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War Studies Advanced Program, Summer 2016 LESSONS FROM THE COLD WAR Instructors: Fred Kagan, Kim Kagan, Gen. John Allen (Ret.), LTG. Jim Dubik (Ret.) Washington, D.C.

This program will introduce students to the Soviet Union, American grand strategic thinking in the early Cold War, and U.S. and Soviet nuclear thought. It will consider the challenge Americans faced defining and understanding the Soviet threat. It will also explore the Soviet view of the Cold War, the challenges facing Moscow, and Soviet approaches to meeting those challenges. It will highlight the way wildly divergent experiences in World War II, as well as extreme differences in ideology, shaped each side's perception of the other and created mutually-incompatible approaches to the conflict. It will also explore the development and evolution of nuclear war theory on both sides, emphasizing the very different conclusions drawn about the nature and acceptability of nuclear war by systems guided by such opposing ideologies and experiences. It will end by considering how to apply lessons drawn from the Cold War to the challenges emanating from Russia today.

Thursday, August 4, 2016, 9:00 am to 6:00 PM

American Approaches to the Cold War, 1945-1960

This lesson will focus on two major themes. First we will consider two opposing definitions of the Soviet threat that competed within the U.S. government in the first decade of the Cold War—George Kennan's and that embodied in NSC-68, drafted under the leadership of Paul Nitze. We will then explore the two conflicting grand strategies proposed by Kennan and NSC-68 and consider why Nitze's ultimately prevailed. We will move from this discussion to an assessment of the desirability of reconsidering Kennan's rejected grand strategic approach in the current national security environment.

Readings:

- George Kennan, "The Long Telegram," 22 February 1946, available at http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/coldwar/documents/episode-1/kennan.htm. Scanned copy at http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/coldwar/documents/pdf/6-6.pdf.
- "X" (George Kennan), "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947. Available for purchase at https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/1947-07-01/sources-soviet-conduct.
- Paul Nitze et al, NSC-68, "A Report to the National Security Council by the Executive Secretary on United States Objectives and Programs for National Security," 14 April 1950, available at
 - https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/coldwar/documents/pdf/10-1.pdf. [Use only this version, not the html version available elsewhere.]

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 John Lewis Gaddis, Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy During the Cold War, Revised and Expanded Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 1-197. Students should read the whole thing if they can, but certainly must read through p. 197.

Friday, August 5, 2016, 9:00 am to 6:00 PM

The Soviet Union and the Cold War

This lesson will begin by examining the nature of the Soviet state from the Soviet perspective. We will look at the origins and evolution of the Soviet Union, the Stalin period, and Soviet experiences during the Second World War (the Great Patriotic War) to understand the very different perspective Soviet leaders might have had on world affairs from their American counterparts. We will consider how the Cold War appeared to the Soviets from its earliest days. We will examine, briefly, Soviet ideology as it relates to war and international relations.

Readings:

- Ronald J. Hill and Peter Frank, *The Soviet Communist* Party, 3rd Edition, (New York: Allen & Unwin, 1986), pp. 1-75
- William E. Odom, *The Collapse of the Soviet Military*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 1-37.
- Vladislav Zubok and Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), "Prologue: The View from the Kremlin, 1945," pp. 1-8; Chapters 1 and 2 ("Stalin: Revolutionary Potentate" and "Stalin and Shattered Peace"), pp. 9-77; Chapter 6, "The Education of Nikita Khrushchev," pp. 174-209; and Chapter 8, "Khrushchev and Kennedy: The Taming of the Cold War," pp. 236-274.
- Colonel B. Byely, Colonel Y. Dzyuba, Colonel G. Fyodorov, Colonel Y. Khomenko, Colonel T. Kondratkov, Major-General S. Kozlov, Captain 1st Rank V. Kulakov, Colonel Y. Medvedev, Colonel V. Morozov, Colonel K. Spirov, Major-General Y. Sulimov, Major-General N. Sushko, Colonel S. Tyushkevich, and Lieutenant-Colonel D. Volkogonov, Marxism-Leninism on War and Army, Chapter One, "War as a Socio-Political Phenomenon," pp. 6-62

Saturday, August 6, 2016, 9:00 am to 6:00 PM

American Nuclear War Theory

This lesson will explore the origins and evolution of American thinking about atomic and nuclear war. We will discuss the difference between atomic and thermonuclear weapons and the implications of that difference for thinking about nuclear war. We will then consider the ways in which American nuclear theorists wrestled with the problem of thinking about how to wage nuclear war and, ultimately, about whether that question was even meaningful.

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Readings:

- Albert Wohlstetter, "The Delicate Balance of Terror," RAND, 6 November 1958, available at http://www.rand.org/about/history/wohlstetter/P1472/P1472.html.
- Albert Wohlstetter and Henry Rowen, "Objectives of the United States Military Posture,"
 1 May 1959, RAND, available at http://www.rand.org/about/history/wohlstetter/RM2373/RM2373.html.
- Bernard Brodie, ed., Arnold Wolfers, Percy E. Corbett, and William T. R. Fox, *The Absolute Weapon: Atomic Power and World Order*, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Institute of International Studies, February 15, 1946), Part I, "The Weapon," Chapter 1, "War in the Atomic Age," and Chapter 2, "Implications for Military Policy," available at https://www.osti.gov/opennet/servlets/purl/16380564-wvLB09/16380564.pdf. NB: This was General Dwight D. Eisenhower's copy, and contains some marginalia.
- Bernard Brodie, "The Development of Nuclear Strategy," *International Security*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Spring, 1978), pp. 65-83, available at http://www.ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/pol179/Brodie.pdf.

Sunday, August 7, 2016, 9:00 am to 6:00 PM

Soviet Nuclear War Theory

This lesson will consider the Soviet approach to thinking about atomic and nuclear war. It will contrast Soviet thought not only with American theory, but also with the understanding American theorists had about Soviet nuclear thinking. We will discuss the dangers inherent in assuming common rationality with an opponent and how to identify and mitigate those dangers. We will also consider the implications for deterrence of varying assessments of the feasibility of waging nuclear war.

Readings:

- William R. Kintner and Harriet F. Scott, eds., *The Nuclear Revolution in Soviet Military Affairs*, (University of Oklahoma Press, 1968):
- Major General [US Lieutenant General] K. S. Bokcharev, Colonel I. P. Prusanov, and Colonel A. A. Babokov, The Program of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] on the Defense of the Socialist Fatherland [Published by the Military Publishing House, Moscow, 1965]. Kintner and Fast editors' note, pp. 115-118.
 - o Chapter 2, "The Defense of the Socialist Fatherland—The most Important Function of the Soviet Government," pp. 118-145.
- Colonel General [US General] Nikolai A. Lomov, "The Influence of Soviet Military Doctrine on the Development of Military art, pp. 153-169.
- *Marxism-Leninism on War and Army*; Chapter 7, Section 1, "The Modern Revolution in Military Affairs and its Influence on the Military Potential," pp. 250-261.
- Marshal V. D. Sokolovskii, Soviet Military Strategy, 3rd Edition, pp. 167-211 (Chapter IV, "The Nature of Modern War")
- Fritz W. Ermarth, "Contrasts in American and Soviet Strategic Thought," in Derek Leebaert, ed., *Soviet Military Thinking*, (New York: George Allen & Unwin, 1985), pp. 50-72.

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Directorate of Intelligence, US Central Intelligence Agency, Soviet Nuclear Doctrine:
 Concepts of Intercontinental and Theater War, 1973. [Available in PDF]

Monday, August 8, 2016, 9:00 am to 6:00 PM

Implications for Today

We will end this course by examining current American and Russian doctrine and policy regarding nuclear weapons and nuclear war. To what extent have Washington and Moscow converged on a common assessment of the feasibility of waging nuclear war or of waging limited nuclear war? How well does American policy appear to understand Russian theories, policies, and doctrines? How can we apply Cold War theories to the modern world in which multiple states maintain nuclear arsenals but are no longer aligned neatly into two camps? Do they apply at all?

Readings:

- US Department of Defense, "Nuclear Posture Review Report," April 2010, available at http://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/features/defenseReviews/NPR/2010 Nuclear Posture Review Report.pdf.
- Russian military doctrine 2010 is available in English (pdf)
- William E. Odom, "Soviet Military Doctrine," Foreign Affairs, Winter 1988/1989, available in pdf.