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

Instructor
Dr. Andrei V. Zagorski
This syllabus is designed in accordance with the MGIMO Educational Standard for the Bachelor Program in International Affairs.

Author________________________ Dr. Andrei V. Zagorski

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: 2nd.
- 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
    E-mail: zagorskiandre@gmail.com

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 1.3
- active and good command of material x 1.2
- low activity but good command of material x 1.1
- 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 15th 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

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<tr>
<th>week</th>
<th>lecture</th>
<th>seminar</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The German question (1945–1949)</td>
<td>Division of Europe (1947–1949)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>North East Asia and Indochina (1945–1954)</td>
<td>The Extension of the Cold war to Asia</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Consequences of the Korean war in Europe and East Asia. Rearmament of West Germany.</td>
<td>The “San Francisco order”</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Developments in the Middle East (1945–1956)</td>
<td>The extension of the Cold war to the Middle East</td>
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Origins of the Cold War

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>week</th>
<th>lecture</th>
<th>seminar</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Decolonization and its impact on the international order</td>
<td>International relations in South Asia</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The Sino–Soviet split</td>
<td>The normalization of Sino-American and Sino-Japanese relations</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>The second Vietnam war</td>
<td>Developments in South East Asia after the Vietnam war</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>New centers of economic power (1960–1970s)</td>
<td>Reconfiguration of the West in the 1970s</td>
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Challenges to the Cold War bipolarity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>week</th>
<th>lecture</th>
<th>seminar</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>The collapse of détente</td>
<td>Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and its impact on East-West relations</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Détente and its collapse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>week</th>
<th>lecture</th>
<th>seminar</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>The ‘New political thinking’ and East-West relations (1985–1991)</td>
<td>The resolution of the Afghanistan conflict and the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Overcoming the division of Europe and of Germany</td>
<td>International relations in Latin America during the Cold War</td>
</tr>
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2.1. Course content and reading


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


Primary sources:

Main reading:

Further reading:

Internet resources, databases:

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.
Lecture 2: The German question (1945–1949)


Primary sources:


Main reading:
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”)
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:


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

Primary sources:


Main reading:

Further reading:

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:

Main reading:
Anatoly V. Torkunov, William C. Wohlforth, Boris F. Martynov (eds), History of International


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


Further reading:

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


Internet resources, databases:


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:


Vladislav Zubok, Constantine Pleshakov, Inside the Kremlin’s Cold War. From Stalin to Khruschev, pp. 69–70.

Further reading:


Internet resources, databases:


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.
2. Main provisions and ambivalences of the San-Francisco treaty.
3. US centric security arrangements in East Asia

Primary sources:


Main reading:


Further reading:


Internet resources, databases:


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:**


**Main reading:**


**Further reading:**


**Internet resources, databases:**


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**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:**


**Main reading:**


Further reading:

Internet resources:

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


**Primary sources**:

**Main reading**:

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

**Internet resources, databases**:
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?
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

Primary sources:


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

Main reading:

Further reading:
“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:

Main reading:


Further reading:

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


Main reading:


Further reading:

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

Internet resources, databases:


**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

**Primary sources:**


**Main reading:**


**Further reading:**


**Internet resources, databases:**


Lecture 9: The second Vietnam War


Primary sources:


Main reading:


Further reading:


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


Internet resources, databases:


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:

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


Further reading:


Internet resources, databases:


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


Primary sources:

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

Further reading:

Internet resources, databases:

Seminar 10: Reconfiguration of the West in the 1970s

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

Questions:
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,

Main reading:


Further reading:

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.


Internet resources, databases:


G7 Information Centre. Provided by the G7 Research Group, University of Toronto. URL: www.g7.utoronto.ca.

**Lecture 11: Détente**


Main reading:


Further reading:
Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

Questions:
1. US – Soviet summit diplomacy in the 1970s
3. Other areas of cooperation

Primary sources:

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.

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:


Further reading:


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


**Primary sources:**

**Main reading:**

**Further reading:**

**Internet resources:**


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:  

Main reading:  
Henry Kissinger, Diplomacy, pp. 757-760.  
Further reading:  

Internet resources, databases:  

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


Primary sources:  
UN Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. URL:
Main reading:


Further reading:


Internet resources, databases:

**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.
4. The policies of the PLO after 1982.

Primary sources:


Main reading:


Further reading:

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


Lecture 14: The collapse 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.

Main reading:

Further reading:

Internet resources, databases:
Seminar 14: The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and its impact on East-West relations

Check against the elaborate seminar outline.

Questions:
2. The formation of Afghani resistance groups
5. The impact of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan on East-West relations.

Main reading:

Further reading:

Internet resources, databases:
National Security Archive. URL: https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/search/node/Afghanistan.


Reading:

Further reading:


Internet resources, databases:


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.
4. Normalization of Sino-Soviet relations.

Primary sources:


Main Reading:


Further reading:


Internet resources, databases:


Lecture 16: Overcoming the division of Europe and of Germany


Primary sources:


Main reading:
Further reading:
Henry Kissinger, Diplomacy, pp. 762-832.

Internet resources, data bases:
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:

Further reading:
Peter Calvocoressi, World Politics since 1945, pp. 667-734.
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.
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)
12. The division of Germany.
13. The establishment of the State of Israel and the first Arab-Israeli war: results.
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.
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.
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.
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.
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.
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.
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:**


**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.


*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.


*Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin*, Signed at Berlin, September 3, 1971. URL: https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2003/3/12/9bfcb5f5-8e0d-46ee-9f7f-8e9a7c94fa7/publishable_en.pdf.


*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.


Literature:


Chinese Invasion of Vietnam February 1979, Global Security. URL:
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.
“Non-Aligned Movement”, in International Relations, 12 December 2015. URL: https://internationalrelations.org/non-aligned-movement/.


Internet resources:
Avalon Project reference system. URL: http://www.avalon.law.yale.edu/.
G7 Information Centre. Provided by the G7 Research Group, University of Toronto. URL: www.g7.utoronto.ca.

Online Sources for European History. URL: eurodocs.lib.byu.edu/HistoricalArchives_of_the_European_Union. URL: https://www.eui.eu/Research/HistoricalArchivesOfEU.
International Relations. URL: https://internationalrelations.org/
National Security Archive. URL: https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/publications-collections.
Non-Aligned Movement. URL: https://mnoal.org/.

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

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.

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