

THE CAMBRIDGE  
HISTORY OF

THE  
COLD WAR

VOLUME II

Crises and Détente

EDITED BY  
MELVYN P. LEFFLER AND  
ODD ARNE WESTAD

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## THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE COLD WAR

Volume II of *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* examines the developments that made the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union a long-lasting international system during the 1960s and 1970s. A team of leading scholars explains how the Cold War seemed to stabilize after the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 and how this sense of increased stability evolved into the détente era of the early 1970s. The authors outline how conflicts in the Third World, as well as the interests and ideologies of the superpowers, eroded the détente process. They delve into the social and economic roots of the conflict, illuminate processes of integration and disintegration, analyze the arms race, and explore the roles of intelligence, culture, and national identities. Discussing the newest findings on US and Soviet foreign policy as well as examining key crises inside and outside Europe, this authoritative volume will define Cold War studies for years to come.

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## *Preface to volumes I, II, and III*

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Cold War has gradually become history. In people's memories, the epoch when a global rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union dominated international affairs has taken on a role very much like that of the two twentieth-century world wars, as a thing of the past, but also as progenitor of everything that followed. As with the two world wars, we now also have the ability to see developments from the perspectives of the different participants in the struggle. Declassification, however incomplete, of a suggestive body of archival evidence from the former Communist world as well as from the West makes this possible. The time, therefore, is ripe to provide a comprehensive, systematic, analytic overview of the conflict that shaped the international system and that affected most of humankind during the second half of the twentieth century.

In this three-volume *Cambridge History*, the contributors seek to illuminate the causes, dynamics, and consequences of the Cold War. We want to elucidate how it evolved from the geopolitical, ideological, economic, and sociopolitical environment of the two World Wars and the interwar era. We also seek to convey a greater appreciation of how the Cold War bequeathed conditions, challenges, and conflicts that shape developments in the international system today.

In order to accomplish the above goals, we take the *Cambridge History of the Cold War* (CHCW) far beyond the narrow boundaries of diplomatic affairs. We seek to clarify what mattered to the greatest number of people during the Cold War. Indeed, the end of the conflict cannot be grasped without understanding how markets, ideas, and cultural interactions affected political discourse, diplomatic events, and strategic thinking. Consequently, we shall deal at considerable length with the social, intellectual, and economic history of the twentieth century. We shall discuss demography and consumption, women and youth, science and technology, culture and race. The evolution of the Cold War cannot be comprehended without attention to such matters.



The *CHCW* is an international history, covering the period from a wide variety of geographical and national angles. While some chapters necessarily center on an individual state or a bilateral relationship, there are many more chapters that deal with a wider region or with global trends. Intellectually, therefore, the *CHCW* aspires to contribute to a transformation of the field from national – primarily American – views to a broader international approach.

The authors of the individual chapters have been selected because of their academic standing in the field of Cold War studies, regardless of their institutional affiliation, academic discipline, or national origin. Although the majority of contributors are historians, there are chapters written by political scientists, economists, and sociologists. While most contributors come from the main research universities in North America and Britain – where Cold War studies first blossomed as a field – the editors have also sought to engage scholars working in different universities and research centers around the globe. We have included a mixture of younger and more established scholars in the field, thereby seeking to illuminate how scholarship has evolved as well as where it is heading.

The *CHCW* aims at being comprehensive, comparative, and pluralist in its approach. The contributors have deliberately been drawn from various ‘schools’ of thought and have been asked to put forward their own – often distinctive – lines of argument, while indicating the existence of alternative interpretations and approaches. Being a substantial work of reference, the *CHCW* provides detailed, synthetic accounts of key periods and major thematic topics, while striving for broad and original interpretations. The volumes constitute a scholarly project, written by academics for fellow academics as well as for policymakers, foreign affairs personnel, military officers, and analysts of international relations. But we also hope the *CHCW* will serve as an introduction and reference point for advanced undergraduate students and for an educated lay public in many countries.

The present *Cambridge History* was first conceived in 2001 and has therefore been almost ten years in the making. It has been a large, multinational project, with seventy-three contributors from eighteen different countries. We have met for three conferences and had a large number of hours on the phone and in conference-calls. Most chapters have been through three, if not four, different versions, and have been read and commented upon – in depth – not only by the editors, but also by other participants in the project. In the end, it was the spirit of collaboration among people of very different backgrounds and very different views that made it possible to bring this *Cambridge History* to completion in the form that it now has.

While the editors' first debt of gratitude therefore is to the contributors, a large number of others also deserve thanks. Jeffrey Byrne, our editorial assistant, did a remarkable job organizing meetings, keeping track of submissions, and finding maps and illustrative matter, all while completing his own doctoral thesis. He has been a model associate. Michael Watson, our editor at Cambridge University Press, helped keep the project on track throughout. Michael Devine, the director of the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library, worked hard to set up the conferences and provide essential funding for the project. At the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), the wonderful administrative staff of the International History Department, the Cold War Studies Centre, and LSE IDEAS provided help far beyond the call of duty; Arne Westad is especially grateful to Carol Toms and Tiha Franulovic for all the assistance rendered him during a difficult period when he juggled the *CHCW* editorship with being head of department and research center director.

Both editors are grateful to those who helped fund and organize the three *CHCW* conferences, at the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library in Independence, Missouri; at the Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library in Austin, Texas; and at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC. Besides the Truman Library director, Michael Devine, we wish to thank the director of the Johnson Library, Betty Sue Flowers, the director of the History and Public Policy Program at the Wilson Center, Christian Ostermann, and the director of the National Security Archive, Thomas S. Blanton. We are also grateful to Philip Bobbitt, H. W. Brands, Diana Carlin, Francis J. Gavin, Mark Lawrence, William Leogrande, Robert Littwak, William Roger Louis, Dennis Merrill, Louis Potts, Elspeth Rostow, Mary Sarotte, Strobe Talbott, Alan Tully, Steven Weinberg, and Samuel Wells.

Being editors of such a large scholarly undertaking has been exhausting and exhilarating in turns (and roughly by equal measure). The editors want to thank each other for good comradeship throughout, and our families, students, and colleagues for their patience, assistance, and good cheer. It has been a long process, and we hope that the end product will serve its audiences well.

Melvyn P. Leffler  
and  
Odd Arne Westad

### *Note on the text*

All three volumes use the simplified form of the Library of Congress system of transliteration for Cyrillic alphabets (without diacritics, except for Serbian and Macedonian), Arabic, and Japanese (modified Hepburn), Pinyin (without diacritics) for Chinese, and McCune-Reischauer (with diacritics) for Korean. Translations within the text are those of the individual contributors to this volume unless otherwise specified in the footnotes.

## Contents

|   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| <i>List of illustrations</i>                              | <i>page viii</i> |
| <i>List of maps</i>                                       | <i>x</i>         |
| <i>List of graphs</i>                                     | <i>xi</i>        |
| <i>List of contributors to volume II</i>                  | <i>xii</i>       |
| <i>Preface to volumes I, II, and III</i>                  | <i>xv</i>        |
| <i>Note on the text</i>                                   | <i>xviii</i>     |
| <br>  |                  |
| I · Grand strategies in the Cold War                      | 1                |
| JOHN LEWIS GADDIS   |                  |
| <br>  |                  |
| 2 · Identity and the Cold War                             | 22               |
| ROBERT JERVIS   |                  |
| <br>  |                  |
| 3 · Economic aspects of the Cold War, 1962–1975           | 44               |
| RICHARD N. COOPER   |                  |
| <br>  |                  |
| 4 · The Cuban missile crisis                              | 65               |
| JAMES G. HERSHBERG  |                  |
| <br>  |                  |
| 5 · Nuclear competition in an era of stalemate, 1963–1975 | 88               |
| WILLIAM BURR AND DAVID ALAN ROSENBERG                     |                  |
| <br>  |                  |
| 6 · US foreign policy from Kennedy to Johnson             | 112              |
| FRANK COSTIGLIOLA   |                  |
| <br>  |                  |
| 7 · Soviet foreign policy, 1962–1975                      | 134              |
| SVETLANA SAVRANSKAYA AND WILLIAM TAUBMAN                  |                  |

*Contents*

- 8 · France, "Gaullism," and the Cold War 158  
FRÉDÉRIC BOZO
- 9 · European integration and the Cold War 179  
N. PIERS LUDLOW
- 10 · Détente in Europe, 1962–1975 198  
JUSSI M. HANHIMÄKI
- 11 · Eastern Europe: Stalinism to Solidarity 219  
ANTHONY KEMP-WELCH
- 12 · The Cold War and the transformation of the Mediterranean,  
1960–1975 238  
ENNIO DI NOLFO
- 13 · The Cold War in the Third World, 1963–1975 258  
MICHAEL E. LATHAM
- 14 · The Indochina wars and the Cold War, 1945–1975 281  
FREDRIK LOGEVALL
- 15 · The Cold War in the Middle East: Suez crisis  
to Camp David Accords 305  
DOUGLAS LITTLE
- 16 · Cuba and the Cold War, 1959–1980 327  
PIERO GLEIJESES
- 17 · The Sino-Soviet split 349  
SERGEY RADCHENKO
- 18 · Détente in the Nixon–Ford years, 1969–1976 373  
ROBERT D. SCHULZINGER
- 19 · Nuclear proliferation and non-proliferation during  
the Cold War 395  
FRANCIS J. GAVIN

*Contents*

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 20 · Intelligence in the Cold War   | 417 |
| CHRISTOPHER ANDREW  |     |
| 21 · Reading, viewing, and tuning in to the Cold War                              | 438 |
| NICHOLAS J. CULL  |     |
| 22 · Counter-cultures: the rebellions against the Cold War order,<br>1965–1975    | 460 |
| JEREMI SURI   |     |
| 23 · The structure of great power politics, 1963–1975                             | 482 |
| MARC TRACHTENBERG   |     |
| 24 · The Cold War and the social and economic history<br>of the twentieth century | 503 |
| WILFRIED LOTH   |     |
| <i>Bibliographical essay</i>  | 525 |
| <i>Index</i>  | 571 |

## *Illustrations*

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| 1. Plans for NATO unveiled by Leslie Gilbert Illingworth, March 20, 1949.<br>By permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / The National Library<br>of Wales            | page 32 |
| 2. Communism and capitalism compete for attention on walls in Calcutta.<br>© Frédéric Soltan/Corbis  | 35      |
| 3. Distances from Cuba of various major US cities. © Bettmann/Corbis   | 74      |
| 4. Soviet missile launchers in Cuba photographed by US spy planes. © Corbis  | 84      |
| 5. Minuteman III in silo. © Jim Sugar/Corbis   | 94      |
| 6. President Kennedy delivering his inauguration speech, January 20, 1961.<br>© Bettmann/Corbis  | 115     |
| 7. President Johnson reacting to news about the Vietnam War from Secretary of<br>Defense Robert McNamara in December 1964. © Corbis                                      | 127     |
| 8. Fidel Castro with Leonid Brezhnev and Nikita Khrushchev at Khrushchev's<br>dacha in April 1963. © Bettmann/Corbis   | 137     |
| 9. President Ford and Leonid Brezhnev at the signing of the SALT II agreement<br>in Vladivostok in November 1974. © Wally McNamee/Corbis                                 | 151     |
| 10. Charles de Gaulle and Konrad Adenauer shaking hands during their first<br>meeting in Bad Kreuznach, West Germany, in December 1958. © Bettmann/<br>Corbis            | 167     |
| 11. De Gaulle visiting the Polish city of Gdańsk in 1967. © Bruno Barbey/Magnum<br>Photos  | 169     |
| 12. De Gaulle and British prime minister Harold Wilson meeting in London<br>in 1965. © Bettmann/Corbis   | 189     |
| 13. West German Chancellor Willy Brandt kneeling at the monument to those<br>killed by German troops in the uprising in Warsaw during World War II.<br>© Bettmann/Corbis | 211     |
| 14. A Soviet tank in Prague, August 1968. © Josef Koudelka/Magnum Photos   | 226     |
| 15. Strike at Gdańsk shipyard, 1980. © Alain Keler/Sygma/Corbis  | 235     |
| 16. A Greek-Cypriot woman looking for a lost relative. © David Rubinger/Corbis   | 253     |
| 17. Mário Soares, the leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party, campaigning<br>in Lisbon in 1975. © Henri Bureau/Sygma/Corbis  | 254     |
| 18. The body of Che Guevara. © Bettmann/Corbis   | 270     |
| 19. The image of Che Guevara, already dead for four years, decorating a Chilean<br>slum in 1971. © Raymond Depardon/Magnum Photos  | 279     |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 20. French prisoners of war and their Vietnamese captors, July 1954. © Bettmann/Corbis  | 291 |
| 21. Vietnamese try to get on-board a US helicopter sent to evacuate CIA personnel from a building in Saigon, April 29, 1975. © Buffon-Darquennes/Sygma/Corbis   | 301 |
| 22. Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin with US president Jimmy Carter at the White House, March 26, 1979, after signing a peace treaty. © Bettmann/Corbis   | 323 |
| 23. Fidel Castro, Raúl Castro, and Che Guevara in October 1963, finalizing the plan to send Cuban troops to Algeria to protect it from Moroccan aggression. From the archives of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party   | 333 |
| 24. Four heads of state – Agostinho Neto of Angola, Fidel Castro of Cuba, Luís Cabral of Guinea-Bissau, and Ahmed Sékou Touré of Guinea – at the grave of Amílcar Cabral, who led the independence movement of Guinea-Bissau. From the archives of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party | 337 |
| 25. Mao Zedong and the man he purged twice, but who lived to succeed him, Deng Xiaoping. © Bettmann/Corbis  | 353 |
| 26. Soviet border guards at the Chinese border on the Ussuri river, May 1969. © Bettmann/Corbis   | 370 |
| 27. US president Richard Nixon and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, June 1973. © Corbis   | 381 |
| 28. Indian prime minister Indira Gandhi visiting nuclear testing sites in Rajasthan. © Kapoor Baldev/Sygma/Corbis   | 411 |
| 29. U2 spy plane in flight. © Aero Graphics, Inc./Corbis  | 421 |
| 30. Iurii Vladimirovich Andropov. © Bettmann/Corbis   | 427 |
| 31. William Casey, Director of US Central Intelligence from 1981 to 1987. © Bettmann/Corbis   | 428 |
| 32. Foreign students at the newly opened Patrice Lumumba Peoples' Friendship University in Moscow, 1961. © Bettmann/Corbis  | 441 |
| 33. A still from Robert Wise's 1951 <i>The Day the Earth Stood Still</i> . © John Springer Collection/Corbis  | 453 |
| 34. A crowd of activists give the Black Power salute at a rally for the US Black Panther Party, 1969. © Flip Schulke/Corbis   | 472 |
| 35. French police using force during the student demonstrations in Paris in May 1968. © Jacques Haillot/Sygma/Corbis  | 475 |
| 36. US secretary of state Henry Kissinger and West German chancellor Willy Brandt in Bonn, March 1974. © Heinrich Sanden/dpa/Corbis   | 485 |
| 37. US president Richard Nixon meets Chairman Mao Zedong in Beijing, February 21, 1972. © Corbis  | 498 |



## *Maps*

|  |                 |
|--|-----------------|
| 1. The expansion of European integration   | <i>page</i> 196 |
| 2. The Mediterranean Basin   | 240             |
| 3. Indochina   | 285             |
| 4. Territories occupied by Israel after 1967   | 316             |
| 5. Sino-Soviet border clashes on the eastern and western sectors of the frontier,<br>March and August 1969 | 368             |