

**HIS567**

**America, France, and the Early Cold War**

**Spring 2013**

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**Office Hours:** M & W: 12:00-12:30; 3:15-3:30  
And by Appointment

**COURSE DESCRIPTION:**

The focus of this course will be on how Europe experienced the early cold war, with special attention to the complex relations between France, the Soviet Union, and the United States. The course is divided into two roughly equal units. In the first unit we will focus on a narrative account of the dramatic events of the early cold war--from the announcement of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, through the tense months of the Berlin blockade and airlift, to the impact of the "fall" of China and the Korean War on the European cold war. At the end of the first unit we will look at the heated debates among historians surrounding the origins of the cold war. At the center of this debate is the interpretation of Stalinist foreign policy. Some historians view Soviet policy under Stalin as provocative, deceptive, and, ultimately, expansive. Other historians argue that Stalin's foreign policy was essentially cautious, defensive, and accommodating, and represented no threat to either Western Europe or the United States.

In the second unit we will shift focus to the "intellectuals' cold war" in France and the United States. Here we explore how leading writers, journalists, and academics on both sides of the Atlantic became passionately engaged in the controversies surrounding the cold war. As with later historians, the central issue for postwar intellectuals on both sides of the Atlantic was the role of the Soviet Union. At one level, this debate was an early version of the later debate among historians--namely, how to interpret Soviet moves on the international stage. Were Soviet intentions and actions essentially benign or aggressive? At another and more profound level, the debate focused on the Soviet Union not only as an actor on the world stage but as a model of a new kind of society. The Soviet Union proclaimed that it was constructing a new kind of classless society based on "social justice." To some intellectuals, in both France and the United States, the Soviet attempt, whatever its defects, was an experiment from which lessons could be drawn in the reform of Western societies. Other intellectuals in both countries were convinced that Soviet efforts to realize socialism had badly misfired, and any attempt to derive lessons from Soviet practice was misguided, and perhaps dangerous, to the liberal-democratic West. This intermingling of domestic and international concerns--along with the threat posed by the fact that the cold war might at any moment explode into a deadly hot war fought with atomic weapons--gave the intellectuals' debate both its intensity and its sense of urgency.

## **LEARNING GOALS:**

At the successful completion of this a course a student should expect:

1. To have acquired a general knowledge of the early Cold War;
2. To know how to interpret primary source material and integrate such interpretations into a larger understanding of the period;
3. To be able to evaluate scholarship on the Cold War from a wide variety of perspectives;
4. To be able to analyze and synthesize historical material and to demonstrate these skills in the semester paper and the two essay exams.

## **READING LIST:**

### **1. Books to be purchased:**

- Camus, Albert. *The Plague* (Vintage Books)  
Koestler, Arthur. *Darkness at Noon* (Bantam or Scribner)  
Sartre, Jean-Paul. *No Exit and Three Other Plays* (Vintage International)  
Hitchcock, William. *France Restored: Cold War Diplomacy and the Quest for Leadership in Europe, 1944-1954* (University of North Carolina Press)  
Aronson, Ronald. *Camus & Sartre: The Story of a Friendship and the Quarrel that Ended It* (University of Chicago Press)

### **2. On Electronic Reserve:**

All the other readings are on Electronic Reserve (ER) or and can be downloaded through Journal Finder on Blackboard (JF).

## **Course Requirements:**

**Attendance.** Attendance is required, not optional. The class depends on your regular attendance and participation. All unexcused absences will affect your grade.

**Examinations.** A midterm and a final; both in essay format.

### **Semester Paper.**

**Requirements for Undergraduate Students.** A historiographical essay based on secondary sources. Recommended length: eight to ten pages. All papers should be typed, double-spaced, and fully documented. The topic should be selected from those covered on the course syllabus, and approved by me. The vehicle for this approval will be a short but thoughtfully-conceived and well-written prospectus describing the interpretive issue you have selected. You should also include a short annotated bibliography indicating the sources that you intend to use. These sources must include at least one book and two articles or chapters beyond the assigned course reading. All sources must be serious pieces of historical scholarship (if in question, check with me). All "due dates" (see below), barring certified medical emergencies or

family sickness, are to be taken seriously; late papers will be marked down one letter grade.

**Requirements for Graduate Students.** A historiographical essay based on secondary sources. Recommended length: twelve to fifteen pages. All papers should be typed, double-spaced, and fully documented. The topic should be selected from those covered on the course syllabus, and approved by me. The vehicle for this approval will be a short but thoughtfully-conceived and well-written prospectus describing your interpretive problem. You should also include a short bibliography indicating the sources that you intend to use. These sources must include at least three books and three articles beyond the assigned course reading. All sources must be serious pieces of historical scholarship (if in question, check with me). All "due dates" (see below), barring certified medical emergencies or family sickness, are to be taken seriously; unexcused late papers will be marked down one letter grade.

**Discussion.** The readings are keyed to syllabus topics. You should have the readings completed *before* the day a particular topic is scheduled to be addressed in class. Your discussion grade will be determined by the frequency and quality of your contribution to class discussion.

**Grades.** The following elements will determine the final grade:

mid-term exam--30%

final exam--30%

paper--30%

discussion grade--10%

**Undergraduate Grading Scale.** The undergraduate grading scale cut-offs are as follows:

A+	97	C	73
A	93	C-	70
A-	90	D+	67
B+	87	D	63
B	83	D-	60
B-	80	F	59
C+	77		

**Graduate Grading Scale.** The graduate grading scale is the same as the undergraduate scale with two exceptions: first, "A" is the highest possible grade; second, "C" is the lowest possible passing grade (anything below a "C" is recorded as an "F").

**Plagiarism and the Academic Honor Code.** Plagiarism is a serious academic offense that occurs when someone uses the words or ideas of someone else without giving that person credit in a formal citation. Punishment for violations are outlined in the Academic Integrity Policy. For an explanation see the UNCG website under "Academic Integrity Policy."

## CLASS SCHEDULE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

\* books to be purchased

**JF**=can be downloaded (use Library's "Journal Finder")

**ER**=reading on electronic reserve and can be downloaded from Blackboard

### PART I: The Early Cold War: Historical Narrative and Debates

#### Week 1

**1/14:** Introduction

**1/16:** Communism from the Bolshevik Revolution to the Popular Front

**Reading:** Brown, *Rise and Fall of Communism*, 40-77 **ER**

#### Week 2

**1/21:** Martin Luther King Day: No Class

**1/23:** The Fall of France: "Fulcrum of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century"

**Reading:** Conklin, et al., *France and Its Empire*, 208-241 **ER**

#### Week 3

**1/28:** The "Grand Alliance" and the Seeds of the Cold War

**Reading:** Paxton, *Europe in the Twentieth Century*, 477-510 **ER**

**1/30:** The Cross of Lorraine: Roosevelt, Churchill, and de Gaulle

**Reading:** Wall, *The United States and the Making of Postwar France*, 11-34 **ER**; Reynolds, "Power and Superpower" **ER**

#### Week 4

**2/4:** A Study in Contrasts: The US and France in 1945

**Reading:** Hitchcock, 1-40\*

**2/6:** The Grand Alliance in Tension, 1945-1946

**Reading:** Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War*, 198-243 **ER**; Applebaum, "Introduction: Iron Curtain" **ER**

#### Week 5

**2/11:** The Cold War Erupts, 1947-1948

**Reading:** Leffler, *Preponderance of Power*, 141-181 **ER**; Hitchcock, "Marshall Plan and the Creation of the West" **ER**

**2/13:** The Cold War Intensifies, 1948-1949

**Reading:** Leffler, *Preponderance of Power*, 182-219 **ER**; Lundestad, "Empire by Invitation? The United States and Western Europe, 1945-1952," *Journal of Peace Research* 23, no. 3 (1986), 263-277 **ER**

#### Week 6

**2/18:** Troubled Relations: the US, France, and the Early Cold War, 1944-1950

**Reading:** Hitchcock, *France Restored*, 41-132\*

**2/20:** The Cold War Turns Hot: The Korean War and Its European Impact  
**Reading:** Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 207-242 **ER**

**Week 7**

**2/25:** France, the US, and the Question of German Rearmament

**Reading:** Hitchcock, 133-209\*

**2/27:** Cold War Debates I

**Reading:** Schlesinger, "Origins of the Cold War," *Foreign Affairs*, XLVI (October 1967), 22-52 **JF**; McCormick, *America's Half-Century*, 43-71 **ER**; Maier, "Alliance and Autonomy" **ER**; Gaddis, "The Emerging Post-Revisionist Synthesis on the Origins of the Cold War," *Diplomatic History* 7 (Summer 1983), 171-190 **JF**

**Week 8**

**3/4:** Cold War Debates II

**Reading:** Leffler, "The American Conception of National Security and the Beginnings of the Cold War, 1945-48," *American Historical Review* 89, no. 2 (April 1984), 346-81 **JF**; Gaddis, "Comments," *American Historical Review* 89, no. 2 (April 1984), 382-390 **JF**; Zubok, "Stalin's Plans and Russian Archives," *Diplomatic History* 21, no. 2 (Spring 1997), 295-305 **JF**

**3/6: MID-TERM EXAM** (bring blue book)

**PART II: The Intellectuals' Cold War**

**Week 9**

**3/11-3/15: Fall Break** (*indelicat*e suggestion: two novels, Camus's *The Plague* and Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*, will be discussed in the weeks just after fall break; you might want to get started reading them, as you relax, over the break)

**Week 10**

**3/18:** Intellectuals and Politics: French and American Traditions

**Reading:** Pells, *The Liberal Mind in a Conservative Age: American Intellectuals in the 1940s and 1950s*, 52-83 **ER**

**3/20:** Postwar New York: Progressives vs. Liberals

**Reading:** O'Neill, *A Better World: The Great Schism: Stalinism and the American Intellectuals*, 116-160 **ER**

**Due:** Semester Paper Prospectus

**Week 11**

**3/25:** Postwar Paris: Existentialism, *Engagement*, and Revolution

**Reading:** Aronson, *Sartre & Camus*, 1-65\*; "Introducing *Les Temps modernes*" **ER**

**3/27:** Camus and *Engagement*

**Reading:** Camus, *The Plague*, complete\*

**Week 12**

**4/1:** Sartre and *Engagement*

**Reading:** Sartre, "Dirty Hands," in *No Exit and Three Other Plays*\*

**4/3:** American Intellectuals at Mid-Century: Cold War Liberalism Triumphant

**Reading:** Schlesinger, *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom*, 35-50; 219-243 **ER**

**Week 13**

**4/8:** Arthur Koestler: From Communist to Cold Warrior

**Reading:** *Darkness at Noon*, complete\*

**4/10:** Koestler's *Darkness* and the Debate among Intellectuals

**Reading:** Merleau-Ponty, *Humanism and Terror*, xiii-xlvii; 1-24 **ER**;  
Judt, "The Blind Force of History" **ER**

**Week 14**

**4/15:** Parisian Intellectuals at Mid-Century I: Sartre vs. Camus

**Reading:** Aronson, *Camus & Sartre*, 66-154\*

**4/17:** Parisian Intellectuals at Mid-Century II: Sartre vs. Camus

**Reading:** Judt, "The Sacrifices of the Russian People" and "About the East We Can Do Nothing" **ER**

**Week 15**

**4/22:** "The Rally of the "Atlanticists": The Congress for Cultural Freedom

**Reading:** Berghahn, *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe*, 113-142 **ER**; Aron, *The Opium of the Intellectuals*, 35-65 **ER**

**Due:** Semester Paper

**4/24:** "America Has Gone Mad": McCarthyism and the Second Red Scare

**Reading:** Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America*, 241-305 **ER**

**Week 16**

**4/29:** The Debate on McCarthyism and Anti-Communism

**Reading:** K. A. Cuordileone, "The Torment of Secrecy: Reckoning with American Communism and Anticommunism after Venona," *Diplomatic History* 35, no. 4 (September 2011), 615-42 **JF**; Schrecker-Hayes discussion, H-Net, December 18, 2000, <http://www.h-net.org> **JF**

**FINAL EXAM Wednesday, May 8, noon-3:00:** (bring blue book)