

**MGIMO University**  
**School of Government and International Affairs**

*Syllabus approved*  
Dean, The MGIMO School of Government and International Affairs  
Mikhail Troitskiy  
«            »            2022

**History of international relations**  
**Part II 1945–1991**  
Undergraduate Course Syllabus

Instructor

Dr. Andrei V. Zagorski

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This syllabus is designed in accordance with the MGIMO Educational Standard for the Bachelor Program in International Affairs.

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Director MGIMO Library \_\_\_\_\_ Marina Reshetnikova

# PART 1: INSTRUCTOR INFORMATION, COURSE DESCRIPTION AND TEACHING METHODS

## 1.1. General information

- Full course title: History of international relations 1945–1991
- Type of course: Compulsory
- Level of course: BA
- Year of study: 2<sup>nd</sup>.
- Number of ECTS credits allocated: 5.
- Academic hours: 210 hours (64 for in-class activities, 104 for home assignments and 42 for control and exam).
- Lectures: 32 hours.
- Seminars: 32 hours.
- Name of lecturer:  
Dr. Andrei V. Zagorski  
Professor, Department of International Relations and Foreign Policy of Russia  
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## 1.2. Course aims and learning outcomes

The main objective of the course is to provide students with a comprehensive knowledge of the history of the Cold war, the policies of the major states, main developments and particular issues on the international agenda. The course also aims at improving the students' ability to use historical methods and primary sources of the study of history.

### Learning outcomes:

By the end of the course, students should have:

- acquired a profound knowledge of the state-of-the-art research of the Cold War history;
- familiarized themselves with the main structural characteristics of the international relations during the Cold War and the main concepts referred to in contemporary international debates;
- improved their experience of working with primary sources;
- developed the ability to understand and order facts against the background of more general international developments
- improved their skills of presenting the findings of their research orally and in written;
- have established a solid baseline related to the global and regional problems and developments to be followed-up in the subsequent course on Contemporary international relations.

## 1.3 Course requirements and grading plan

### Course requirements:

Students are required to attend no less than 90% of classes (both lectures and seminars) and be well prepared for class discussions. Conscientious reading of assigned materials is compulsory. Expanding reading beyond the assigned materials is most welcome.

During the semester, students are required to pass through three *in-class rating tests* based on lectures and assigned reading materials and cover subjects already discussed in lectures and seminars. Students are required to respond to 20 multiple choice questions. The outcomes of the tests are discussed at the beginning of the following seminar.

Subjects of lectures and seminars do not coincide. Subjects of a more general nature are covered in lectures, more specific subjects are discussed in the seminars. For details see the thematic schedule of classes and elaborate seminars outlines.

During the semester, students are required to write and submit a course thesis (paper) that is evaluated separately.

The course ends with a written exam that is evaluated separately.

**Grading Plan:**

In-class test:

- every question has at least one correct and at least one wrong response option
- selecting all correct and no wrong responses   5 points
- selecting not all correct and no wrong response option   between 1 and 4 points
- selecting one or more wrong response options   0 points

Activity in the seminar multiplier:

- very active and good command of material   x 1.2
- active and good command of material   x 1.1
- low activity but good command of material   x 1.0
- active but bad command of material   x 1.0
- passive and bad command of material    x 1.0

The final semester grade is calculated as the result of multiplication of the average score from the three in-class tests by the multiplier factor.

Written exam is graded separately at the end of the course. Responding to two questions, students are expected to demonstrate good command of the factual baseline, summarize, in a concise form, the essence of the issue (problem), identify relevant stakeholders, their perspectives and policies, and the authors’ perspective on the issue based on the assigned reading materials.

Students are admitted to the exam provided they have submitted course theses (papers) and the thesis has been accepted by the supervisor.

The course thesis, between 4,000 and 8,000 words in length, is graded separately and should be submitted by 15<sup>th</sup> of May. It should meet the requirements established by the MGIMO-University (check the Course Papers Preparation Guidelines of the MGIMO School of Governance and International Relations).

## PART 2: COURSE CONTENT

### 2.1. Course schedule

week	lecture	seminar
1	Introduction: The Cold war. Basic characteristics. Points of departure: Yalta and Potsdam.	The first rifts between the Major Allied Powers.
<b>Origins of the Cold War</b>		
2	The German question (1945–1949)	Division of Europe (1947–1949)
3	North East Asia and Indochina (1945–1954)	The Extension of the Cold war to Asia
4	Consequences of the Korean war in Europe and East Asia. Rearmament of West Germany.	The “San Francisco order”
5	Developments in the Middle East (1945–1956)	The extension of the Cold war to the Middle East
6	East-West relations 1953–1962: Consolidation of Cold War frontiers	Soviet-Japanese rapprochement and its failure
<b>Challenges to the Cold War bipolarity</b>		
7	Decolonization and its impact on the international order	International relations in South Asia
8	The Sino–Soviet split	The normalization of Sino-American and Sino-Japanese relations
9	The second Vietnam war	Developments in South East Asia after the Vietnam war
10	New centers of economic power (1960–1970s)	Reconfiguration of the West in the 1970s
<b>Détente and its collapse</b>		
11	Détente	Détente in US–Soviet relations (1967–1975).
12	The European Détente (1960—1970s)	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)
13	The Middle and Near East (1960—1980s)	The 1978 Camp David Accords and the 1982 Lebanon crisis
14	The collapse of détente	Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and its impact on East-West relations
<b>The end of the Cold War</b>		
15	The ‘New political thinking’ and East-West relations (1985–1991)	The resolution of the Afghanistan conflict and the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations
16	Overcoming the division of Europe and of Germany	International relations in Latin America during the Cold War

## 2.1. Course content and reading

### **Lecture 1: Introduction: The Cold War. Basic characteristics. Points of departure.**

**Summary:** Introduction to the course, its objectives, structure and requirements.

The Yalta world order. The United Nations. The Bretton-Woods institutions and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Main decisions concerning the post-World War II world order at the Crimea (Yalta) and Berlin (Potsdam) Conferences in 1945. Yalta and Potsdam decisions with respect to the final determination of borders in Europe and the Far East and the status of those decisions. Decisions concerning Germany. Mechanism for the post-war cooperation of Major Allied Powers. The main characteristics of the Yalta-order: the shift in the power distribution in the international system in favor of the US and the USSR. The decline of the traditional European powers. The division of Europe and of Germany. The Cold War and the ideological antagonism. The East–West conflict. US–Soviet bipolarity and its increasingly global effects. The nuclear weapons and their impact. Decolonization, proliferation of international organizations. Gradual erosion of the bipolarity of the Yalta-order.

#### Primary sources:

*Protocol of Proceedings of Crimea Conference*, Avalon Project reference system. URL: <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/yalta.asp>.

*The Berlin (Potsdam) Conference, July 17-August 2, 1945. Protocol of the Proceedings*, Avalon Project reference system. URL: [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/decade17.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/decade17.asp).

#### Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020), pp. 1–6.

David C. Engerman, “Ideology and the origins of the Cold War, 1917–1962”, in: P. Leffler, Odd Arne Westad (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War. Vol. I: Origins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), particularly pp. 31-34.

Odd Arne Westad, “The Cold War and the international history of the twentieth century”, in: P. Leffler, Odd Arne Westad (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War. Vol. I: Origins*, particularly pp. 8-19.

#### Further reading:

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945. 9th Edition* (Harlow: Pearson, 2009), pp. 3–7, 11–13.

Vladislav Zubok, Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War. From Stalin to Khrushchev* (Cambridge [MA]; London: Harvard University Press, 1996), pp. 28-35.

#### Internet resources, databases:

*Cold War Origins*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/27/cold-war-origins>.

### ***Seminar 1: The first rifts between the Major Allied Powers.***

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

#### Questions:

1. The 1945 controversy over East European governments
2. The first session of the Council of Foreign Ministers (London and Moscow, 1945) and its decisions.
3. The treaties of peace with the European enemy states.
4. The first crises after the World War II: Turkey, Iran, Greece.

Primary sources:

*First Meeting of Council of Foreign Ministers, London, September 11 to October 2, 1945. Report by Secretary Byrnes, October 5, 1946*, Avalon Project reference system. URL: [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/decade18.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/decade18.asp).

*Report of the Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Moscow, December 16-26, 1945*, Avalon Project reference system. URL: [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/decade19.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/decade19.asp).

Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 6–10.

Norman Naimark, “The Sovietization of Eastern Europe, 1944–1953”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, particularly pp. 175–183.

Vladimir Pechatnov, “The Soviet Union and the world, 1945–1953”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins. Particularly pp. 92–108.

Svetozar Rajak, “The Cold War in the Balkans”, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins. pp. 203–207.

Further reading:

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 3–7, 11–13.

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (N.Y.; London: Simon & Schuster, 1994), pp. 436–438.

*Yearbook of the United Nations 1946-47, III. The Security Council*, (New York: UN Department of Public Information, 1947), pp. 327–375, particularly pp. 327–336. URL: [https://cdn.un.org/unyearbook/yun/chapter\\_pdf/1946-47YUN/1946-47\\_P1\\_SEC3.pdf](https://cdn.un.org/unyearbook/yun/chapter_pdf/1946-47YUN/1946-47_P1_SEC3.pdf).

Internet resources, databases:

Cold War Origins. Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/27/cold-war-origins>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946, Council of Foreign Ministers*, Vol. II. US Department of State. Office of the Historian. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1946v02>.

## **Lecture 2: The German question (1945–1949)**

**Summary:** The policies of the Allied Powers with respect to Germany. The 1946 Byrnes plan and the response of other allies. The discussion of the German question in the Council of Foreign Ministers in 1947. The controversial issues on the agenda. The change of the policies of the US, the UK and France. The gradual consolidation of the western zones of occupation – the Bizone, and the Trizone. The 1948 London conference on Germany, its recommendations and their implementation. The 1<sup>st</sup> Berlin crisis of 1948–1949. The 6<sup>th</sup> session of the Council of Foreign Ministers in 1949. The establishment of the FRG and the GDR. Paralysis of the mechanism for post-War Major Allied Powers cooperation.

Primary sources:

“Text of Draft Treaty on the Disarmament and Demilitarization of Germany”, April 1946, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946, Council of Foreign Ministers*, Volume II. URL: [https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1946v02/pg\\_190](https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1946v02/pg_190).

“Stuttgart Speech (“Speech of Hope”) by James F. Byrnes, United States Secretary of State (September 6, 1946)”, in: *German History in Documents and Images*, Vol. 8, Occupation and the Emergence of Two States, 1945-1961. URL: [germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Allied%20Policies%209%20ENG1.pdf](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Allied%20Policies%209%20ENG1.pdf).

Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 11–15.

Vladimir Pechatnov, "The Soviet Union and the world, 1945–1953", in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins. Particularly pp. 97, 103–104, 106–107.

Hans-Peter Schwarz, "The Division of Germany, 1945–1949", in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins. pp. 137–149.

Further reading:

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 13–18.

Vladislav Zubok, Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War. From Stalin to Khrushchev*, pp. 47–52.

Internet resources, databases:

"The London Conference on Germany, First Part, February 23–March 6, 1948", in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948, Germany and Austria*. Vol. II. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1948v02/ch2>.

"The London Conference on Germany (resumed), April 20 – June 1, 1948", in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948, Germany and Austria*. Vol. II. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1948v02/ch4>.

"List of Papers Agreed by the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States" [Washington Agreements on Germany, April 8, 1949], in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1949, Council of Foreign Ministers; Germany and Austria*. Vol. III. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1949v03/d66>.

Cold War Origins. Wilson Center Digital Archive. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/27/cold-war-origins>.

## **Seminar 2: The Division of Europe (1947–1949)**

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

Questions:

1. The concept of containment (the Kennan's "long telegram")
2. The 1947 Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan.
3. The Soviet theory of the "two camps".
4. The formation of the Soviet bloc. The Sovietization of Eastern Europe. The establishment of the Cominform and of COMECON. Split between the USSR and Yugoslavia.
5. The establishment of the Western Union and of NATO.
6. The evolution of the concept of containment: the 1950 NSC 68.
7. The formation of two economic, military and political blocs in Europe.

Primary sources:

*February 09, 1946 Speech Delivered by Stalin at a Meeting of Voters of the Stalin Electoral District, Moscow*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116179.pdf?v=a831b5c6a9ff133d9da25b3>.

"The Chargé in the Soviet Union (Kennan) to the Secretary of State. Moscow, February 22, 1944" (The "Long Telegram"), in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946, Eastern Europe, The Soviet Union*. Vol. VI. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1946v06/d475>.

"Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain Speech at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri on March 5, 1946", *The History Guide: Lectures on Twentieth Century Europe*. URL: <http://www.historyguide.org/europe/churchill.html>.

"Speech by Andrei Zhdanov (member of the Soviet Politburo) at the founding of the Cominform (a Communist International Organization) in September 1947", *Global History*. URL: <https://educ.jmu.edu/~vannorwc/assets/ghist%20102-150/pages/readings/zhdanovspeech.html>.

"Report, 'American Relations With The Soviet Union' by Clark Clifford [\"Clifford-Else Report\"], September 24, 1946", *Harry S. Truman Library*. URL: <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/research-files/report-american-relations-soviet-union-clark->



clifford-clifford-elsey-report?documentid=NA&pagenumber=1.

*Telegram from Nikolai Novikov, Soviet Ambassador to the US, to the Soviet Leadership, September 27, 1946*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/110808.pdf?v=a8c1bf9f79f04aa2227394087a767c2a>.

*President Harry S. Truman's Address Before a Joint Session of Congress, March 12, 1947*, Avalon Project reference system. URL: [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/decade18.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/decade18.asp).

*National Security Council Report, NSC 68, 'United States Objectives and Programs for National Security*, April 14, 1950, Wilson Center Digital Archive. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116191.pdf?v=2699956db534c1821edefa61b8c13ffe>.

#### Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 5–6, 15–26.

William E. Hitchcock, “The Marshall Plan and the creation of the West”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, pp. 154–159, 166–170.

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 438–469, particularly pp. 455–457, 463–469.

Vladimir Pechatnov, “The Soviet Union and the world, 1945–1953”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins. pp. 104–106.

“The Truman Doctrine, 1947”, *US Department of State, Office of the Historian*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/truman-doctrine>.

“NSC-68, 1950”, *US Department of State, Office of the Historian*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/NSC68>.

#### Further reading:

Philip Brenner, *NSC 68: America's Cold War Blueprint* (The National Humanities Center, 2015), pp. 1–3. URL: <https://americainclass.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/NSC68-StudentVersion.pdf>.

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 13–21.

Nelson Drew (ed.). *NSC-68: Forging the Strategy of Containment*. With Analyses by Paul H. Nitze (Washington: National Defense University Press, second printing, 1996), 137 p. URL: Available at: [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/139678/1994-09\\_NSC68\\_Forging\\_Strategy.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/139678/1994-09_NSC68_Forging_Strategy.pdf).

Melvyn P. Leffler, “The emergence of an American grand strategy, 1945–1952”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins. pp. 67–89.

Norman Naimark, “The Sovietization of Eastern Europe, 1944–1953”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins. pp. 175–197.

Svetozar Rajak, “The Cold War in the Balkans”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins. pp. 208–216 [The Greek Civil War; the Tito–Stalin Split].

Linda Risso (ed), *NATO at 70: A Historiographical Approach* (London, New York: Routledge, 2019).

Timothy A. Sayle, Title: *Enduring alliance: a history of NATO and the postwar global order*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2019), pp. 11–27.

#### Internet resources, databases:

“Multilateral relations”, in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948, Western Europe*. Vol. III. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1948v03/comp1>.

“Multilateral relations”, in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1949, Western Europe*. Vol. IV. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1949v04/comp1>.

*Ideological Foundations of the Cold War*, Harry S. Truman Library. URL: <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/online-collections/ideological-foundations-of-cold-war>.

Wilson Center Cold War International History Project. URL: <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/program/cold-war-international-history-project>.

### **Lecture 3: North East Asia and Indochina (1945–1954)**

**Summary:** Following-up on the Yalta decisions with the Republic of China (ROC). The Establishment of the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. The 1950 Soviet–PRC pact. The Korean war. The collapse of the French colonial rule in Indochina.

#### Primary sources:

“China, Soviet Union. Treaty of Friendship and Alliance. Aug. 14, 1945”, in *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 40 (1946), No 2, Supplement: Official Documents, pp. 51–63. URL: [https://www.jstor.org/stable/2213813?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/2213813?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents).

*The Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the People’s Republic of China and the Soviet Union*, February 1950. URL: <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP80R01443R000300050007-8.pdf>.

#### Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 44–50.

Vladimir Pechatnov, “The Soviet Union and the world, 1945–1953”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, pp. 108–110.

Shu Guang Zhang, “The Sino-Soviet alliance and the Cold War in Asia, 1954–1962”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, particularly pp. 353–358.

Vladislav Zubok, Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin’s Cold War. From Stalin to Khrushchev*, pp. 54–69.

Fredrik Logevall, “The Indochina wars and the Cold War, 1945–1975”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, particularly pp. 284–289.

#### Further reading:

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 493–521.

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 95–99, 234–237.

Niu Jun, “The birth of the People’s Republic of China and the road to the Korean War”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, pp. 221–241.

Sergey Radchenko, “The Truth About Mongolia’s Independence 70 Years Ago”, in *The Diplomat*, 22 October 2015. URL: <https://thediplomat.com/2015/10/the-truth-about-mongolias-independence-70-years-ago/>.

Stueck W. “The Korean War”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, particularly pp. 265–273.

#### Internet resources, databases:

*Making of the Sino-Soviet Alliance, 1945-1950*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/181/making-of-the-sino-soviet-alliance-1945-1950/5>.

*Sino-Soviet Alliance, 1945-1950*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/184/sino-soviet-alliance-1950-1959>.

“Sino–Soviet Relations”, in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1945, The Far East, China*. Vol. VII. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v07/comp9>.

### **Seminar 3: The extension of the Cold War to Asia**

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

#### Questions:

1. The establishment of the PRC and the Soviet-Chinese alliance
2. The war in and the division of Korea
3. The French war in Indochina

#### Primary sources:

*The Yearbook of the United Nations, 1950* (UN Publications, 1951), pp. 220-301. URL: [http://cdn.un.org/unyearbook/yun/chapter\\_pdf/1950YUN/1950\\_P1\\_SEC3.pdf](http://cdn.un.org/unyearbook/yun/chapter_pdf/1950YUN/1950_P1_SEC3.pdf).

#### Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 44–50.

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*. – N.Y.; London: Simon & Schuster, 1994, pp. 438–469, and particularly pp. 474–478.

Fredrik Logevall, “The Indochina wars and the Cold War, 1945–1975”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, particularly pp. 288–289.

Vladimir Pechatnov, “The Soviet Union and the world, 1945–1953”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, pp. 108-110.

Shu Guang Zhang, “The Sino-Soviet alliance and the Cold War in Asia, 1954–1962”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, particularly pp. 353–358.

Vladislav Zubok, Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin’s Cold War. From Stalin to Khrushchev*, pp. 54–69.

“Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), 1954”, *US Department of State. Office of the Historian*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/seato>.

#### Further reading:

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 95-99, 234-237.

Niu Jun, “The birth of the People’s Republic of China and the road to the Korean War”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, pp. 221–241.

Stueck W. “The Korean War”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, particularly pp. 273–283.

“Domino theory”, *History*, August 24, 2018. URL: <https://www.history.com/topics/cold-war/domino-theory>.

#### Internet resources, databases:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1950, Korea*, Volume VII. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1950v07>.

*Korean War, 1950-1953*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/50/korean-war-1950-1953>.

## Lecture 4: The consequences of the Korean war. Rearmament of West Germany.

**Summary:** General impact of the war for the beginning Cold War. Consequences in Europe. The institutionalization of NATO. The discussion of the rearmament of West Germany. The European Defence Community and its failure. The 1954 Paris agreements and the integration of the FRG in NATO and the WEU. The establishment of the Warsaw Pact and the integration of the GDR into the Pact. Finalization of the division of Europe in two military-political blocs.

### Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 25–26, 49–51.

Federiga Bindi, “European Union Foreign Policy: A Historical Overview”, in *The Foreign Policy of the European Union: Assessing Europe's Role in the World* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2012), pp. 13–14. URL: [https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/theforeignpolicyoftheeuropeanunion\\_chapter.pdf](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/theforeignpolicyoftheeuropeanunion_chapter.pdf).

Robert J. McMahon, “US national security policy from Eisenhower to Kennedy”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, particularly pp. 297–299.

Stueck W. “The Korean War”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, particularly pp. 266.

Vladislav Zubok, Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War. From Stalin to Khrushchev*, pp. 69–70.

### Further reading:

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 497–511.

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 19–21.

### Internet resources, databases:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1950, Western Europe*. Vol. III. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1950v03>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1951, European Security and the German Question*. Vol. III, Part 1. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1951v03p1>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1951, European Security and the German Question*. Vol. III, Part 2. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1951v03p2>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952–1954, Western European Security*. Vol. V, Part 1. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1952-54v05p1>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952–1954, Western European Security*. Vol. V, Part 2. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1952-54v05p2>.

Historical Archives of the European Union. URL: <https://www.eui.eu/Research/HistoricalArchivesOfEU>.

## Seminar 4: The “San Francisco order”

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

### Questions:

1. The history of negotiations of the 1951 San Francisco peace treaty with Japan.
3. Main provisions and ambivalences of the San-Francisco treaty.
4. US centric security arrangements in East Asia

### Primary sources:

“Treaty of Peace with Japan (with two declarations). Signed at San Francisco, on 8 September 1951”, in *United Nations Treaties Series*, 1952, Document No 1832, particularly Articles 2, 3, 6(a),

26. URL: <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20136/volume-136-I-1832-English.pdf>.

*Japanese MFA documentary. Joint Compendium of Documents on the History of Territorial Issue between Japan and Russia.* URL: <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/russia/territory/edition92/period4.html>.

Main reading:

Robert J. McMahon, “US national security policy from Eisenhower to Kennedy”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, particularly pp. 297–299.

Stueck W. “The Korean War”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, particularly pp. 283–287.

Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, “Japan, the United States, and the Cold War, 1945–1960”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, particularly pp. (244) 249–254.

Kazhuko Togo, *Japan's Foreign Policy, 1945-2003: The Quest For A Proactive Policy* (Leiden, Boston: Brill; 2005), pp. 46–54.

Further reading:

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 493-521.

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 95-99.

Internet resources, databases:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1951, Asia and the Pacific*. Vol. VI, Part 1. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1951v06p1>.

## **Lecture 5: Developments in the Middle East (1945–1956)**

**Summary:** Transcending the system of British and French mandates in the Middle East. The establishment of the State of Israel. The first Arab-Israeli war of 1948-49 and its consequences. Political transformations in the states in the region, Arab nationalism. The 1956 Suez crisis and its consequences for regional and general international relations. The Soviet policy toward the region. The 1957 Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East.

Primary sources:

*Resolution adopted [by the UN General assembly] on the Report of the ad hoc Committee on the Palestinian question*, 29 November 1947. URL: [https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/181\(II\)](https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/181(II)).

Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 51–58.

Douglas Little, “The Cold War in the Middle East: Suez crisis to Camp David Accords”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, particularly pp. 305–312.

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 315-334.

Further reading:

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 522-549.

L. Carl Brown (ed.), *Diplomacy In The Middle East: The International Relations Of Regional And Outside Powers* [e-book] (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), pp. 21–52, 60–64, 98–112.

Internet resources, darabases:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946, The Near East and Africa. Vol. XVII. Palestine*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1946v07/comp9>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1947, The Near East and Africa. Vol. V*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1947v05>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948, The Near East, South Asia, and Africa. Vol. V, Part 1*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1948v05p1>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948, The Near East, South Asia, and Africa. Vol. V, Part 2*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1948v05p2>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1949, The Near East, South Asia, and Africa*. Vol. VI.  
URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1949v06>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952–1954, The Near and Middle East*. Vol. IX, Part 2.  
URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1952-54v09p2>.

### **Seminar 5: The extension of the Cold War to the Middle East**

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

#### Questions:

1. The beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict
2. The 1956 Suez crisis and its consequences
3. The 1957 Eisenhower doctrine for the Middle East
4. Soviet policy toward the Middle East

#### Primary sources:

*January 5, 1957: Eisenhower Doctrine*, Miller Center. URL: <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-5-1957-eisenhower-doctrine>.

#### Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 51–58.

Douglas Little, “The Cold War in the Middle East: Suez crisis to Camp David Accords”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, particularly pp. 305–312.

“The Eisenhower Doctrine, 1957”, in *Office of the Historian*, US Department of State. URL: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/eisenhower-doctrine>.

#### Further reading:

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 315–334.

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 522–549.

L. Carl Brown (ed.), *Diplomacy In The Middle East: The International Relations Of Regional And Outside Powers* [e-book] (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), pp. 21–52, 60–64, 98–112.

#### Internet resources:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–1957, Suez Crisis, July 26–December 31, 1956*. Vol. XVI. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1955-57v16>.

### **Lecture 6: East-West relations 1953–1962: The consolidation of Cold War frontiers**

**Summary:** Soviet and American policies in the 1950s and early in the 1960s. The US concepts of roll back of the Soviet Union and of massive retaliation. Nuclear arms race. The new Soviet leadership. The Soviet conception of peaceful coexistence. The resumption of quadripartite cooperation of Major Allied Powers. The German question. Austrian neutrality. Crises in the Soviet bloc. The crises in the Soviet bloc. The 2nd Berlin crisis 1958–1961. The 1962 Cuban missile crisis and its consequences.

#### Primary sources:

“Report to the National Security Council by the Executive Secretary (NSC 162/2)”, in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952–1954, National Security Affairs*. Vol. II, Part 1. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1952-54v02p1/d101>.

#### Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 26–39, 68–73.

David Holloway, “Nuclear weapons and the escalation of the Cold War, 1945–1962”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, particularly pp. 384–3395.

Further reading:

Csaba Békés, “East Central Europe, 1953–1956”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, pp. 334–352.

William Burr, David Alan Rosenberg, “Nuclear competition in an era of stalemate, 1963–1975”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, pp. 88–111.

James G. Hershberg, “The Cuban missile crisis”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, pp. 65–87.

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 473–492, 550–593.

Robert J. McMahon, “US national security policy from Eisenhower to Kennedy”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, particularly pp. 293–299.

Vojtech Mastny, “Soviet foreign policy, 1953–1962”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, pp. 312–333.

Vladislav Zubok, Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin’s Cold War. From Stalin to Khrushchev*, pp. 138-209; 236-274.

Internet resources, databases:

*The Cuban missile crisis 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary*, National Security Archive. URL: <https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/cuban-missile-crisis-50th-anniversary>.

“Dwight D. Eisenhower Administration (1953–1960)”, in *Foreign Relations of the United States Regular Volumes*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/eisenhower>.

“Berlin Crisis, 1958–1959”, in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958–1960*. Vol. VIII. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v08>.

“Berlin Crisis, 1961–1962”, in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963*. Vol. XIV. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v14>.

“Cuban Missile Crisis and Aftermath”, in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963*. Vol. XI. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v11/compl>.

## **Seminar 6: Soviet-Japanese rapprochement and its failure**

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

Questions:

1. Did the USSR have a good reason to believe, in 1955, that Japan would be forthcoming in normalizing its relations with the Soviet Union?
2. What issues framed the agenda of Soviet Japanese negotiations in 1955–1956
3. What was the Japanese territorial claim and the line of argumentation during the negotiations?
4. What was the US position (policy) on the issues discussed in Soviet–Japanese negotiations?
5. What was the outcome of the negotiation as compared with its agenda
6. Why the Soviet–Japanese deal of 1956 collapsed in 1960.

Primary sources:

“Joint Declaration by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan. Signed at Moscow, on 10 October 1956”, in *Treaties and international agreements registered or filed and recorded with the Secretariat of the United Nations*, Vol. 263. 1957. Document No 3768, pp. 112, 114, 116. URL: <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20263/v263.pdf>.

“Editorial Note” [with the text of the aide-mémoire of September 7, 1956, on the United States position with respect to the Soviet-Japanese peace treaty negotiations], in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–1957, Japan*, Volume XXIII, Part 1. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1955-57v23p1/d101>.

“Memorandum of a Conversation, Ambassador Aldrich’s Residence, London, August 24, 1956, 2:30 p.m., August 24, 1956”, in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–1957, Japan*,

Volume XXIII, Part 1. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1955-57v23p1/d92>.

“Memorandum From the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (Robertson) to the Secretary of State, September 3, 1956”, in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–1957, Japan*, Volume XXIII, Part 1. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1955-57v23p1/d97>.

“Memorandum From the Director of the Office of Northeast Asian Affairs (McClurkin) to the Assistant Legal Adviser for Far Eastern Affairs (Snow), February 16, 1955”, in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–1957, Japan*, Volume XXIII, Part 1. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1955-57v23p1/d12>.

“Memorandum From the Assistant Legal Adviser for Far Eastern Affairs (Snow) to the Director of the Office of Northeast Asian Affairs (McClurkin), February 16, 1955”, in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–1957, Japan*, Volume XXIII, Part 1. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1955-57v23p1/d13>.

“Treaty of Peace with Japan (with two declarations). Signed at San Francisco, on 8 September 1951”, in *United Nations Treaties Series*, 1952, Document No 1832. URL: <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20136/volume-136-I-1832-English.pdf>.

*Japanese MFA documentary. Joint Compendium of Documents on the History of Territorial Issue between Japan and Russia.* URL: <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/russia/territory/edition92/period4.html>.

Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 48–49.

Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, “Japan, the United States, and the Cold War, 1945–1960”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, particularly pp. 258–262.

Kazhuko Togo, *Japan's Foreign Policy, 1945-2003: The Quest For A Proactive Policy* (Leiden, Boston: Brill; 2005), pp. 228–237.

Further reading:

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 95–99.

Internet resources, databases:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–1957, Japan*, Volume XXIII, Part 1. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1955-57v23p1/ch1>.

## **Lecture 7: Decolonization and its impact on the international order**

**Summary:** The process of decolonization. The newly independent states of Asia and Africa. The US and Soviet policies toward the newly independent states. The 1955 Bandung conference. The emergence of the Non-Alignment Movement 1955–1961. The different views on the membership, the main agenda and objectives of the Non-Alignment Movement. Changing balance within the UN. The Group of 77. The “New International Economic order”.

Primary sources:

*Final Communiqué of the Asian-African conference of Bandung* (24 April 1955). URL: [https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/final\\_communique\\_of\\_the\\_asian\\_african\\_conference\\_of\\_bandung\\_24\\_april\\_1955-en-676237bd-72f7-471f-949a-88b6ae513585.html](https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/final_communique_of_the_asian_african_conference_of_bandung_24_april_1955-en-676237bd-72f7-471f-949a-88b6ae513585.html).

*Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples*, UN General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV), 14 December 1960. URL: [https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/1514\(XV\)](https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/1514(XV)).

Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 42–44, 58–59, 125–130.

Mark Philip Bradley, “Decolonization, the global South, and the Cold War, 1919–1962”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, particularly pp. 472–485.

Michael E. Latham, “The Cold War in the Third World, 1963–1975”, in *The Cambridge*



*History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente. particularly pp. 258–260.

Further reading:

Amitav Acharya, “Studying the Bandung conference from a Global IR perspective”, in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 2016, Vol. 70, No. 4, pp. 342–357. URL: <http://hi.unpar.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/sites/29/2018/11/Studying-the-Bandung-Conference-from-a-Global-IR-Perspective-Acharya.pdf>.

Amitav Acharya, “Who Are the Norm Makers? The Asian-African Conference in Bandung and the Evolution of Norms?”, in *Global Governance*, 2014, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 405–417. URL: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/283525453\\_Who\\_Are\\_the\\_Norm\\_Makers\\_The\\_Asian-African\\_Conference\\_in\\_Bandung\\_and\\_the\\_Evolution\\_of\\_Norms](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/283525453_Who_Are_the_Norm_Makers_The_Asian-African_Conference_in_Bandung_and_the_Evolution_of_Norms).

Ivana Ancic, “Belgrade, The 1961 Non-Aligned Conference”, in *Global South Studies*, 2017. URL: <https://globalsouthstudies.as.virginia.edu/key-moments/belgrade-1961-non-aligned-conference>.

“Emergence of Non-Aligned Movement”, *Indian National Congress*. URL: <https://www.inc.in/en/congress-sandesh/politics/emergence-of-non-aligned-movement>.

“History and Evolution of Non-Aligned Movement”, *Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India*, 22 August 2012. URL: <https://www.mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?20349/History+and+Evolution+of+NonAligned+Movement>.

“Non-Aligned Movement”, in *International Relations*, 12 December 2015. URL: <https://internationalrelations.org/non-aligned-movement/>.

Internet resources, databases:

Non-Aligned Movement. URL: <https://mnoal.org/>.

## **Seminar 7: International relations in South Asia**

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

Questions:

1. The conflict between India and Pakistan (1948–1970s)
2. Sino-Chinese disputes and hostilities
3. Policies of the US, the USSR and China toward South Asia

Primary sources:

[The 1965] *Tashkent Declaration*:

[https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IN%20PK\\_660110\\_TashkentDeclaration.pdf](https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IN%20PK_660110_TashkentDeclaration.pdf).

Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 61–63, 158–166.

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 428–439, 441–442, 447.

Lorenz Lüthi, “Sino-Indian Relations, 1954-1962”, in *Eurasia Border Review Special Issue on China’s Post-Revolutionary Borders, 1940s-1960s*, [2012], Vol. 3, pp. 95–119. URL: [http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/publicn/eurasia\\_border\\_review/Vol3SI/luthi.pdf](http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/publicn/eurasia_border_review/Vol3SI/luthi.pdf).

Mushtaq Ahmad Mir, “India –Pakistan: the History of Unsolved Conflicts”, in *Journal Of Humanities And Social Science*, 2014, Vol. 19, No. 4, particularly pp. 104-106, 108–109. URL: <https://iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol19-issue4/Version-2/O01942101110.pdf>.

Further reading:

Peter Lyon, *Conflict Between India And Pakistan: An Encyclopedia* [e-book] (Santa Barbara, Calif: ABC-CLIO, 2008). URL: <https://hostnezt.com/cssfiles/pakistanaffairs/Conflict%20Between%20India%20and%20Pakistan%20An%20Encyclopedia%20By%20Lyon%20Peter.pdf>.

Stanley Wolpert, *India And Pakistan: Continued Conflict Or Cooperation?* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

Internet resources, databases:

Foreign Relations of the United States series (respective years for South Asia). URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments>.

## **Lecture 8: Split between the USSR and China**

**Summary:** Accumulating discord in Soviet–Chinese relations in the 1950s. Ideological differences after 1956. China’s leadership ambition within the international communist movement, in the ‘third world’, and in the Non-Alignment Movement. Soviet–Chinese conflict in the 1960s. The rapprochement between China and the US after 1972 and between China and Japan in the late 1970s.

Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 88–94, 133–144, 151.

Shu Guang Zhang, “The Sino-Soviet alliance and the Cold War in Asia, 1954–1962”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I: Origins, particularly pp. 360–373.

Sergey Radchenko, “The Sino-Soviet split”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente. particularly pp. 349-372.

Further reading:

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 620-732.

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 99-104, 123-132, 454-490.

Vladislav Zubok, Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin’s Cold War. From Stalin to Khrushchev*, pp. 210–235.

Internet resources, databases:

*Foundations of Chinese Foreign Policy*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/227/foundations-of-chinese-foreign-policy>.

*Sino-Soviet Split, 1960-1984*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/73/the-sino-soviet-split-1960-1984>.

*Sino-Soviet Border Conflict, 1969*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/192/sino-soviet-border-conflict-1969>.

## **Seminar 8: The normalization of Sino-American and Sino-Japanese relations**

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

Questions:

1. Normalization of Sino-US relations (1972–1979)
2. Normalization of Sino-Japanese relations in 1972
3. The 1978 Sino-Japanese Treaty of Peace and Friendship

**Primary sources:**

*Memorandum of Conversation Between Chairman Mao Zedong and President Richard Nixon February 21, 1972*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified .URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/118064>.

*Joint Communique Between the United States and China February 27, 1972*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/121325>.

*Joint Communiqué of the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China, September 29, 1972*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. URL: <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/china/joint72.html>.

*Treaty of Peace and Friendship Between the People's Republic of China and Japan August 12, 1978*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. URL: <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/china/treaty78.html>.

**Main reading:**

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 136-140, 143-144, 150-151

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, particularly pp. 719-730.

Kazhuko Togo, *Japan's Foreign Policy, 1945-2003: The Quest For A Proactive Policy*, pp. 126-135, 239.

Sergey Radchenko, "The Sino-Soviet split", in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, particularly p. 364.

**Further reading:**

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 123-132.

Cnen Jian, "China and the Cold War after Mao", in: *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, particularly pp. 182–195.

**Internet resources, databases:**

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Vol. XVII, China, 1969–1972*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v17>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Vol. XVIII, China, 1973–1976*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v18>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1977–1980, Vol. XIII, China*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1977-80v13>.

*Sino-American Cooperation, 1972-1989*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/176/sino-american-cooperation-1972-1989>.

## **Lecture 9: The second Vietnam War**

**Summary:** The US engagement in Vietnam in the 1960s – early 1970s. The establishment of ASEAN. End of Vietnam war. Richard Nixon's Guam doctrine. Peace negotiations and the 1973 Paris peace conference. The fall of the Saigon regime and the unification of Vietnam in 1975.

Primary sources:

[President Nixon'] *Address to the Nation on the War in Vietnam November 3, 1969*, URL: [https://web.archive.org/web/20130124094303/http://www.nixonlibrary.gov/forkids/speechesforkids/silentmajority/silentmajority\\_transcript.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20130124094303/http://www.nixonlibrary.gov/forkids/speechesforkids/silentmajority/silentmajority_transcript.pdf).

"Agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Viet-Nam. Signed at Paris on 27 January 1973", in United Nations Treaty Series, 1974, Vol 935, No. 13295, pp. 6–18. URL: <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20935/volume-935-I-13295-English.pdf>.

Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 76–82, 155–156.

Fredrik Logevall, "The Indochina wars and the Cold War, 1945–1975", in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, particularly pp. 293–302.

"Editorial Note" [the Guam Doctrine], in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume I, Foundations of Foreign Policy, 1969–1972*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v01/d29>.

### Further reading:

“Ending the Vietnam War, 1969–1973”, Office of the Historian, US Department of State.

URL:<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/ending-vietnam>.

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 643–702, particularly pp. 674–702.

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 459–467, 488–490.

### Internet resources, databases:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume XLII, Vietnam: The Kissinger – Le Duc Tho Negotiations*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v42>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963, Volume I, Vietnam, 1961*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v01>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963, Volume II, Vietnam, 1962*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v02>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963, Volume III, Vietnam, January–August 1963*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v03>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963, Volume IV, Vietnam, August–December 1963*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v04>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume I, Vietnam, 1964*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v01>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume II, Vietnam, January–June 1965*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v02>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume III, Vietnam, June–December 1965*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v03>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume IV, Vietnam, 1966*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v04>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume V, Vietnam, 1967*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v05>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume VI, Vietnam, January–August 1968*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v06>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume VII, Vietnam, September 1968–January 1969*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v07>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume VI, Vietnam, January 1969–July 1970*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v06>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume VII, Vietnam, July 1970–January 1972*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v07>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume VIII, Vietnam, January–October 1972*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v08>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume IX, Vietnam, October 1972–January 1973*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v09>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume X, Vietnam, January 1973–July 1975*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v10>.

*Vietnam War*, Wilson Center Digital Archive, International History Declassified. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/87/vietnam-war>.

## **Seminar 9: Developments in South East Asia after the Vietnam war**

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

### Questions:

1. Developments in Indochina after the unification of Vietnam
2. The conflict in Cambodia
3. The 1979 Sino-Vietnamese war
3. The role of ASEAN in settling the Cambodian conflict

Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, particularly pp. 157, 219–227.

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, particularly pp. 467–470.

Gregory V. Raymond, “Strategic Culture and Thailand’s Response to Vietnam’s Occupation of Cambodia, 1979–1989. A Cold War Epilogue”, in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 22 (2020), No. 1, pp. 4–45, particularly pp. 8–18, 23–26. URL: [https://doi.org/10.1162/jews\\_a\\_00924](https://doi.org/10.1162/jews_a_00924).

Further reading:

Ang Cheng Guan, *Termination of War: The Cambodian Conflict (1978-1991)*. URL: <http://www.nids.mod.go.jp/english/event/forum/pdf/2015/08.pdf>.

Ang Cheng Guan, *Singapore, ASEAN and the Cambodian Conflict 1978–1991* (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2013): 192 p.

James McLaren, “The Sino-Vietnam War and China’s Long Route to Winning”, in *The Diplomat*, 25 May 2019. URL: <https://thediplomat.com/2019/05/the-sino-vietnam-war-and-chinas-long-route-to-winning/>.

Internet resources, databases:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1977–1980, Vol. XXII, Southeast Asia and the Pacific [Indochina]*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1977-80v22/ch1>.

James H. Willbanks, *Sino-Vietnamese War, 1979*, Historynet, September 2014. URL: <https://www.historynet.com/sino-vietnamese-war-1979.htm>.

*Chinese Invasion of Vietnam February 1979*, Global Security. URL: <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/prc-vietnam.htm>.

## **Lecture 10: New centers of economic power (1960–1970s)**

**Summary:** Consolidation of integration in Western Europe. European Communities growing role. Marginalization of EFTA. Enlargement of the EC. Redistribution of global economic power benefitting Western Europe and Japan. Reform of the Bretton-Woods system. The “oil shock” of 1973. The evolution of transatlantic relations.

Primary sources:

*Declaration on Atlantic Relations issued by the North Atlantic Council ("The Ottawa Declaration")*, 19 June 1974, NATO. URL: [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_26901.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_26901.htm).

EU Treaties. URL: [https://europa.eu/european-union/law/treaties\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/law/treaties_en).

Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 93-96, 114-117, 120-125.

N. Piers Ludlow, “European integration and the Cold War”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, pp. 179–197, particularly pp. 180–191, 193–194.

Kazhuko Togo, *Japan's Foreign Policy, 1945-2003: The Quest For A Proactive Policy*, pp. 195-205.

Further reading:

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 162–174, 187–198, 99–104.

Martin J. Dedman, *The Origins and development of the European Union 1945–2008: a history of European integration*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (London; New York: Routledge, 2010).

Michael Schaller, “Japan and the Cold War, 1960–1991”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, pp. 156–180.

Internet resources, databases:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Vol. VIII, International Monetary and Trade Policy.* URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v08>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Vol. III, Foreign Economic Policy; International Monetary Policy, 1969–1972.* URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v03>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Vol. XXXI, Foreign Economic Policy, 1973–1976.* URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v31>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Vol. E-15, Part 2, Documents on Western Europe, 1973–1976, Second, Revised Edition.* URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76ve15p2Ed2/ch1>.

## **Seminar 10: Reconfiguration of the West in the 1970s**

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

Questions:

1. The evolution of US–Japanese relations in the 1960–1970s
2. Japan’s policies in East Asia and the Pacific
3. The trilateral cooperation of the US, Western Europe and Japan
4. The formation of the G7

Primary sources:

*Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between Japan and the United States of America*, 19 January 1960, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan: <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/q%26a/ref/1.html>.

Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 93-94, 120-125, 147-150.

Kazhuko Togo, *Japan's Foreign Policy, 1945-2003: The Quest For A Proactive Policy*, pp. 56-60, 64–71, 195-197, 200–205.

Michael Schaller, “Japan and the Cold War, 1960–1991”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, pp. 156–180, particularly pp. 158–160, 166.

Further reading:

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 99–104.

John Kirton, *The Significance of the Seven-Power Summit / the G7 Research Group*, University of Toronto, 1989. URL: [www.g7.utoronto.ca/scholar/kirton198902/index.html](http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/scholar/kirton198902/index.html).

Lord Robert Armstrong, *Economic Summits: a British Perspective*. Bissell Paper Number Four. Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto, May, 1988. URL: <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/armstrong1999/armtxt.htm>.

Internet resources, databases:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958–1960, Japan; Korea, Vol. XVIII.* URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v18/comp1>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Vol. XIX, Part 2, Japan, 1969–1972.* URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v19p2>.

*The Trilateral Commission.* URL: <https://trilateral.org>.

*G7 Information Centre.* Provided by the G7 Research Group, University of Toronto. URL: [www.g7.utoronto.ca](http://www.g7.utoronto.ca).

## Lecture 11: Détente

**Summary:** Prerequisites for détente common for both the East and the West. Nuclear parity and the risk of nuclear war. Managing nuclear arms race and preventing nuclear war under the conditions of “Mutual assured destruction”. The 1963 partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the 1968 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Prerequisites for détente in the Soviet bloc. Continuous erosion of the Soviet bloc. The 1968 Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact intervention. Growing socio-economic problems. Economic and political stabilization in Western Europe. The Sino-Soviet confrontation and the fragmentation of the international communist movement. The USSR as a status-quo power in Europe. Prerequisites for détente in the West. The Vietnam syndrome in the US. The increasing polycentricism and multilateralism of the West. The evolution of the Western discourse on East-West relations. The theories of convergence and interdependence. The 1960s debates on the policy toward the Soviet bloc. Détente related expectations and concerns in the East and the West.

### Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 86–88, 95–97.

Robert D. Schulzinger, “Détente in the Nixon–Ford years, 1969–1976”, Soviet foreign policy, 1962–1975”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, pp. 373–394, particularly pp. 373–378.

Richard Crockatt, *The Fifty Years War. The US and the Soviet Union in World Politics 1941–1991* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), particularly pp. 207–216; 221–224.

Svetlana Savranskaya, William Taubman, “Soviet foreign policy, 1962–1975”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, particularly pp. 141–143, 149–150.

### Further reading:

William Burr, David Alan Rosenberg, “Nuclear competition in an era of stalemate, 1963–1975”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, pp. 179–197.

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 709–716.

Timothy A. Sayle, Title: *Enduring alliance: a history of NATO and the postwar global order*, (Ithaka, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2019), pp. 147–166.

### Internet resources, databases:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume XII, Soviet Union, January 1969–October 1970*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v12>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume XIII, Soviet Union, October 1970–October 1971*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v13>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume XIV, Soviet Union, October 1971–May 1972*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v14>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume XV, Soviet Union, June 1972–August 1974*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v15>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume XVI, Soviet Union, August 1974–December 1976*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v16>.

## Seminar 11: Détente in US–Soviet relations (1967–1975)

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

### Questions:

1. US – Soviet summit diplomacy in the 1970s
2. Nuclear arms control on US–Soviet agenda. Main agreements 1963–1978
3. Other areas of cooperation

### Primary sources:

*Agreement on Measures to Reduce the Risk of Outbreak of Nuclear War Between the United*

*States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics - September 30, 1971*, Avalon Project reference system. URL: [https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/sov001.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/sov001.asp).

*Interim Agreement Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Certain Measures With Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT I)*, Center for Nonproliferation Studies. URL: [https://media.nti.org/documents/salt\\_1.pdf](https://media.nti.org/documents/salt_1.pdf).

*Agreement Between The United States of America and The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Prevention of Nuclear War*, U.S. Department of State Archive. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/nixon-ford>.

Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 102-108.

Robert D. Schulzinger, “Détente in the Nixon–Ford years, 1969–1976”, Soviet foreign policy, 1962–1975”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, pp. 373–394, particularly pp. 377–391.

Richard Crockatt, *The Fifty Years War. The US and the Soviet Union in World Politics 1941-1991* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995). Particularly pp. 224–230.

Further reading:

William Burr, David Alan Rosenberg, “Nuclear competition in an era of stalemate, 1963–1975”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, pp. 179–197.

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 714, 746–757.

Raymond L. Garthoff. *Détente and Confrontation: American–Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1982): 52 p. URL: <https://www.ucis.pitt.edu/nceer/pre1998/1982-625-4-Garthoff.pdf>.

Svetlana Savranskaya, William Taubman, “Soviet foreign policy, 1962–1975”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, particularly pp. 149–150.

Internet resources, databases:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume XIV, Soviet Union*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v14>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume XII, Soviet Union, January 1969–October 1970*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v12>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume XIII, Soviet Union, October 1970–October 1971*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v13>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume XIV, Soviet Union, October 1971–May 1972*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v14>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume XV, Soviet Union, June 1972–August 1974*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v15>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume XVI, Soviet Union, August 1974–December 1976*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v16>.

*United States – Soviet Relations*. URL: Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/84/united-states-soviet-relations/11>.

## **Lecture 12: The European détente (1960–1970s)**

**Summary:** Prerequisites of the European détente. Soviet-French rapprochement in 1966. New ‘Ostpolitik’ of the FRG and eastern treaties of 1970-1973. Normalization of relations of the FRG with Poland, GDR and Czechoslovakia. The multilateral negotiations. The Vienna negotiations on mutual and balanced forces reductions. Dialogue between the COMECON and the EC. Fruits of Détente.

Primary sources:



*The Harmel Report: full reports by the rapporteurs on the future tasks of the Alliance*, NATO Archives: [http://www.bits.de/NRANEU/nato-strategy/Harmel\\_Report\\_complete.pdf](http://www.bits.de/NRANEU/nato-strategy/Harmel_Report_complete.pdf).

*Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin*, Signed at Berlin, September 3, 1971. URL: [https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2003/3/12/9bfc5f5-8e0d-46ee-9f7f-8e9a7c945fa7/publishable\\_en.pdf](https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2003/3/12/9bfc5f5-8e0d-46ee-9f7f-8e9a7c945fa7/publishable_en.pdf).

Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 95-102.

Svetlana Savranskaya, William Taubman, "Soviet foreign policy, 1962–1975", in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, particularly pp. 146–147.

Jussi M. Hanhimäki, "Détente in Europe, 1962–1975", in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, particularly pp. 198–218.

Further reading:

Markku Reimaa, *Helsinki Catch: European Security Accords 1975*. (Helsinki: Edita, 2008).

Andreas Wenger, Vojtech Mastny, Christian Nünlist (eds), *Origins of the European Security System: The Helsinki Process Revisited, 1965—1975* (London, Routledge, 2008).

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 733-737.

Internet resources:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume XL, Germany and Berlin, 1969–1972*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v40>.

## **Seminar 12: Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).**

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

Questions:

1. The discussion of the proposal for a European Security Conference
2. The preparatory talks
3. The three stages of the CSCE
4. The main provisions of the Helsinki Final Act
5. The complex balance of the CSCE

Primary sources:

*Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe Final Act*, Helsinki, 1975. URL: <http://www.osce.org/helsinki-final-act?download=true>.

*Declaration of the North Atlantic Council*, 5 December 1969, NATO. URL: <https://www.nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c691204b.htm>.

*Final Communiqué* (The North Atlantic Council, meeting in Ministerial Session in Rome on 26th-27th May, 1970). URL: [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_26789.htm?selectedLocale=en](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_26789.htm?selectedLocale=en).

Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 100-102.

Richard Crockatt, *The Fifty Years War. The US and the Soviet Union in World Politics 1941-1991* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), particularly pp. 230–234.

Jussi M. Hanhimäki, "Détente in Europe, 1962–1975", in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, pp. 198–218, particularly pp. 212–216.

Andreas Wenger, Vojtech Mastny, Christian Nünlist (eds), *Origins of the European Security System: The Helsinki Process Revisited, 1965—1975* (London, Routledge, 2008), particularly pp. 3–4, 10–16, 26–33, 113–114, 118–119.

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 757-760.

Further reading:

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), European Parliamentary Research Service Briefing, September 2018, particularly pp. 2–4. URL: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2018/628219/EPRS\\_BRI\(2018\)628219\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2018/628219/EPRS_BRI(2018)628219_EN.pdf).

Svetlana Savranskaya, William Taubman, “Soviet foreign policy, 1962–1975”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, particularly pp. 143–146.

Internet resources, databases:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume XXXIX, European Security*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v39>.

*Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/29/conference-on-security-and-cooperation-in-europe>.

### **Lecture 13: The Middle and Near East (1960–1980s)**

**Summary:** The Six Day (1967) and the Yom Kippur (1973) wars. Their outcome shaping the agenda of the Arab-Israeli conflict and regional consequences. The differentiation of the policies of Arab countries after 1973. The policies by Egypt, Syria and Iraq. The Palestinian movement. The 1978 Camp David accords and the 1979 peace treaty between Israel and Egypt. The 1982 war in Lebanon and its consequences for the region. The split within the PLO. The Islamic revolution in Iran. Establishment of a theocratic state. The Iran-Iraq war (1980–1988) and its consequences for the region.

Primary sources:

UN Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. URL: [https://undocs.org/S/RES/242\(1967\)](https://undocs.org/S/RES/242(1967)).

Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 268–272; 281–284, 166–174.

Douglas Little, “The Cold War in the Middle East: Suez crisis to Camp David Accords”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, particularly pp. 305–326, particularly pp. 312–326.

Amin Saikal, “Islamism, the Iranian revolution, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, particularly pp. 116–121.

Further reading:

L. Carl Brown (ed.), *Diplomacy In The Middle East: The International Relations Of Regional And Outside Powers* [e-book] (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004).

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 737-740.

Internet resources, databases:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1977–1980, Volume IX, Arab-Israeli Dispute, August 1978–December 1980, Second, Revised Edition*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1977-80v09Ed2>.

### Seminar 13: The 1978 Camp David Accords and the 1982 Lebanon crisis

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

#### Questions:

1. The 1978 Camp David Accords and the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel.
2. The regional consequences of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel.
3. The 1982 Lebanon crisis and its consequences.
4. The policies of the PLO after 1982.

#### Primary sources:

*Camp David Accords, September 17, 1978*, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. URL: <https://mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/camp%20david%20accords.aspx>

(compulsory).

*Peace Treaty between Israel and Egypt, March 26, 1979*, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. URL: <https://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/israel-egypt%20peace%20treaty.aspx>.

#### Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 268–281.

Douglas Little, “The Cold War in the Middle East: Suez crisis to Camp David Accords”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. II: Crises and Détente, particularly pp. 318–324.

#### Further reading:

Nigel J. Ashton, *Taking Friends for Granted: the Carter Administration, Jordan and the Camp David Accords, 1977-80*, LSE Research Online, 2016. URL: [http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/66755/7/Ashton\\_Taking\\_friends\\_for\\_granted\\_the\\_carter\\_administration\\_LSE.pdf](http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/66755/7/Ashton_Taking_friends_for_granted_the_carter_administration_LSE.pdf).

L. Carl Brown (ed.), *Diplomacy In The Middle East*.

Camp David 25th Anniversary Forum (Washington: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2003). URL: [https://web.archive.org/web/20100612011440/http://www.ismi.emory.edu/PrimarySource/Camp\\_David\\_25th\\_Anniversary\\_Forum.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20100612011440/http://www.ismi.emory.edu/PrimarySource/Camp_David_25th_Anniversary_Forum.pdf).

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 737-740.

#### Internet resources, databases:

“The Camp David Accords”, *Jimmy Carter Library & Museum*. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110216081558/http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/documents/campdavid/index.phtml>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1977–1980, Volume IX, Arab-Israeli Dispute, August 1978–December 1980*, Second, Revised Edition. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1977-80v09Ed2>.

*Israel's Foreign Relations. Selected documents Volumes 4-5: 1977-1979*, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. URL: <https://mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/mfadocuments/yearbook3/pages/table%20of%20contents.aspx#campdavid>.

## Lecture 14: The collapse of Détente

**Summary:** Soviet strategy in the 1970–1980s. Further extension of the US–Soviet confrontation into the “Third world”. Regional conflicts in Africa, Asia and Central America 1970–1980s. The US debate over Détente. Main crises in East-West relations. The controversy over human rights. The Euro-missiles crisis. Mounting problems in the Soviet bloc. The Polish crisis. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Deteriorating East-West relations. Ronald Reagan’s doctrine of “neoglobalism”. Suspension of political dialogue. Policies of sanctions. Renewed arms race. The Helsinki process amid the crisis of détente.

### Primary sources:

*Special Meeting of Foreign and Defence Ministers (The "Double-Track" Decision on Theatre Nuclear Forces)*, 12 December 1979, NATO. URL: [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_27040.htm?selectedLocale=en](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_27040.htm?selectedLocale=en).

### Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 108–112, 212–218, 227–232, 236–240, 250–255.

Olav Njølstad, “The collapse of superpower détente, 1975–1980”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, pp. 135–155.

### Further reading:

Nancy Mitchell, “The Cold War and Jimmy Carter”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, pp. 66–88.

Beth A. Fischer, “Foreign policy under Reagan and Bush”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, particularly pp. 267–272.

Chris Saunders, Sue Onslow, “The Cold War in southern Africa””, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, pp. 222–243.

Henry Kissinger. *Diplomacy*, pp. 733–761.

Leopoldo Nuti (ed), *The Crisis of Détente in Europe: From Helsinki to Gorbachev 1975–1985* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2008).

Walter S. Poole, *The Decline of Détente. Elliot Richardson, James Schlesinger, Donald Rumsfeld 1973–1977*. - Cold War Foreign Policy Series. Special Study 7 (Washington: Historical Office, Office of the Secretary of Defense, 2015). URL: [https://history.defense.gov/Portals/70/Documents/special\\_studies/SpecStudy7.pdf](https://history.defense.gov/Portals/70/Documents/special_studies/SpecStudy7.pdf).

Timothy A. Sayle, Title: *Enduring alliance: a history of NATO and the postwar global order*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2019), pp. 192–211.

### Internet resources, databases:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1977–1980, Volume VI, Soviet Union*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1977-80v06>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1981–1988, Volume III, Soviet Union, January 1981–January 1983*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1981-88v03>.

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1981–1988, Volume VI, Soviet Union, January 1983–March 1985*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1981-88v04>.

*Euromissiles Crisis*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/38/euromissiles-crisis>.

*Thirtieth Anniversary of NATO’s Dual-Track Decision. The Road to the Euromissiles Crisis and the End of the Cold War*, The National Security Archive, December 10, 2009. URL: <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/nukevault/ebb301/>.

## **Seminar 14: The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and its impact on East-West relations**

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

### Questions:

1. The April 1978 coup in Afghanistan.
2. The formation of Afghani resistance groups
3. Soviet – Afghani relations in 1978–1979.
4. The 1979 Soviet intervention.
5. The impact of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan on East-West relations.

### Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 108–112, 212–218, 227–232, 236–240, 250–255.

Amin Saikal, “Islamism, the Iranian revolution, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, particularly pp. 121–131.

### Further reading:

Andrei Zagorski, “Lessons from Soviet Experiences of Socialist Modernisation in Afghanistan (1978–89)”, in Peter Bergen at al., *Afghanistan: Mission Impossible?* European Security Forum Working Paper No. 25, 2007, pp. 14–21. URL: <http://aei.pitt.edu/7593/1/Esf25.pdf>.

### Internet resources, databases:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1977–1980, Volume XII, Afghanistan*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1977-80v12/compl>.

*National Security Archive*. URL: <https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/search/node/Afghanistan>.

*Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/76/soviet-invasion-of-afghanistan>.

## **Lecture 15: The “New political thinking” and East-West relations (1985–1991)**

**Summary:** ‘New political thinking’ of Gorbachev and its consequences. The new agenda of East-West relations: arms control, human rights, regional conflicts. Resumption of the US-Soviet political dialogue. Agreements on the reduction of nuclear weapons and of conventional armed forces in Europe: 1986 decisions of the SCSE Stockholm conference, the INF (1987), the CFE (1990), the START I (1991) treaties. Overcoming the stalemate over human rights and 1989–1991 landmark decisions of the CSCE. Settlement of regional conflicts. The ‘new world order’. Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and the Desert Storm operation.

### Reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 325–336, 340–349, 284–288.

Beth A. Fischer, “Foreign policy under Reagan and Bush”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, particularly pp. 277–286.

### Further reading:

Archie Brown, “The Gorbachev revolution and the end of the Cold War”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, pp. 244–266.

John W. Young, “Western Europe and the end of the Cold War”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, pp. 289–310.

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 762–832.

Olav Njølstad (ed), *The Last Decade of the Cold War. From Conflict Escalation to Conflict Transformation* (London; New York: Frank Cass, 2004).

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 390-401.

Internet resources, databases:

*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1981–1988, Volume VI, Soviet Union, October 1986–1989*. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1981-88v06>.

*End of the Cold War*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/37/end-of-the-cold-war>.

## **Seminar 15: The resolution of the Afghanistan conflict and the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations**

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

Questions:

1. The Soviet approach to the resolution of the conflict.
2. The policy of national reconciliation.
3. The Geneva talks and the 1988 Geneva accords.
4. Normalization of Sino-Soviet relations.

Primary sources:

*The Geneva Accords on Afghanistan*. URL: <http://insidethecoldwar.org/sites/default/files/documents/The%20Geneva%20Accords%20on%20Afghanistan,%20April%201988.pdf>.

Main Reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 356–362, 365–366.

Amin Saikal, “Islamism, the Iranian revolution, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, particularly pp. 131–133.

Chen Jian, “China and the Cold War after Mao”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, particularly pp. 186–189, 198–199.

Further reading:

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 497-499.

Internet resources, databases:

*The Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan 1989*, National Security Archive. URL: <https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/afghanistan-russia-programs/2019-02-27/soviet-withdrawal-afghanistan-1989>.

*Sino-Soviet Rapprochement, 1985-1989*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified. URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/183/sino-soviet-rapprochement-1985-1989>.

*Afghanistan Analysts Network*. URL: <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/>.

## Lecture 16: Overcoming the division of Europe and of Germany

**Summary:** Collapse of communist regimes in Europe. The unification of Germany. The 1990 CSCE Charter of Paris and the Declaration of the 22 Warsaw Pact and NATO states terminating the Cold War. The 1990 CFE treaty. The beginnings of the transformation of NATO. The dismantlement of the Soviet bloc. Decisions on the formation of the European Union. The debate on the 'European Security Architecture' to replace the Yalta order in Europe. The dissolution of Yugoslavia and of the Soviet Union.

### Primary sources:

*Charter of Paris for a New Europe*, Paris, 1990. URL: <http://www.osce.org/mc/39516?download=true>.

*Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany*. September 12, 1990. URL: [http://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/archive/files/germany-final-settlement\\_e0189c0884.pdf](http://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/archive/files/germany-final-settlement_e0189c0884.pdf).

*Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council ("The London Declaration")*, 6 July 1990, NATO. URL: [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_23693.htm?selectedLocale=en](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_23693.htm?selectedLocale=en).

Baker J.A. III. "The Euro-Atlantic Architecture: From West to East", Address to the Aspen Institute, Berlin, Germany, June 18, 1991, in *U.S. Department of State Dispatch*, June 24, 1991, pp. 439–443.

### Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 349–356.

Jacques Lévesque, "The East European revolutions of 1989", in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, pp. 311–322.

Helga Haftendorn, "The unification of Germany, 1095–1991", in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, particularly pp. 341–355.

### Further reading:

Frédéric Bozo, *Mitterrand, the End of the Cold War, and German Unification*. (Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2009).

Dedman M.J., *The Origins and development of the European Union 1945–2008: a history of European integration*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (London; New York: Routledge, 2010).

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 762–832.

Olav Njølstad (ed), *The Last Decade of the Cold War. From Conflict Escalation to Conflict Transformation* (London; New York: Frank Cass, 2004). URL: [http://hist.asu.ru/faculty/cafedrs/library/Last\\_Decade\\_of\\_Cold\\_War.pdf](http://hist.asu.ru/faculty/cafedrs/library/Last_Decade_of_Cold_War.pdf).

Christian Nünlist, Juhana Aunesluoma, Benno Zogg, *The Road to the Charter of Paris: Historical Narratives and Lessons for the OSCE Today* (Vienna: OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions, 2017). URL: [https://osce-network.net/file-OSCE-Network/Publications/Road\\_to\\_the\\_Charter\\_of\\_Paris\\_final\\_report.pdf](https://osce-network.net/file-OSCE-Network/Publications/Road_to_the_Charter_of_Paris_final_report.pdf).

Alex Pravda, "The collapse of the Soviet Union, 190–1991", in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, pp. 356–377.

Timothy A. Sayle, Title: *Enduring alliance: a history of NATO and the postwar global order*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2019), pp. 219–232.

Angela E. Stent, *Russia and Germany Reborn: Unification, the Soviet Collapse, and the New Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Andrei Zagorski, "The Transformation of Russia-ECE Relations", in Andrei Zagorski (ed.), *Russia and East Central Europe After the Cold War: A Fundamentally Transformed Relationship* (Prague: Human Rights Publishers, 2015), pp. 26–44. URL: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/id-moe/11384.pdf>.

Internet resources, data bases:

*German Reunification*, Wilson Center Digital Archive. International History Declassified.  
URL: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/489/german-reunification>.

*National Security Archive*. URL: <https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/russia-programs/2017-12-12/nato-expansion-what-gorbachev-heard-western-leaders-early>.

## **Seminar 16: International relations in Latin America during the Cold War.**

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

Questions:

1. Latin America in the post-World War II era
2. Latin American integration. The OAS reform.
3. The Central American conflict.
4. The conflict in the South Atlantic.
5. New regional mechanisms.

Main reading:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II, pp. 292–312.

John H. Coatsworth, “The Cold War in Central America””, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, pp. 201–221.

Further reading:

Piero Gleijeses, “Cuba and the Cold War”, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. III: Endings, pp. 311–322.

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*, pp. 667-734.

Grace Livingstone, *America's Backyard: The United States And Latin America From The Monroe Doctrine To The War On Terror* (London, New York: Zed Books; 2009).

## **2.3. Exam questions**

1. Main provisions of the Crimea (Yalta) and Berlin (Potsdam) conferences concerning international governance, territorial issues and the mechanism for post war cooperation.
2. The basic characteristics of the post World War II international order.
3. The first crises after the World War II: Iran, Turkey and Greece.
4. The formation of the Soviet bloc after the World War II.
5. The Soviet-Yugoslav split in the 1940s.
6. The doctrine of “containment”: when was it formulated, what did it imply and how it evolved by 1950.
7. The Truman doctrine.
8. The Marshall Plan and its politico-economic significance.
9. The formation of the Western systems of collective defence (the Brussels Pact, the Western Union, NATO, the West European Union – the WEU).
10. The peace treaties with enemy states (Nazi Germany’s satellites)
11. The discussion of the German question in 1945–1949. The First Berlin crisis and its outcome.
12. The division of Germany.
13. The establishment of the State of Israel and the first Arab-Israeli war: results.
14. The establishment of the People’s Republic of China and its impact on East Asian affairs.
15. Sino-Soviet relations in 1949-1950s.
16. The Korean war and its international consequences.



17. Remilitarization of Germany in 1950-1955. The European Defence Community. West Germany's accession to NATO and the WEU.
18. The 1951 San-Francisco peace conference and its outcomes.
19. The San Francisco regional order in East Asia: the system of security alignments.
20. The formation of the Inter-American system at the end of the 1940s.
21. The resumption of quadripartite Major Allies cooperation in the 1950s and its fruits.
22. The German issue revisited in the 1950s. The Second Berlin crisis and its outcome.
23. The conflict between India and Pakistan: the three wars.
24. The formation of the Non-Aligned Movement. Its goals and agenda.
25. The 1956 Suez crisis and its international consequences.
26. The restoration of Soviet-Japanese relations. The provisions and the fate of the 1956 Joint Declaration.
27. The impact of the Cuban revolution on the situation in the Western Hemisphere.
28. The 1962 Cuban missile crisis and its impact on the course of the Cold War
29. Sino-Soviet split and its regional and international consequences.
30. The Second Vietnam war and its outcome.
31. The establishment of ASEAN and its role in Southeast Asian developments.
32. The 1978 conflict in Cambodia and its international handling.
33. The 1967 Six-Day war and its outcome.
34. The 1973 Yom Kippur war: its outcome and consequences.
35. The 1978 Camp David Accords (main provisions) and the 1979 Egypt–Israel Peace Treaty.
36. The 1982 Lebanon war and its consequences.
37. The 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran. The Iraq–Iran war and its consequences for the region.
38. The principal documents of the US-Soviet détente, 1969–1975.
39. Crises within the Soviet bloc in the 1950–1960s.
40. West European integration projects 1950-1970s: main projects, accomplishments and consequences.
41. The “North–South” relations and the concept of a “New International Economic Order”
42. The formation of the G7.
43. Prerequisites of Détente in East–West relations.
44. The West German New “Ostpolitik”. Did the treaties that normalized the FRG’ relations with its eastern neighbours bring about the ratification of post-World War II borders in Europe?
45. The CSCE. The provisions of the Helsinki Final Act that highlight the balance of interests between the East and the West.
46. The conflict and the war in Afghanistan 1978-1991. The Soviet intervention and the settlement.
47. Japan policies in Asia-Pacific 1960–1990s. The changing nature of American-Japanese relations.
48. Sino–US and Sino–Japanese relations (1972–1991).
49. Major developments that triggered the crisis of détente in Europe.
50. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and its consequences.
51. The Gorbachev’ “New political thinking” concept.
52. The agenda of East-West relations in 1985–1991.
53. Arms control on the US-Soviet agenda 1985-1991. Main agreements.
54. The German unification: external aspects and main provisions of the final settlement.
55. The CSCE breakthrough: from the Vienna follow-up meeting to the Charter of Paris for a New Europe.
56. The normalization of Sino–Soviet relations.
57. The democratic revolutions in Eastern Europe.
58. The dissolution of the Soviet bloc.

## 2.4. Exam timing

Spring semester written exam: June.

## 2.5. Consolidated reading list (in alphabetic order)

### Textbooks:

Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), *History of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy in the 20th Century*. Vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020).

Melvin P. Leffler, Odd Arne Westad (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Vol. I-III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Peter Calvocoressi, *World Politics since 1945*. 9th Edition (Harlow: Pearson, 2009).

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York, London: Simon & Schuster, 1994).

Vladislav Zubok, Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War. From Stalin to Khrushchev* (Cambridge (MA), London: Harvard University Press, 1996): 346 p.

### Primary Sources

*Agreement Between The United States of America and The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Prevention of Nuclear War*, U.S. Department of State Archive. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/nixon-ford>.

Baker J.A. III. "The Euro-Atlantic Architecture: From West to East", Address to the Aspen Institute, Berlin, Germany, June 18, 1991, *U.S. Department of State Dispatch*, June 24, 1991, pp. 439-443.

*Camp David Accords, September 17, 1978*, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. URL: <https://mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/camp%20david%20accords.aspx>.

*Charter of Paris for a New Europe*, Paris, 1990. URL: <http://www.osce.org/mc/39516?download=true>.

"China, Soviet Union. Treaty of Friendship and Alliance. Aug. 14, 1945", *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 40 (1946), No 2, Supplement: Official Documents, pp. 51-63. URL: [https://www.jstor.org/stable/2213813?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/2213813?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents).

*Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe Final Act*, Helsinki, 1975. URL: <http://www.osce.org/helsinki-final-act?download=true>.

*Declaration of the North Atlantic Council*, 5 December 1969, NATO. URL: <https://www.nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c691204b.htm>.

*Declaration on Atlantic Relations issued by the North Atlantic Council ("The Ottawa Declaration")*, 19 June 1974, NATO. URL: [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_26901.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_26901.htm).

*Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council ("The London Declaration")*, 6 July 1990, NATO. URL: [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_23693.htm?selectedLocale=en](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_23693.htm?selectedLocale=en).

*Final Communiqué* (The North Atlantic Council, meeting in Ministerial Session in Rome on 26th-27th May, 1970). URL: [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_26789.htm?selectedLocale=en](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_26789.htm?selectedLocale=en).

*Final Communiqué of the Asian-African conference of Bandung* (24 April 1955). URL: [http://franke.uchicago.edu/Final\\_Communique\\_Bandung\\_1955.pdf](http://franke.uchicago.edu/Final_Communique_Bandung_1955.pdf).

*Foreign Relations of the United States Series*, Department of State. Office of the Historian.

Historical Documents. URL: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments>.

*The Geneva Accords on Afghanistan.* URL: <http://insidethecoldwar.org/sites/default/files/documents/The%20Geneva%20Accords%20on%20Afghanistan,%20April%202014,%201988.pdf>.

*The Harmel Report: full reports by the rapporteurs on the future tasks of the Alliance*, NATO Archives. URL: [http://www.bits.de/NRANEU/nato-strategy/Harmel\\_Report\\_complete.pdf](http://www.bits.de/NRANEU/nato-strategy/Harmel_Report_complete.pdf).

“Ideological Foundations of the Cold War”, *Harry S. Truman Librar.* URL: <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/online-collections/ideological-foundations-of-cold-war>.

*Interim Agreement Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Certain Measures With Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT I)*, Center for Nonproliferation Studies. URL: [https://media.nti.org/documents/salt\\_1.pdf](https://media.nti.org/documents/salt_1.pdf).

*Israel's Foreign Relations. Selected documents.* Vol. 4-5, 1977-1979, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. URL: <https://mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/mfadocuments/yearbook3/pages/table%20of%20contents.aspx#campdavid>.

*January 5, 1957: Eisenhower Doctrine*, Miller Center. URL: <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/january-5-1957-eisenhower-doctrine>.

*Japanese MFA documentary. Joint Compendium of Documents on the History of Territorial Issue between Japan and Russia.* URL: <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/russia/territory/edition92/period4.html>.

*Peace Treaty between Israel and Egypt*, March 26, 1979, Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. URL: <https://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/israel-egypt%20peace%20treaty.aspx>.

[President Nixon’s] *Address to the Nation on the War in Vietnam November 3, 1969*, URL: [https://web.archive.org/web/20130124094303/http://www.nixonlibrary.gov/forkids/speechesforkids/silentmajority/silentmajority\\_transcript.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20130124094303/http://www.nixonlibrary.gov/forkids/speechesforkids/silentmajority/silentmajority_transcript.pdf).

*Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin*, Signed at Berlin, September 3, 1971. URL: [https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2003/3/12/9bfc5f5-8e0d-46ee-9f7f-8e9a7c945fa7/publishable\\_en.pdf](https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2003/3/12/9bfc5f5-8e0d-46ee-9f7f-8e9a7c945fa7/publishable_en.pdf).

“Report, ‘American Relations With The Soviet Union’ by Clark Clifford [“Clifford-Elsey Report”], September 24, 1946”, *Harry S. Truman Library.* URL: <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/research-files/report-american-relations-soviet-union-clark-clifford-clifford-elsey-report?documentid=NA&pagenumber=1>.

*Special Meeting of Foreign and Defence Ministers (The "Double-Track" Decision on Theatre Nuclear Forces)*, 12 December 1979, NATO. URL: [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_27040.htm?selectedLocale=en](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_27040.htm?selectedLocale=en).

“Speech by Andrei Zhdanov (member of the Soviet Politburo) at the founding of the Cominform (a Communist International Organization) in September 1947”, *Global History.* URL: <https://educ.jmu.edu/~vannorwc/assets/ghist%20102-150/pages/readings/zhdanovspeech.html>.

“Stuttgart Speech (“Speech of Hope”) by James F. Byrnes, United States Secretary of State (September 6, 1946)”, in *German History in Documents and Images*, Vol. 8, Occupation and the Emergence of Two States, 1945-1961. URL: [germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Allied%20Policies%209%20ENG1.pdf](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Allied%20Policies%209%20ENG1.pdf).

[The 1965] *Tashkent Declaration*: [https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IN%20PK\\_660110\\_TashkentDeclaration.pdf](https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IN%20PK_660110_TashkentDeclaration.pdf).

*The Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the People’s Republic of China and the Soviet Union, February 1950.* URL: <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP80R01443R000300050007-8.pdf>.

*Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between Japan and the United States of America*, 19 January 1960, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan: <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/q%26a/ref/1.html>.

*Treaty of Peace and Friendship Between the People's Republic of China and Japan August 12, 1978*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. URL: <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/china/treaty78.html>.

*Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany*, September 12, 1990. URL: [http://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/archive/files/germany-final-settlement\\_e0189c0884.pdf](http://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/archive/files/germany-final-settlement_e0189c0884.pdf).

*United Nations Documentation*. URL: <https://www.un.org/en/our-work/documents>.

*United Nations Treaty Series Online*. URL: [https://treaties.un.org/Pages/AdvanceSearch.aspx?tab=UNTS&clang=\\_en](https://treaties.un.org/Pages/AdvanceSearch.aspx?tab=UNTS&clang=_en).

“Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain Speech at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri on March 5, 1946”, *The History Guide: Lectures on Twentieth Century Europe*. URL: <http://www.historyguide.org/europe/churchill.html>.

*The Yearbook of the United Nations 1946-47* (New York: UN Department of Public Information, 1947). URL: [https://cdn.un.org/unyearbook/yun/chapter\\_pdf/1946-47YUN/1946-47\\_P1\\_SEC3.pdf](https://cdn.un.org/unyearbook/yun/chapter_pdf/1946-47YUN/1946-47_P1_SEC3.pdf).

*The Yearbook of the United Nations. 1950* (New York: UN Publications, 1951). URL: [http://cdn.un.org/unyearbook/yun/chapter\\_pdf/1950YUN/1950\\_P1\\_SEC3.pdf](http://cdn.un.org/unyearbook/yun/chapter_pdf/1950YUN/1950_P1_SEC3.pdf).

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Amitav Acharya, “Studying the Bandung conference from a Global IR perspective”, in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 2016, Vol. 70, No. 4, pp. 342–357. URL: <http://hi.unpar.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/sites/29/2018/11/Studying-the-Bandung-Conference-from-a-Global-IR-Perspective-Acharya.pdf>.

Amitav Acharya, “Who Are the Norm Makers? The Asian-African Conference in Bandung and the Evolution of Norms?”, in *Global Governance*, 2014, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 405–417. URL: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/283525453\\_Who\\_Are\\_the\\_Norm\\_Makers\\_The\\_Asian-African\\_Conference\\_in\\_Bandung\\_and\\_the\\_Evolution\\_of\\_Norms](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/283525453_Who_Are_the_Norm_Makers_The_Asian-African_Conference_in_Bandung_and_the_Evolution_of_Norms).

Ivana Ancic, “Belgrade, The 1961 Non-Aligned Conference”, in *Global South Studies*, 2017. URL: <https://globalsouthstudies.as.virginia.edu/key-moments/belgrade-1961-non-aligned-conference>.

Ang Cheng Guan, *Termination of War: The Cambodian Conflict (1978-1991)*. URL: <http://www.nids.mod.go.jp/english/event/forum/pdf/2015/08.pdf>.

Ang Cheng Guan, *Singapore, ASEAN and the Cambodian Conflict 1978–1991* (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2013): 192 p.

Lord Robert Armstrong, *Economic Summits: a British Perspective*. Bissell Paper Number Four. Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto, May, 1988. URL: <http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/scholar/armstrong1999/armtxt.htm>.

Nigel J. Ashton, *Taking Friends for Granted: the Carter Administration, Jordan and the Camp David Accords, 1977-80*, LSE Research Online, 2016. URL: [http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/66755/7/Ashton\\_Taking\\_friends\\_for\\_granted\\_the\\_carter\\_administration\\_LSERO.pdf](http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/66755/7/Ashton_Taking_friends_for_granted_the_carter_administration_LSERO.pdf).

Federiga Bindi, “European Union Foreign Policy: A Historical Overview”, in Federiga Bindi, Irina Angelescu (eds.), *The Foreign Policy of the European Union: Assessing Europe's Role in the World* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2012), pp. 11–39. URL: [https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/theforeignpolicyoftheeuropeanunion\\_chapter.pdf](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/theforeignpolicyoftheeuropeanunion_chapter.pdf).

L. Carl Brown (ed.), *Diplomacy In The Middle East: The International Relations Of Regional And Outside Powers* [e-book] (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004): 365 p.

Frédéric Bozo, *Mitterrand, the End of the Cold War, and German Unification* / translated from the French by Susan Emanuel (Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2009): 450 p.

Philip Brenner, *NSC 68: America's Cold War Blueprint (The National Humanities Center, 2015)*, pp. 1–3. URL: <https://americainclass.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/NSC68->

StudentVersion.pdf.

*Camp David 25th Anniversary Forum* (Washington: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2003). URL: [https://web.archive.org/web/20100612011440/http://www.ismi.emory.edu/PrimarySource/Camp\\_David\\_25th\\_Anniversary\\_Forum.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20100612011440/http://www.ismi.emory.edu/PrimarySource/Camp_David_25th_Anniversary_Forum.pdf).

*Chinese Invasion of Vietnam February 1979*, Global Security. URL: <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/prc-vietnam.htm>.

Richard Crockatt, *The Fifty Years War. The US and the Soviet Union in World Politics 1941-1991* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995): 417 p.

Martin J. Dedman, *The Origins and development of the European Union 1945–2008: a history of European integration*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (London; New York: Routledge, 2010): 224 p.

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## **2.6. The Course thesis (paper)**

Format: Length: 20– 25 pages (30.000 – 45.000 symbols including empty spaces). Font: Times New Roman 14, space 1,5. Margins: 2,5 on all sides.

The thesis should clearly distinguish the object and the subject of research, and formulate a concrete research question.

The thesis should include:

- An Introduction
- The main body text structured in chapters
- Conclusion summarizing the main findings of research
- List of primary sources and literature
- Proper referencing system.

For more details consult the MGIMO general requirements available at:  
[https://mgimo.ru/about/structure/faculty/mp/kkp/docs/papers-rules/?sphrase\\_id=18857450](https://mgimo.ru/about/structure/faculty/mp/kkp/docs/papers-rules/?sphrase_id=18857450).

The deadline for submission for evaluation: no later than at the end of the second full week of May.