 1966," *Cold War History* 5, no. 1 (2005), 52-70.
- Kornbluh, Peter and Jack Devine, "Showdown in Santiago: What Really Happened in Chile?" *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 5 (2014), 168-74.
- Kornbluh, Peter, *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* (New York: New Press, 2003), 1-35.
- Lawrence, Mark Atwood, *The End of Ambition: The United States and the Third World in the Vietnam Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), 213-49.
- Ngoei, Wen-Qing, *Arc of Containment: Britain, the United States, and Anticommunism in Southeast Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019), 114-48.
- Robinson, Geoffrey, *The Killing Season: A History of the Indonesian Massacres, 1965-66* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 118-47.
- Roosa, John, *Buried Histories: The Anticommunist Massacres of 1965-1966 in Indonesia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2020), 28-56.
- Roosa, John, *Pretext for Mass Murder: The September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement and Suharto's Coup d'Etat in Indonesia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2006), 34-60.



- Scott, Peter Dale, “**Exporting Military-Economic Development**,” in *Ten Years’ Military Terror in Indonesia*, ed. Malcolm Caldwell (Nottingham: Spokesman Books, 1975), 209-49.
- Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, *Covert Action in Chile, 1963-1973* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1975), 1-40.
- Simpson, Bradley, *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and U.S.-Indonesian Relations, 1960-1968* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 207-59.
- Weiner, Tim, *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA* (New York: Doubleday, 2007), 306-17.
- Winn, Peter, “**The Furies of the Andes: Violence and Terror in the Chilean Revolution and Counterrevolution**,” in *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence During Latin America’s Long Cold War*, eds. Greg Grandin and Gilbert M. Joseph (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 239-72
- Zhou, Taomo, *Migration in the Time of Revolution: China, Indonesia, and the Cold War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019), 152-71.

### **PHASE III: GEOPOLITICAL BLACK HOLES**

#### **WEEK 11 (November 14): COLD WAR IN AFRICA**

##### **Lectures:**

Decolonization: Algerian Revolution, Congo Crisis  
 Surrogate Warfare in Southern Africa: Angola, Zimbabwe, Anti-Apartheid in South Africa

##### **Required Readings: (Total: 123 pages)**

- Gleijeses, Piero, “Tribute to Jorge Risquet: Farewell to a Brother,” **Truthout**, October 11, 2015, <https://truthout.org/articles/tribute-to-jorge-risquet-farewell-to-a-brother/>
- Saunders, Chris and Sue Onslow, “**The Cold War and Southern Africa, 1976-1990**,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. III*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 222-43.
- Shane, Scott, “Lawrence R. Devlin, 86, C.I.A. Officer Who Balked on a Congo Plot, Is Dead,” **New York Times**, December 11, 2008, <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/12/washington/12devlin.html>
- Simons, Marlise, “Bob Denard, Hired Gun for Coups, Is Dead at 78,” **New York Times**, October 16, 2007, <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/16/world/europe/16denard.html>
- Weissman, Stephen R., “**CIA Covert Action in Zaire and Angola: Patterns and Consequences**,” *Political Science Quarterly* 94, no. 2. (1979), 263-86.
- Weissman, Stephen R., “**What Really Happened in Congo: The CIA, the Murder of Lumumba, and the Rise of Mobutu**,” *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 4 (2014), 14-24.

- Westad, Odd Arne, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 207-49.
- Whiteman, Kaye, "The Man Who Ran Francafrique," *The National Interest*, September 1, 1997, <https://nationalinterest.org/article/the-man-who-ran-franafrique-1005>
- Zoubir, Yahia H., "The United States, the Soviet Union and Decolonization of the Maghreb, 1945-62," *Middle Eastern Studies* 31, no. 1 (1995), 58-81.

***Suggested Readings:***

- Byrne, Jeffrey James, "Africa's Cold War," in *The Cold War in the Third World*, ed. Robert J. McMahon (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 101-118.
- Connelly, Matthew, "Taking off the Cold War Lens: Visions of North-South Conflict during the Algerian War for Independence," *American Historical Review* 105, no. 3 (2000), 739-69.
- Fraleigh, Arnold, "The Algerian War of Independence," *Proceedings of the American Society of International Law at Its Annual Meeting* 61 (1967), 6-12.
- Gibbs, David N., *The Political Economy of Third World Intervention: Mines, Money, and U.S. Policy in the Congo Crisis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 77-101.
- Gleijeses, Piero, "Cuba's First Venture in Africa: Algeria, 1961-1965," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 1 (1996), 159-95.
- Gleijeses, Piero, "Moscow's Proxy? Cuba and Africa 1975-1988," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 8, no. 2 (2006), pp. 3-51.
- Howard, Adam M., ed., *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968, Volume XXIII, Congo, 1960-1968* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 2013), 1-5, 14-16, 23-30, 49-51, 60-61, 73-75, 93-99, 132-41, 167-71, 239-41, 245-46, 272-74, 278-82, 299-302, 316-20, 324-26, 367-68, 394-95, 514-15, 588-89, 600-02, 608-10, 628-30, 646-51, 656-69.
- Kelly, Sean, *America's Tyrant: the CIA and Mobutu of Zaire* (Lanham: American University Press, 1993), 27-55.
- Kwitny, Jonathan, *Endless Enemies: The Making of an Unfriendly World* (New York: Congdon & Weed, 1984), 126-51.
- Lawrence, Mark Atwood, *The End of Ambition: The United States and the Third World in the Vietnam Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), 250-86.
- McFaul, Michael, "The Demise of the World Revolutionary Process: Soviet-Angolan Relations Under Gorbachev," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 16, no. 1 (1990), 165-89.
- Schatzberg, Michael G., *Mobutu or Chaos?: the United States and Zaire, 1960-1990* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1991), 61-96.
- Thomas, Martin, "France's North African Crisis, 1945-1955: Cold War and Colonial Imperatives," *History* 92, no. 2 (2007), 207-34.

Tvedten, Inge, "U.S. Policy Towards Angola Since 1975," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 30, no. 1 (1992), 31-52.

**{{RESEARCH ESSAY Due: 9:00 a.m., Monday, November 20}}**

**WEEK 12 (November 21): CENTRAL AMERICA**

**Lectures:**

Nicaragua: CIA-Contra Alliance & Iran-Contra Scandal  
Countering Revolution in El Salvador & Guatemala

**Required Readings: (Total: 104 pages)**

Byrne, Malcom, *Iran-Contra: Reagan's Scandal and the Unchecked Abuse of Presidential Power* (Wichita: University Press of Kansas, 2014), 42-58.

Canham-Clyne, John, "Business as Usual: Iran-Contra and the National Security State," *World Policy Journal* 9, no. 4 (1992), 617-35.

Coatsworth, John H., "The Cold War in Central America, 1975-1991," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. III*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 201-21.

Grandin, Greg, *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 1-17.

"Guatemalan Death Squad Dossier," *National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 15*, May 20, 1999, <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB15/>.

LaFeber, Walter, *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1993), 243-56, 284-93.

McCoy, Alfred W. *The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade* (New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 2003), pp. 478-84.

"Richard Secord," **Wikipedia**, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard\\_Secord](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_Secord)

**Suggested Readings:**

Grandin, Greg, *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2006), 52-86, 87-120.

Grandin, Greg, *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 169-98.

Kornbluh, Peter, "The Iran-Contra Scandal: A Postmortem," *World Policy Journal* 5, no. 1 (1987), 129-50.

La Comision para el Esclarecimiento Historico (CEH), *Guatemala Memory of Silence: Report of the Commission for Historical Clarification* (New York: United Nations, 1999), 17-45, 81-86.

LaFeber, Walter, *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1993), 293-302.

LeoGrande, William M., *Our Own Backyard: The United States in Central America, 1977-1992* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 135-247.

LeoGrande, William M., *Our Own Backyard: The United States in Central America, 1977-1992* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 248-464.

McSherry, J. Patrice, "Military Power, Impunity and State-Society Change in Latin America," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 25, no. 3 (1992), 463-88.

McSherry, J. Patrice, "The Evolution of the National Security State: The Case of Guatemala," *Socialism and Democracy* 6, no. 1 (1990), 121-47.

Mejia, Raul Molina and J. Patrice McSherry, "Confronting the Question of Justice in Guatemala," *Social Justice* 19, no. 3 (1992), 1-28.

The Commission on the Truth for El Salvador, *From Madness to Hope: the 12-Year War in El Salvador: Report of the Commission on the Truth for El Salvador* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 1993).

**{{Thanksgiving Break, Thursday, November 23}}**

### **WEEK 13 (November 28): CENTRAL ASIA**

#### **Lectures:**

Iran: Islamic Revolution & Fall of the Shah  
CIA Secret War in Afghanistan

#### **Required Readings: (Total: 127 pages)**

Beardon, Milton, "Afghanistan, Graveyard of Empires," *Foreign Affairs* 80, no. 6 (2001), 17-30.

Cogan, Charles, G., "Partners in Time: The CIA and Afghanistan since 1979," *World Policy Journal* 10, no. 2 (1993), 73-82.

McCoy, Alfred W. *The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade* New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 2003, pp. 441-60.

Saikal, Amin, "Islamism, the Iranian Revolution, and the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan," *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. III*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 112-34.

Westad, Odd Arne, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 299-330.

Wight, David M., *Oil Money: Middle East Petrodollars and the Transformation of US Empire, 1967-1988* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021), 195-224.

#### **Suggested Readings:**

Abrahamian, Ervand, *Tortured Confessions: Prisons and Public Recantations in Modern Iran* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 73-123.

- Coll, Steve, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004), 38-169.
- Cordovez, Diego and Selig S. Harrison, *Out of Afghanistan: the Inside Story of the Soviet Withdrawal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 13-49, 53-72.
- January, Brendan, *The Iranian Revolution* (Minneapolis: Twenty-First Century Books, 2008), 64-95.
- Kurzman, Charles, “**Historiography of the Iranian Revolutionary Movement, 1977-79,**” *Iranian Studies* 28, no. 1/2 (1995), 25-35.
- Lawrence, Mark Atwood, *The End of Ambition: The United States and the Third World in the Vietnam Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), 177-212.
- Luthi, Lorenz M., *Cold Wars: Asia, the Middle East, Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 502-14.
- McCoy, Alfred W., “**The US’s Failure in Afghanistan Shows the Hubris of American Empire,**” *Jacobin*, May 10, 2021, <https://jacobinmag.com/2021/05/biden-administration-afghanistan-war-withdrawl-opium-us-military>.
- Murray, Donette, *US Foreign Policy and Iran: American-Iranian Relations Since the Islamic Revolution* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 13-37.
- Rubin, Barry, “**Lessons from Iran,**” *Washington Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (2003), 105-15.
- Westad, Odd Arne, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 288-99.

## **WEEK 14 (December 5 & 12): PEOPLE POWER & END OF THE COLD WAR**

### **Lectures:**

Democratic Revolutions East & West: China, Southeast Asia, Latin America, Eastern Europe  
Great Power Diplomacy and the End of Soviet Empire

### **Required Readings: (Total: 121 pages)**

- Haftendorn, Helga, “**The Unification of Germany, 1985-1991,**” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. III*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 333-55.
- Ikenberry, G. John, “**The Restructuring of the International System After the Cold War,**” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. III*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 535-56.
- Jian, Chen, “**China and the Cold War after Mao,**” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. III*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 181-200.
- Lévesque, Jacques, “**The East European Revolutions of 1989,**” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. III*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 311-32.

- Pravda, Alex, “**The Collapse of the Soviet Union, 1990-1991**,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. III*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 356-77.
- Westad, Odd Arne, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 396-407.

### ***Suggested Readings:***

- Brown, Archie, “**The Gorbachev Revolution and the End of the Cold War**,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War: Vol. III*, eds. Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 244-66.
- Cho, Jung-kwan, “**The Kwangju Uprising as a Vehicle of Democratization: A Comparative Perspective**,” in *Contentious Kwangju: The May 18 Uprising in Korea’s Past and Present*, eds. Gi-Wook Shin and Kyung Moon Hwang (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 67-85.
- Hedman, Eva-Lotta E., “**Authoritarianism and Democracy**,” in *Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian History*, ed. Norman G. Owen (New York: Routledge, 2014), 119-29.
- Luthi, Lorenz M., *Cold Wars: Asia, the Middle East, Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 563-94.
- McCalla, Robert, “**NATO’s Persistence after the Cold War**,” *International Organization* 50, no. 3 (1996), 445-75.
- Osiatynski, Wiktor, “**Revolutions in Eastern Europe**,” *The University of Chicago Law Review* 58, no. 2 (1991), 823-58.
- Ricklefs, M.C., *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200, Third Edition* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2001), 387-407.
- Westad, Odd Arne, *The Cold War: A World History* (New York: Basic Books, 2019), 579-616.

**{{FINAL EXAM, Wednesday, December 20, 7:45-9:45 am}}**

### **III. MAJOR ESSAY QUESTION:**

- 1.) Drawing upon the literature, outline at least two causes of the Cold War, one arising from great power rivalry and another from deeper structural causes.
- 2.) Analyze the causes and consequences of the Cuban missile crisis for the conduct of the Cold War.
- 3.) Compare and contrast the mechanisms of control within the Soviet bloc and the Western alliance during the Cold War.
- 4.) Analyze the elements—military, intelligence, economic, diplomatic, and cultural—that made the U.S. the world’s preeminent power during the Cold War era.
- 5.) Describe how the process of decolonization extended the Cold War competition into Asia and Africa.

- 6.) Compare the impact of the Vietnam War and the Afghanistan intervention upon the United States and the Soviet Union.
- 7.) Assess the interaction between geopolitics and the role of the “man on the spot” in at least two Cold War conflicts in Afghanistan, Angola, Chile, Congo, or other areas.
- 8.) Drawing upon at least three cases, analyze the impact of the Cold War on the interplay of democracy and dictatorship in Latin America.
- 9.) Explain why communism collapsed in the Soviet Union but survived in China.
- 10.) Analyze the collapse of the Soviet Union and its empire, weighing the balance between internal pressures and external forces.

#### IV. LEARNING FROM FILM & FICTION:

##### FILM--Suggested Titles:

--*Miscellaneous Films*: The films listed below are all highly recommended and most are available on-line for purchase in DVD format or free at YouTube:

- 1.) “The Quiet American” (South Vietnam--black and white; starring Audie Murphy)
- 2.) “The Quiet American” (South Vietnam--color; starring Michael Caine)
- 3.) “The Skeleton Coast” (Angola)
- 4.) “The Tailor of Panama”
- 5.) “Shadow Play” (Indonesia--documentary, director Chris Hilton)
- 6.) “Our Man in Havana” (starring Alec Guinness)
- 7.) “The Third Man” (Austria)
- 8.) “Z” (Greece--director Costa Gavras)
- 9.) “Eleni” (Greece)
- 10.) “Battle of Algiers” (Algeria)
- 11.) “State of Siege” (Uruguay--director Costa Gavras).
- 12.) “The Most Secret Place on Earth” (Laos--documentary, director Marc Eberle)
- 13.) “The Manchurian Candidate” (Black & White, 1962)
- 14.) “Platoon” (Vietnam, directed by Oliver Stone)
- 15.) “Apocalypse Now” (Vietnam--director Frances Ford Coppola)
- 16.) “Year of Living Dangerously” (Indonesia, starring Mel Gibson)
- 17.) “Salvador” (El Salvador--starring James Woods, director Oliver Stone).
- 18.) “Missing” (Chile--starring Jack Lemmon, director Costa Gavras)
- 19.) “The Official Story” (Argentina; Oscar, Best Foreign Film, 1985)
- 20.) “The Act of Killing” (Indonesia)
- 21.) “The Lives of Others” (East Germany)
- 22.) “Karl Marx City” (East Germany)
- 23.) “Clean Torture: An American Fabrication” (United States)
- 24.) “The East” (Dutch, Netherlands East Indies)
- 25.) “The Death of Stalin” (Soviet Union)
- 26.) “Dear Comrades” (Soviet Union)

##### FICTION—Some Suggested Titles:

- 1.) Graham Greene, *The Quiet American*.
- 2.) Graham Greene, *Our Man in Havana*.
- 3.) Graham Greene, *The Third Man*.
- 4.) John LeCarré, *The Perfect Spy*.
- 5.) Jean Larteguy, *Bronze Drums*
- 6.) Paul Theroux, *The Consul’s File*
- 7.) Christopher Koch, *The Year of Living Dangerously*

- 8.) Cristopher Koch, *Highways to a War*
- 9.) Han Suyin, *And the Rain My Drink*
- 10.) William Pomeroy, *The Forest*
- 11.) Bao Ninh, *The Sorrow of War*

## V. HOW TO WRITE A RESEARCH ESSAY—A THREE-STEP METHOD:

### 1.) *STEP ONE--Reading & Research:-*

#### a.) Sources/Research:

- 1.) All good essays begin with the three “Rs”—reading, research, and reflection.
- 2.) Like most essays, a History term paper is a distillation of its author's reading and reflections upon the subject whose quality usually reflects the depth of the author's research.

#### b.) How to Read for an Essay:

- 1.) Using the course syllabus, begin with a general text to get an overview of the problem.
- 2.) Using the syllabus or textbooks, select more specific sources.
- 3.) As you read, begin forming ideas in your mind about:
  - a.) your overall hypothesis, and;
  - b.) the evidence you will need to support your argument.
- 4.) As you read, take notes, either on paper, or in the margin of a photocopy of the source. As you take notes, make sure you have the bibliographic information for your source: author, title, place of publication, publisher, and relevant pages.
- 5.) Towards the end of your reading, draw up an outline of the essay. If you are missing sources for your argument, then do some supplemental reading.

#### c.) Citing Sources:

- 1.) Assuming three paragraphs per page, you should have a minimum of one source or note per paragraph.
- 2.) Every idea that is not your own and every major body of data you use in your essay should be sourced. In particular, quotations must be sourced.
- 3.) Use endnotes or footnotes in the following format:

25. Alfred W. McCoy, ed., *Southeast Asia Since 1800* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 134-35.

- 4.) For a second, non-sequential citation of the same work use a short citation:

27. McCoy, *Southeast Asia Since 1800*, 77-78.

- 5.) If you are citing the same source in sequence, use Ibid for second citation.

27. McCoy, *Southeast Asia Since 1800*, 77-78.

28. Ibid., 79-80.

29. Ibid., 80-81.

- 6.) For details, see, *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 17th Edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

### 2.) *STEP TWO—Framing the Argument:*

- a.) Outline: With your reading done, restrain the urge to plunge right into writing and instead take some time to outline your argument. Begin by articulating the single, central question you will ask and answer in the course of this paper. Next, write a one- or two-page outline of your essay's basic components, which are discussed below.



b.) Overall structure: Almost every scholarly essay has three basic components—(1.) the problem/hypothesis, (2.) the evidence/argument, and (3.) the conclusion. To summarize very broadly, the introduction asks a question and poses a hypothesis, the argument arrays evidence to establish that hypothesis, and the conclusion reflects upon the original hypothesis in light of the evidence presented.

Of these three elements, the opening hypothesis is, by far, the most difficult and the most essential for the success of your essay. In your opening paragraph, try to stand back from the mass of material you have read and articulate an historical thesis, which usually explains causality (why events occurred) or analyzes significance (the particular import of an event or a pattern of events). Then identify the key elements--whether factors, themes, or topics--that you will explore to test your thesis in the second part of the essay, the analytical narrative that contains the evidence to support your thesis.

By the time you start writing, you should be able to summarize your argument in the essay's first sentence with something akin to the following formulation: "By applying A to B, the essay will establish C." To illustrate, an essay on the impact of the CIA covert intervention in Guatemala, might begin: "By analyzing the impact of the CIA's intervention against the Abenz government, the agency's coup exacerbated social tensions that led to a thirty-year civil war with a quarter-million deaths."

Here are some further reflections on each of these three sections:

- 1.) Hypothesis: In your introduction, state your thesis clearly.
  - a.) If necessary, you should give your definition of any key terms that require a specific usage (e.g., "revolution.")
  - b.) In stating your problem, refer to the literature in the syllabus.
  - c.) A standard and often effective device is to identify two differing schools of thought about a single problem and offer resolution.
  - d.) Make sure you are examining the main point, not a secondary issue.

2.) The Evidence: In the middle part of your essay, you must present evidence—through an analytical intertwining of events and factors—to deal with the problem posed at the beginning of your essay. Be specific. Give the reader a brief narrative of an event grounded in some statistical or anecdotal evidence.

3.) The Conclusion: In the final page or two of your essay, reflect on the problem as stated in the introduction in light of the evidence you presented in the middle part of the essay. Stretch the data you present for clarity, but do not exaggerate or over-extend the usefulness of your data.

c.) Level of Argument: Some students produce papers that fill all the demands of the format but do not produce an argument that fully engages the problem.

- 1.) Drawing upon reading and lectures, try to frame an argument that seems to address the question in the most direct and significant manner possible, drawing the most convincing evidence to support the case you are making.
- 2.) By reading several sources with diverse viewpoints and reflecting on the authors' approaches, you can define an appropriate thesis and level of analysis.

d.) Nature of History Questions: Whether in books or courses such as this one, History usually explores the study of change in human communities, societies or nations over time. In general, History essays ask you to explain two key aspects of such change: *causality*, that is the underlying reasons for long-term change; or *significance*, that is the import or impact of an event upon a society over the longer term. Thus, most History questions, in both essays and exams, ask you to:

- 1.) analyze the forces or factors that explain how or why a human community changed in a particular way during a specific time period, or;
- 2.) explain the significance or lasting impact that an event, such as a war or revolution, had upon a society in the years following that event.

3.) *STEP THREE—Writing the Essay:*a.) Procedure:

- 1.) As explained above, start by writing an outline of about 2 pages for a 10 to 15-page essay. Ideally, each projected paragraph in the essay should be a line in your outline.
- 2.) Following your outline, write a first draft taking care to introduce transitional clauses or sentences that allow the reader to follow your argument paragraph by paragraph.
- 3.) Reading aloud to yourself, edit the prose to produce a second draft.

b.) Sentences:

- 1.) Each sentence should be a complete with subject, verb, and direct object.
- 2.) Vary your sentences to include short periodic sentences, simple compound sentences, and compound sentences with clauses in apposition.

c.) Paragraphs:

- 1.) Start your paragraph with “topic sentence”--that is, a periodic or compound sentence stating the basic message of this particular paragraph and its relation, in brief, to your overall argument.
- 2.) Varying your sentence structure, elaborate and expand this theme into a fully developed paragraph.
- 3.) Within the paragraph, try to link your sentences with words such as “similarly,” “moreover,” and “however” so they flow from one sentence to the next.
- 4.) Paragraphs should not be too long. If you need a rough guide, have 3 paragraphs to a page with 8 to 10 typed lines in each.

d.) Aspire to style:

- 1.) As in all forms of discourse, there is an appropriate style for an academic essay somewhere between the chatty colloquial and the overly formal. Avoid contractions (can't, didn't) and colloquialisms.
- 2.) There is a melody and tempo to good writing. Sensitize your mind's ear to the rhythms of your prose, thus giving written expression to your inner voice.

**VI. TERMS & CONDITIONS:****Academic Integrity Statement:**

By virtue of enrollment, each student agrees to uphold the high academic standards of the University of Wisconsin-Madison; academic misconduct is behavior that negatively impacts the integrity of the institution. Cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, and helping others commit these previously listed acts are examples of misconduct which may result in disciplinary action. Examples of disciplinary action include, but is not limited to, failure on the assignment/course, written reprimand, disciplinary probation, suspension, or expulsion.