

Oxford University - M.Phil. in International Relations**THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM
(2nd part - from 1950)****Trinity Term 2003****Department of Politics and International Relations, Tuesdays 11 – 1**

1. **Course content:** The rubric for this core paper is set out in the *Examinations Decrees and Regulations 2002* as follows:

The history of the relations between states in peace and war, and the development of the international system since 1900. It will include such topics as: the pre-1914 system; the balance of power and the causes of the First World War; the effects of the peace settlement and the rise of liberal and realist approaches to international relations; collective security and the system; political and economic co-operation in the interwar period; the USA, Soviet Union, Middle East and Far East in the inter-war years; the impact of domestic politics and ideology on foreign policy; the causes of the Second World War; the relationship between politics and strategy in the Second World War; post-war reconstruction and the origins of the Cold War; the evolution of the Cold War; decolonisation and self-determination; regional conflicts; integration in Western Europe; détente and the end of the Cold War; the evolution of international economic institutions; the evolution of security institutions; and international relations in the post Cold War world.

2. **Course aims and objectives:** The aim of this core paper is to provide students with historical knowledge about international relations since 1950. While there is significant coverage of the Cold War (a crucial period for the evolution of international relations today), the paper also seeks to expose students to the events and issues of the post-Cold War period. Students are expected to attain a broad understanding of the critical developments in international relations after the Second World War, as well as the impact of factors such as superpower rivalry, the advent of nuclear weapons, the rise of the 'Third World', economic and political integration, the creation of global economic institutions, nationalism, and regional conflict. In so doing, students will analyse the evolution of key international actors, including nation-states, international and regional organisations, international law and international regimes, and non-governmental organisations.

The eight topics this term include the following:

1. The Evolution of the Cold War between the Superpowers 1950-1968;
2. Decolonisation;
3. Regional Conflict - The Case of the Middle East;
4. From Détente to the End of the Cold War;
5. Integration;
6. The Evolution of International Economic Institutions;
7. The Evolution of Security Institutions;
8. Power and Balance of Power in the Post-Cold War

This paper constitutes the second half of the core course on the Development of the International System, and draws upon some of the themes from part one which covers the period 1900 – 1950. The course also links strongly with the core course 'Contemporary Debates in International Relations', providing factual context and 'tests' for many of that paper's theoretical approaches to international relations.

- 3. Organization of Teaching:** The teaching for this paper is done in a compulsory seminar on Tuesdays, 11.00-13.00, in the Social Studies Faculty Centre, and is backed up by work submitted to individual supervisors. For the seminar, students are divided into two groups, each of which is led by two members of staff. At each meeting, two questions are discussed (introduced by brief student presentations). The norm is that each student should produce six essays in total during the term (two for the core seminar leaders in 3rd and 7th weeks, and four for the supervisor).
- 4. Course Providers:** Dr Kalypso Nicolaidis (St Antony's), Dr Alex Pravda (St Antony's College), Dr James Piscatori (Wadham), Prof Avi Shlaim (St Antony's). Queries about this paper should be addressed to one of the above or to your supervisor.
- 5. Examining:** This paper is examined in the Final Exam, which is taken in Trinity Term of the second year.

GENERAL WORKS AND BACKGROUND READING:

- Berridge, G.R., *International Politics: States, Power and Conflict since 1945*, 2nd edn., 1992.
- Calvocoressi, Peter, *World Politics since 1945*, 7th edn., 1996.
- Clark, Ian, *The Post-Cold War Order: The Spoils of Peace*, 2001.
- Cohen, Warren I., *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations, Vol. IV: America in the Age of Soviet Power, 1945-1991*, 1993.
- Craig, Gordon and George, Alexander L., *Force and Statecraft*, 2nd edn., 1990.
- DePorte, A.W., *Europe Between the Super-Powers: The Enduring Balance*, 2nd edn., 1986.
- Dunbabin, J.P.D., *International Relations since 1945: The Cold War*, 1994.
- Dunbabin, J.P.D., *International Relations since 1945: The Post Imperial Age*, 1994.
- Fawcett, Louise and Hurrell, Andrew, eds., *Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organizations and International Order*, 1995.
- Foot, R., MacFarlane, S. Neil, and Mastanduno, M., eds., *US Hegemony and International Organizations*, 2003.
- Foot, R., Gaddis, J. L., Hurrell, Andrew, eds., *Order and Justice in International Relations*, 2003.
- Freedman, Lawrence, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, rev. edn., 1989.
- Gaddis, John L., *The Long Peace: Inquiries into the History of the Cold War*, 1987.
- Gaddis, John L., *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security*, 1982.
- Gaddis, John L., *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*, 1997.
- George, Alexander and Richard Smoke, *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy*, 1974.
- Halliday, Fred, *Rethinking International Relations*, 1994.
- Hogan, Michael ed., *America in the World: The Historiography of American Foreign Relations since 1941*, 1995.
- Katzenstein, Peter, ed., *The Culture of National Security*, 1996.
- Keesing's Contemporary Archives/Keesing's Record of World Events*. A useful and well-indexed record of international developments, published serially. Available online via OXLIP.
- Kennedy, Paul, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, 1987.
- Keylor, W.R., *The Twentieth Century World: An International History*, 1984; 2nd edn., 1992.
- Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy*, 1994.
- LaFeber, Walter, *America, Russia and the Cold War, 1945-92*, 7th edn., 1993.
- Link, Werner, *The East-West Conflict: The Organisation of International Relations in the Twentieth Century*, 1986.
- Lundestad, Geir, *East West North South: Major Developments in International Politics, 1945-1990*, 1991.
- Middleton, Hayden and Heater, Derek, *Atlas of Modern World History*, 1989.
- Nye, Joseph, *Understanding International Conflict*, 2000.
- Roberts, Adam, and Kingsbury, Benedict, eds., *United Nations, Divided World: The UN's Roles in International Relations*, 2nd edn., 1993.

Spero, Joan, *The Politics of International Economic Relations*, 4th edn., 1990.

Woods, Ngaire, ed., *Explaining International Relations since 1945*, 1996.

Also: *Cold War International History Project CWIHP* - Working Papers and Bulletin available in the PPE Reading Room. Some of the Working Papers are also on-line <http://cwihp.si.edu>

Note on Journal Articles

Journal articles on International History Since 1945 are numerous, but only a few have been listed above. The following journals are among those which may usefully be consulted:

Diplomatic History, Wilmington, Delaware.

Foreign Affairs, New York.

Foreign Policy, New York.

International Affairs, London.

International Affairs, Moscow.

International Organization, New York.

International Security, Cambridge, Mass.

Journal of Cold War Studies, Cambridge, Mass.

Journal of Contemporary History, London.

Millennium, London.

Orbis, Philadelphia, PA.

Problems of Communism, Washington, DC.

Review of International Studies, London.

Strategic Survey, IISS London.

Survival, London.

World Policy Journal, New York.

World Politics, Princeton, NJ.

The World Today, London.

It may also be worth consulting the Departmental reading lists for the PPE papers 'International Politics in the Era of the Cold War' and 'International Relations'.

Week 1: The Evolution of the Cold War between the Superpowers 1950-1968

1. What contribution did nuclear weapons make to keeping the peace between East and West?
2. Can the outbreak of the Korean and Vietnam wars be explained by the doctrine of containment?

Core Reading***Nuclear Deterrence***

- Allison, Graham, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, revised edn., 1999.
- Betts, Richard K., *Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance*, 1987.
- Fursenko, A., and Naftali, T., *One Hell of a Gamble: Khrushchev, Kennedy, Castro, and the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1958-1964*, 1997.
- Gaddis, John Lewis, *The Long Peace: Inquiries into the History of the Cold War*, 1987, chs. 5 and 8.
- Gaddis, John Lewis, *The United States and the End of the Cold War*, 1992, ch. 6.
- George, Alexander, and Richard Smoke, *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy*, 1974.
- George, Alexander L., ed., *Managing US-Soviet Rivalry*, 1983.
- Gray, Colin S., 'Strategy in the Nuclear Age: the United States, 1945-1991', in Murray, Williamson, Knox, MacGregor, Bernstein, Alvin, *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States and War*, 1994.
- Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy*, 1994, chs. 20 and 23.
- Lebow, Ned and Janice G. Stein, *We All Lost the Cold War*, 1994, Part I and Part III.
- Nye, Joseph S., *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History*, 3rd edn., 2000, ch. 5.
- Reiss, Mitchell, 'Nuclear Nonproliferation', in Joel Kreiger, ed., *The Oxford Companion to the Politics of the World*, 1993.
- Wohlforth, William C., *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions in the Cold War*, 1993.

Containment in Korea and Vietnam

- Freedman, Lawrence, 'Vietnam and the Disillusioned Strategist', *International Affairs*, 72:1, January 1996.
- Freedman, Lawrence, *Kennedy's Wars: Berlin, Cuba, Laos, Vietnam*, 2000.
- Gaddis, John Lewis, *The United States and the End of the Cold War*, 1992, ch. 2.
- Gaddis, John Lewis, *Strategies of Containment*, 1982.
- Jervis, Robert, 'The Impact of the Korean War on the Cold War', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 24:4, December 1980.
- Kennan, George, 'The Sources of Soviet Conduct', *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947.
- Kissinger, Henry, *Diplomacy*, 1994, chs. 19, 25 and 26.
- Khong, Yuen Foong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu and the Vietnam Decision of 1965*, 1992. See also 'The United States and East Asia: Challenges to the Balance of Power' in Ngaire Woods ed., *Explaining International Relations since 1945*, 1996, ch. 8.
- Lee, Steven Hugh, *The Korean War*, 2001.
- Foot, Rosemary, *The Wrong War: American Policy and the Dimensions of the Korean Conflict, 1950-1953*, 1985.
- Schulzinger, Robert D., *A Time for War: The United States and Vietnam*, 1997.
- Stueck, W. W., *Rethinking the Korean War: A New Diplomatic and Strategic History*, 2002.
- Warner, Geoffrey, 'The United States and Vietnam: from Kennedy to Johnson', *International Affairs*, 73:3, July 1997.

Further Reading

- Andreopoulos, George, 'Studying American Grand Strategy: Facets in an Exceptionalist Tradition', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 2:2, July 1991.
- Chen, Jian, *China's Road to the Korean War: The Making of a Sino-American Confrontation*, 1994.
- Dockrill, Michael, *The Cold War, 1945-1963*, 1988, chs. 3 and 4.
- Fall, Bernard B., *The Two Vietnams: A Political and Military Analysis*, 1963.

- Gaddis, John Lewis, *Strategies of Containment*, 1982.
- Goncharov, S., J.W. Lewis and L. Xue, *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao and the Korean War*, 1993.
- 12:4, Beatrice, 'Warsaw Pact Military Doctrines in the 1970s and 1980s: Findings in the East German Archives', *Comparative Strategy*, 1993, Xerox 207.
- Holloway, David, *Stalin and the Bomb*, 1994.
- Kahin, George McT., *Intervention: How America Became Involved in Vietnam*, 1986.
- Kolko, Gabriel, *Vietnam: Anatomy of a War*, 1986.
- LaFeber, Walter, *America, Russia and the Cold War, 1945-1992*, 7th edn., 1993.
- Lowe, Peter, *The Origins of the Korean War*, 1986.
- May, Ernest, *American Cold War Strategy: Interpreting NSC 68*, 1993.
- Pry, Peter V., *War Scare: Russia and America on the Nuclear Brink*, 1999.
- Smith, Joseph, *The Cold War: 1945-1991*, 2nd edn 1998, chs. 2 and 3.
- Stoessinger, John G., *Why Nations Go to War*, 7th edn. 1998, chs. 3 and 4.
- Ulam, Adam B., *Expansion and Coexistence: Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-1973*, 2nd edn, 1974.
- Weathersby, Kathryn, and Bajanov, Evgeni, Material from Russian Archives on the Korean War, *Cold War International History Project Bulletin*, 3 1993, 5 1995, 6-7, 1995-6.
- Odd Arne Westad, ed., *Brothers in Arms: The Rise and Fall of the Sino-Soviet Alliance, 1945-1963* 1998.
- Zhai, Qiang, *China and the Vietnam Wars, 1950-1975*, 2000.

Week 2: Decolonisation

1. What factors affected the timing and nature of decolonisation after 1945?
2. What impact did the ending of the overseas colonial empires have on the nature and conduct of international relations?

Core Reading

- Ayoob, Mohammed, 'The Third World in the System of States: Acute Schizophrenia or Growing Pains?', *International Studies Quarterly*, 33:1, 1989.
- Ayoob, Mohammed, *The Third World Security Predicament: State-Making, Regional Conflict and the International System*, 1995.
- Barkey, K. and Hagen, M., ed., *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building*, 1997.
- Bull, Hedley, and Watson, Adam, eds., *The Expansion of International Society*, 1984.
- Chamberlain, M.E., *Decolonisation: The Fall of the European Empire*, 1985.
- Clapham, Christopher, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*, 1996.
- Darwin, John, *Britain and Decolonisation: The Retreat from Empire in the Post-War World*, 1988.
- Dunbabin, J.P.D., *The Post Imperial Age*, 1994, Part 1.
- Halliday, Fred, *Cold War, Third World*, 1989.
- Holland, R.F., *European Decolonisation 1918-1981: An Introductory Survey*, 1985.
- Katz, M., 'The Legacy of Empire in International Relations', *Comparative Strategy*, 12, 1993.
- Jackson, Robert H., *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World*, 1990.
- McGregor, Charles, *The Sino-Vietnamese Relationship and the Soviet Union*, 1988, Adelphi Paper No. 232.
- Short, Anthony, *The Origins of the Vietnam War*, 1989.
- Snyder, Jack, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition*, 1991.
- Spruyt, Hendrik, 'The End of Empire and the Extension of the Westphalian System', in James Caporaso, ed., *Continuity and Change in the Westphalian System*, , pp. 65-92, 2000.

Further Reading

- Bull, Hedley, 'Justice in International Relations: The 1983 Hagey Lectures', in Kai Alderson and Andrew Hurrell, eds., *Hedley Bull on International Society* (2000).
- Clapham, Christopher, ed., *Foreign Policy Making in Developing States: A Comparative Approach*, 1977.

- Crowder, M. ed., *Cambridge History of Africa*, viii: 1940-1975, 1984, esp. chs. by Peel and Crawford Young.
- Darwin, John, *The End of the British Empire: The Historical Debate*, 1991.
- Doyle, Michael W., *Empires*, 1986.
- Feredi, Frank, *Colonial Wars and the Politics of Third World Nationalism*, 1994.
- Fieldhouse, D.K., *The West and the Third World*, 1999.
- French, Patrick, *Liberty or Death: India's Journey to Independence and Division*, 1997.
- Grimal, Henri, *Decolonization: The British, French, Dutch and Belgian Empires, 1919-1963*, 1978.
- Horne, Alistair, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962*, 1977.
- Kahler, Miles, *Decolonization in Britain and France: The Domestic Consequences of International Relations*, 1984.
- Kedourie, Elie, ed., *Nationalism in Asia and Africa*, 1971.
- Kimche, David, *The Afro-Asian Movement: Ideology and Foreign Policy of the Third World*, 1973.
- Lapping, Brian, *End of Empire*, 1989.
- Louis, Wm Roger, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. V., 1999.
- Louis, Wm Roger, 'American Anti-Colonialism and the Dissolution of the British Empire' in *International Affairs*, 61:3, Summer 1985.
- Mayall, James, *Africa, the Cold War and After*, 1971.
- Mayall, James, *Nationalism and International Society*, 1990.
- Mazrui, Ali, *Africa's International Relations*, 1977.
- Mortimer, Robert, *The Third World Coalition in International Politics*, 2nd edn., 1984.
- O'Neill, Robert, and Vincent, John, eds., *The West and the Third World*, 1990.
- Ravenhill, John, 'The North-South Balance of Power', *International Affairs*, 66:4, October 1990.
- Rothstein, Robert L., 'Epitaph for a Monument to a Failed Protest? A North-South Retrospective', *International Organization*, 42:4, Autumn 1988.
- Somerville, K., *Foreign Military Intervention in Africa*, 1990.
- Urquhart, Brian, *Decolonisation and World Peace*, 1989.

Week 3: Regional Conflict: The Case of the Middle East

1. What are the causes of the Arab-Israeli conflict and why has it proved so resistant to resolution?
2. 'The dominant feature of the post-war international politics of the Middle East was the manipulation of the external powers by the regional powers' (M.E. Yapp). Discuss.

Core Reading

- Barnett, Michael, *Dialogues in Arab Politics*, 1998.
- Brown, L. Carl, *International Politics and the Middle East: Old Rules, Dangerous Game*, 1984.
- Brown, L. Carl, ed., *Diplomacy in the Middle East: The International Relations of Regional and Outside Powers*, 2001.
- Gerges, Fawaz A., *The Superpowers and the Middle East: Regional and International Politics, 1955-1967*, 1994.
- Golan, Galia, *Soviet Policies in the Middle East: From World War II to Gorbachev*, 1990.
- Morris, Benny, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1999*, 1999.
- Quandt, William B., *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967*, 1993.
- Rabinovich, Itamar, *Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs at the End of the Century*, 1999.
- Sayigh, Yezid, and Avi Shlaim, eds., *The Cold War and the Middle East*, 1997.
- Sela, Avraham, *The Decline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Middle East Politics and the Quest for Regional Order*, 1998.
- Shlaim, Avi, *War and Peace in the Middle East: A Concise History*, 1995.
- Shlaim, Avi, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, 2000.
- Smith, Charles D., *Palestine and the Arab-Israel Conflict*, 1992.
- Walt, Stephen M., *The Origins of Alliances*, 1987.

Yapp, M. E., *The Near East since the First World War*, 1991.

Further Reading

Ajami, Fouad, 'The End of Pan-Arabism', *Foreign Affairs*, 57:2, Winter 1978-79.

Ajami, Fouad, *The Arab Predicament: Arab Political Thought and Practice Since 1967*, 2nd edn., 1992.
First published 1981.

Breslauer, George W., *Soviet Strategy in the Middle East*, 1990.

Caplan, Neil, 'Zionism and the Arabs: Another Look at the "New" Historiography', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 36:2, 2001.

Dawisha, Adeed and Karen, eds., *The Soviet Union in the Middle East: Policies and Perspectives*, IISS, 1982.

Efrat, Moshe and Jacob Bercovitch, eds., *Superpowers and Client States in the Middle East: The Imbalance of Influence*, 1991.

Eisenberg, Laura Zittrain, and Caplan, Neil, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns, Problems, Possibilities*, 1998.

Esposito, John L., *The Islamic Threat*, 2nd edn., 1995;

— (ed.), *The Iranian Revolution: Its Global Impact*, 1991.

Fraser, T.G., *The USA and the Middle East since World War II*, 1989.

Freedman, Lawrence, and Karsh, Efraim, *The Gulf Conflict, 1990-1991*, 1993.

Freedman, Robert O., ed., *The Middle East and the Peace Process: The Impact of the Oslo Accords*, 1999.

Freedman, Robert O., *Moscow and the Middle East: Soviet Policy Since the Invasion of Afghanistan*, 1991.

Halliday, Fred, *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation: Religion and Politics in the Middle East*, 1996.

Harkabi, Yehoshafat, *Arab Strategies and Israel's Response*, 1977.

Heikal, Mohamed, *The Road to Ramadan*, 1975.

Heikal, Mohamed, *Secret Channels: the Inside Story of Arab-Israeli Peace Negotiations*, 1996.

Heikal, Mohamed, *Sphinx and Commissar: The Rise and Fall of Soviet Influence in the Middle East*, 1978.

Hirst, David, *The Gun and the Olive Branch: The Roots of Violence in the Middle East*, 1977.

Karsh, Efraim, *The Iran-Iraq War: Impact and Implications*, 1989.

Kerr, Malcolm H., *The Arab Cold War: Gamal Abd al-Nasir and his Rivals*, 3rd edn., 1971.

Piscatori, James, *Islam in a World of Nation-States*, 1986.

Quandt, William B., ed., *The Middle East: Ten Years After Camp David*, 1988.

Shearman, Peter, and Phil Williams, eds., *The Superpowers, Central America and the Middle East*, 1988.

Shlaim, Avi, *The Politics of Partition: King Abdullah, the Zionists, and Palestine, 1921-1951*, 1990.

Shlaim, Avi, 'The Debate about 1948', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 27:3, August 1995.

Spiegel, Steven L., *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy from Truman to Reagan*, 1985.

Tessler, Mark, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 1994.

Yergin, Daniel, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power*, 1991.

Week 4: From Détente to the End of the Cold War

1. Compare and contrast the American, Soviet, and European conceptions of détente during the 1970s.
2. What were the most important factors that led to the end of the Cold War?

Core Reading

Détente

Bell, Coral, *The Diplomacy of Détente: The Kissinger Era*, 1977.

Bowker, Mike, and Williams, Phil, *Superpower Détente: A Reappraisal*, 1988.

- Brandt, Willy, *People and Politics: The Years 1960-1975*, 1978.
 DePorte, A.W., *Europe Between the Superpowers*, 1979.
 Dyson, Kenneth, ed., *European Détente*, 1986.
 Freedman, Lawrence, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, rev. edn., 1989.
 Gaddis, John L., *The Long Peace*, 1987.
 Gaddis, John L., 'The Rise, Fall and Future of Détente', *Foreign Affairs*, 62:2, Winter 1983/84.
 Gaddis, John L., *Strategies of Containment*, 1982, chs. 9 and 10.
 Garthoff, Raymond, *Détente and Confrontation*, 1985, 2nd edn. 1994.
 Garton Ash, Timothy, *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent*, 1993, esp. chs. I-III.
 Gelman, Harry, *The Brezhnev Politburo and the Decline of Détente*, 1984.
 Sodaro, Michael, *Moscow, Germany and the West: From Khrushchev to Gorbachev*, 1991.
 Stevenson, Richard W., *The Rise and Fall of Détente*, 1985.
 Westad, Odd Arne, ed., *The Fall of Détente: Soviet-American Relations during the Carter Years*, 1997.
 Young, John W., *Cold War Europe, 1945-1989: A Political History*, 1991.

End of the Cold War

- Blacker, Coit D., *Hostage to Revolution: Gorbachev and Soviet Security Policy, 1985-1991*, 1993.
 Brown, Archie, *The Gorbachev Factor*, 1996, chs. 7-8.
 Dawisha, Karen, *Eastern Europe, Gorbachev and Reform*, 2nd edn., 1990.
 Deudney, Daniel, and Ikenberry, John G., 'The International Sources of Soviet Change', *International Security*, 16:3, Winter 1991/92.
 English, Robert D., *Russia and the Idea of the West*, 2000.
 Forsberg, Tuoman, 'Power, Interests and Trust: Explaining Gorbachev's Choices at the End of the Cold War', *Review of International Studies*, vol.25, no.4 October 1998.
 Gaddis, John L., *The United States and the End of the Cold War*, 1992.
 Gaddis, John L., 'International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War', *International Security*, Winter 1992/93.
 Garthoff, Raymond, *The Great Transition: American-Soviet Relations and the End of the Cold War*, 1994, - and review by Richard Pipes, *Foreign Affairs*, Jan-Feb. 1995.
 Hogan, Michael, ed., *The End of the Cold War*, 1992.
 Jervis, Robert, 'The End of the Cold War on the Cold War?', *Diplomatic History* XVII, 4, Fall 1993.
 Kramer, Mark, 'Ideology and the Cold War', *Review of International Studies*, 25:4, October 1999.
 Lebow, Richard Ned, and Risse-Kappen, Thomas, eds., *IR Theory and the End of the Cold War*, 1995.
 Patman, Robert, 'Reagan, Gorbachev and the Emergence of the New Political Thinking', *Review of International Studies*, vol.25, no. 4, October 1998, pp.577-601.
 Risse-Kappen, Thomas, 'Did "Peace through Strength" End the Cold War?', *International Security*, 16:1, Summer 1991.
 Stent, Angela, *Russia and Germany Reborn: Unification, the Soviet Collapse and the New Europe*, 2000.
 Walt, Stephen, 'The Gorbachev Interlude and International Relations Theory', *Diplomatic History*, 21:3, 1997.
 Wohlforth, William, 'Realism and the End of the Cold War', *International Security*, 19:3, Winter 1994-95.
 Wohlforth, William, 'Reality Check: Revising Theories of World Politics in Response to the End of the Cold War', *World Politics*, 50:4, 1998.

Further Reading

- Adomeit, Hannes, *Imperial Overstretch: Germany in Soviet Policy from Stalin to Gorbachev*, 1998, esp. part 4.
 Beschloss, Michael R. and Talbott, Strobe, *At the Highest Levels: The Inside Story of the Cold War*, 1993.
 Bowker, Mike, and Brown, Robin, eds., *From Cold War to Collapse: Theory and World Politics in the 1980s*, 1993.
 Brzezinski, Zbigniew, *The Grand Failure: The Birth and Death of Communism in the Twentieth Century*, 1989.
 Davy, Richard, ed., *Détente: A Reappraisal*, 1992.

- Dobrynin, Anatoly, *In Confidence: Russia's Ambassador to America's Six Cold War Presidents*, 1995.
- Edmonds, Robin, *Soviet Foreign Policy: The Brezhnev Years*, 1983.
- The End of the Cold War, *Cold War International History Project Bulletin*, issue 12/13, Fall/Winter 2001.
- Evangelista, Matthew, *Unarmed Force: The Transnational Movement to End the Cold War*, 1999.
- Fleron, F.J., Hoffman, E.P., and Laird, R.F., eds., *Contemporary Issues in Soviet Foreign Policy: From Brezhnev to Gorbachev*, 1991.
- Gaddis, John L., *The Long Peace*, 1987.
- Gati, Charles, *The Bloc That Failed*, 1991.
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, *Perestroika: New Thinking for our Country and the World*, updated edn., 1988.
- Halliday, Fred, *The Making of the Second Cold War*, 1983, 2nd edn.
- Kissinger, Henry, *White House Years and Years of Upheaval*, 1979 and 1982.
- Lévesque, Jacques, *The Enigma of 1989: The USSR and the Liberalisation of Eastern Europe*, 1997.
- Light, Margot, *The Soviet Theory of International Relations*, 1988.
- Litwak, Robert S., *Détente and the Nixon Doctrine*, CUP, 1984.
- Moreton, Edwina and Segal, Gerald, eds., *Soviet Strategy Towards Western Europe*, 1984.
- Lynch, Allen, *The Soviet Study of International Relations*, 1987.
- Mastny, Vojtech, *The Soviet Non-Invasion of Poland in 1980-1 and the End of the Cold War* CWIHP Working Paper no. 23.
- Nelson, Keith L., *The Making of Détente: Soviet-American Relations in the Shadow of Vietnam*, 1995.
- Oberdorfer, Dan, *The Turn: From the Cold War to a New Era*, 1991.
- Palazchenko, Pavel, *My Years with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze: The Memoir of a Soviet Interpreter*, 1997.
- Pravda, Alex, ed., *The End of the Outer Empire: Soviet-East European Relations in Transition, 1985-1990*, 1992.
- Pugh, Michael, and Phil Williams, eds., *Superpower Politics: Changes in the United States and the Soviet Union*, 1990.
- Stern, Geoffrey, *The Rise and Decline of International Communism*, 1990.
- Ulam, Adam B., *The Communists: The Story of Power and Lost Illusions, 1948-1991*, 1992.

Week 5: Integration

1. How successful have theories of integration been in accounting for the process of integration in Western Europe?
2. Is the 'European' model of integration applicable elsewhere?

Core Reading

European Integration

- Cram, Laura, Dinan, Desmond, and Nugent, Neill, eds., *Developments in the European Union*, 1999.
- Dedman, Martin, *The Origins and Development of the European Union, 1945-95*, 1996.
- Duff, Andrew, Pinder, John and Pryce, Roy, eds., *Maastricht and Beyond*, 1994.
- Ferguson, Niall, and Laurence J. Kotlikoff, 'The Degeneration of EMU', *Foreign Affairs*, 79:2, March/April 2000.
- Forsyth, Murray, 'The Notion of Multilevel Government: Analyzing the EU', *West European Politics*, 22:1, January 1999.
- Keohane, Robert, and Stanley Hoffmann, eds., 'Institutional Change in Europe in the 1980s', *The New European Community*, 1991.
- Milward, Alan, *The European Rescue of the Nation State*, 1994.
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Week 6: The Evolution of International Economic Institutions

1. How and why has the scope of activity of the Bretton Woods institutions changed in the last 50 years?
2. How has the international trade regime come to encompass 'beyond the border' issues – such as human rights and the environment? What does this imply for developed and developing countries?

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Week 7: The Evolution of Security Institutions

1. Explain and assess the expanded role of the United Nations since 1985.
2. What functions and interests has NATO served since the end of the Cold War? Does it need a 'threat' to survive?

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Week 8: Power and Balance of Power in the Post-Cold War World

1. What today defines a 'great power'? Are we living in a unipolar world?
2. Which approach sheds more light on U S-China relations since the mid-1980s: realist theories of the balance of power or liberal ideas of interdependence?

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